

THE



QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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VOL. 108.

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*Darwin's Origin of Species.*

Part of our impression was printed off without the following corrections, which the reader is requested to make :—

Page 231, line 5 from bottom, *for* 'powers' *read* 'improvements.'

Page 233, end of quotation, *for* 'reservant' *read* 'reservans.'

Page 236, line 16 from bottom, *for* 'tired out' *read* 'tried out.'

Page 237, the quotation ends with '*Canis familiaris*.'

1881  
The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been admitted to the membership of the Society since the last meeting of the Council, held on the 15th of December, 1880.

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QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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ART. I.—1. *The Missing Link; or, Biblewomen in the Homes of the London Poor.* By L. N. R. London, 1859.

2. *Ragged Homes, and How to Mend Them.* By Mrs. Bayly. London, 1860.

SOME years ago ('Quarterly Review,' No. 194) we endeavoured to present a survey of the various machinery which has been contrived by the charity of ancient and modern days to relieve the necessities and improve the social and spiritual condition of the London poor. Our text-book then was Mr. Low's useful manual of the 'Charities of London.' But since that time schools, reformatories, refuges, model lodging-houses, baths and wash-houses, hospitals for the special treatment of almost every class of disease, with a long et-cætera of charitable inventions, have multiplied to a prodigious extent. Extraordinary efforts have been made to supply the deficiency of pastors and places of worship, and not only have new missionary agencies of various kinds been called into action, but the Church has broken through not a few of her ancient traditions to 'seek and to save' those whom hitherto it had been found impossible to attract within the reach of her influence.

Yet so gigantic is the evil occasioned by the pressure of an overgrown population on the means of subsistence, and so rapid its increase, that we have still to lament how far our efforts fall short of our need. The disease seems to be gaining on the remedies employed, and there is much of evil for which no remedy has been devised. This 'congestion of the heart,' as it has been called, is the constitutional malady of all great capitals, and its inveteracy increases with the increasing wealth and activity of the inhabitants. Much false sentiment has been expended in vilifying 'the town.' It is to cities that the civilisation and social progress of the world are due, and in cities the human mind finds its fullest and freest expansion. But the stimulating power which draws forth men's energies for good, develops the evil also in all its rankness. The love of gain, which is the life-blood of commercial enterprise, is the source of all mischief when unrestrained by principle,

and it acts with especial cruelty on the lot of the poor. In London, where the annual increase of the population by immigration alone is enormous,\* rent is screwed up as space diminishes to the uttermost farthing the poor can pay, and when they can pay no more the quality of the accommodation which the maximum of rent secures deteriorates. While, in rural districts, the labourer can obtain a cottage and garden for 1s. 6d. or 2s. per week, the London mechanic must pay from 2s. to 4s. for a single room in some narrow court or fetid alley. A series of middlemen, who have interposed their baleful shade between the landlord and the tenant, neglect all necessary repairs, and all sanitary improvements. Instead of making their tenements more comfortable, they look for a set of tenants more degraded and disreputable; and, if honest thrift will not pay the required price for a shelter, vice will give it for connivance and concealment. The effect on the health, morals, and happiness of the population is what might be expected; but the 'dens' and 'rookeries' of London have so often been described of late years that it is unnecessary to pain the reader by dwelling on the revolting details. It is enough to assure those who have not qualified themselves to judge by ocular inspection, that, though the accounts so constantly issuing from the press are often set off with an ambitious rhetoric which is apt to excite distrust, yet substantially, as to matters of fact, they present nothing but the truth.

'Dens and rookeries,' differing from each other in their dates, their histories, and external aspect, are to be found in various parts of London and the suburbs. When the narrow lanes and courts of the City were finally abandoned by the merchant-princes of the olden time, they were filled by successive generations of meaner tenants, who gradually decreased in respectability and increased in numbers. The City palaces of the nobility were pulled down, and their gardens were hastily covered with an ill-contrived wilderness of hovels for the poor. The foulest part of London is now to be found on the site where the Bishop of Ely grew the strawberries which attracted the admiration of King Richard III. In not a few instances an offensive and unwholesome manufactory in the suburbs has made its vicinity a solitude, and the poor have been allowed (for a consideration) to fill the vacant space with their huts huddled together without precaution, order, or method; or again, some desolate spot is let to an adventurer with small capital, who turns it into a labyrinth of wigwags. The authoress of '*Ragged Homes*,' gives an interesting account of the formation of one of these human

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\* The population of London increases at the rate of 60,000 annually.



ant-hills (chap. i.), and, we rejoice to be able to add, of its subsequent improvement. On any new and sudden demand for labour or houses, speculators are wont to run up streets so slightly built as scarcely to be safe, with no adequate arrangements for sewage or drainage, no supply of water without, and no ventilation within. Provision for education and pastoral superintendence there is none—and the mushroom town, as it starts into existence, exhibits the maturity of physical wretchedness and spiritual destitution. Thus, Plumstead, near Woolwich, Hallsville in the midst of its marshes, and other suburban rookeries, have been called into being by the dockyards and arsenals. Thus, too, in Lisson Grove, a far more salubrious site was raised in haste, a city of refuge for the multitude ejected from their dens by the construction of New Oxford Street, and thither have been transported a colony, principally of Irish, who have founded a new Salamis—a St. Giles's of their own—in this hitherto rural suburb. A similar process has been going on for centuries. St. Giles's Church itself was once in reality what in legal style it is still—'St. Giles's-in-the-Fields.' From time to time unoccupied suburbs have been appropriated to the poor; these as population increased have successively been enclosed by buildings of higher pretension, and there they remain—many in what is now the heart of London—like patches of undrained morass in the midst of cultivation. In other parts of the town, where the builder still permits the enjoyment of light and air, the houses which were intended for the abode of opulence have, by some caprice of fortune or fashion, been abandoned to the meanest occupants, and turned into 'dens.' No doubt the sordid dwelling has often undermined the virtue of the tenant, but invariably the sordid and vicious habits of the tenant reduce his dwelling to the level of his own degradation. We have never witnessed more squalid misery or more indecent and unhealthy crowding than may sometimes be seen in a room decorated with a marble chimney-piece and a moulded ceiling. But, in truth, however local circumstances may vary, this wide-spread wretchedness, curiously diversified as it is in its details, is everywhere to be traced to the same cause. Everywhere the root of the evil is the excess of demand above supply. The philanthropist must never forget that it is more urgent to multiply the dwellings of the poor even than to improve them. Overcrowding would turn a Paradise into a 'rookery' and a palace into a 'den.' The state in which a brigade of workmen left the noble apartment of the Tuileries, of which they held forcible possession for some time in the disastrous Revolution of 1848, would have done discredit to the worst den of St. Giles's.

The aggregate population of these 'dens and rookeries' exceeds that of all but the largest European capitals. Its moral character is infinitely diversified, passing by imperceptible gradations from the virtuous poor to the outcasts and enemies of society. On the one hand may be seen industry struggling with adversity erect and unsubdued, and piety that finds peace and joy in the midst of tribulation. Such instances indeed are rare. Rare they would be among any class, and that they are to be found at all in these wretched abodes is scarcely credible, except to those who have the witness of their own eyes.\* On the other hand, the haunts of infamy and crime are countless in number, and swarming with tenants. Between these two extremes lie a motley population, whose habits and mode of livelihood have of late years been brought into notice by various writers, and especially by Mr. Mayhew in his interesting accounts of 'London Labour and the London Poor.' Among them are to be found the over-worked and under-paid manufacturers of wares which are made for display behind the plate-glass of the most brilliant shops, but which perhaps would be purchased with less alacrity by the gay throng of customers if it were known in what dens they have been prepared. Of many the trades and occupations are such as have no names except in the slang dictionary, and could have been invented only by necessity, the proverbial mother of invention; and if some of these are dishonest in themselves, and others are dishonestly pursued, what wonder? The extreme of poverty—it is vain to disguise it—is the worst of human ills and the strongest of human temptations. The greater part of this large population scarcely do more than maintain themselves in a state of chronic starvation, though many earn wages which, properly economised, would keep them and their families beyond the reach of want; and many, at certain periods, such as hay-making and hop-picking, make extraordinary gains, which properly husbanded ought to make up for the deficiencies of the rest of the year. But their besetting sins are improvidence and intemperance. Their wretchedness drives them to drink, and drink multiplies by a hundredfold their wretchedness. And yet who shall judge them harshly? Ardent spirits are the only luxury within their reach—the only opiate to dull the sense of bodily pain or lighten the burden of mental vacuity or anguish. 'Drink!' said a despe-

\* The Rev. T. F. Stooks says, in his evidence before a Committee of the House of Lords, in speaking of the best specimens of the London poor, 'They represent the highest standard of Christianity I have ever known.' Q. 870. 'Even as compared with persons in much higher grades of life?' A. 'Yes; for to maintain their Christian profession in the midst of such difficulties as they have to encounter, requires no common steadfastness of purpose.'—Lords' Report on the Spiritual Destitution of the Metropolis, p. 61.

rado of Shadwell to the district visitor, 'We *must* drink, or we shall drown ourselves' (*Missing Link*, p. 175). Of religious feeling, speaking generally, they possess but little. All attempts to attract them to church are vain. Their self-respect—such self-respect, says the authoress of the '*Missing Link*,' as is left in St. Giles's—is shown by keeping out of sight, and holding intercourse only with their fellows. Their moral standard is deplorably low. In the total abandonment of self-control, in the delusive freedom of self-will, in the defiance of divine, and, as far as he dares, of human law, the savage of the rookeries finds a fierce delight and a compensation for the weight with which he feels the social system press upon him. But this dark picture has its lights. It is strange to find such differences existing between persons exposed to the same influences, and apparently cast in the same mould. Of two grinding at the same mill, one shall be formed of nature's finer clay, susceptible of all her better impulses; the other coarse and brutal, who seems to be of those who have said 'Evil be thou my Good.' Here perhaps dwell a hardened couple who treat with depraved cruelty their own flesh and blood, while there their opposite neighbours, on the same landing, show the most touching kindness to strangers who have no claim except a greater share of the common suffering. And it is stranger still to see how in the same natures good and ill are not so much blended as placed in close juxtaposition and contrast. If in the loftiest characters are to be detected lumps of alloy which should humble the pride of human virtue, in the lowest may be traced particles of good which should teach us to despair of none. There is implanted in man a moral sense which scarcely in any is utterly destroyed. '*Ilka mon has a conscience*,' as W. Scott makes Daddy Ratcliffe say, 'though maybe it is hard winning at it.' The inhabitants of 'rookeries' have their own, often erroneous, standard of right, their own mistaken notions of honour. In the midst of much brutality and selfishness may be found great warmth of natural affection. In the midst of much meanness and deceit, better impulses will occasionally burst forth like a flash from a black thunder-cloud. The often repeated reproach '*nobody cares for us*' (p. 208) indicates a sense of neglect which, in its reaction, disposes them to be melted by the voice of kindness. Many among them have known better days, and many have never been able to efface the traces of better teaching. If to a distant observer all appears profligacy and corruption, on a nearer approach may be found good perverted rather than annihilated, a keen sense of degradation, and a vague desire of something better, which only needs to be roused into life and action.

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But the great difficulty is—how are these people to be reached? We look in the first instance to the clergy. It is indeed surprising how much the incumbents of London have effected of late years under circumstances of great difficulty. Their incomes, for the most part lamentably insufficient at the best, have lately been cruelly curtailed;\* and, where help is most needed, their parishioners are usually too poor to give it; yet by unexampled self-denial, and with external aid procured chiefly by their own unremitting exertions, they have managed to maintain a staff of curates, to keep up an amount of personal visitation, and to organise an extent of parochial machinery which would hardly be credited if we could not appeal to official documents. Their energy and self-devotion are beyond praise. But as yet they are numerically insufficient for the work. Their number must be doubled before it reaches the proportion of 1 to every 2000 of the population, the estimated minimum of sufficiency; and, above all, it must be noted that among the class we speak of every door of access is shut against them by brutality and prejudice. Of the many subsidiary agencies which have of late years been brought to bear upon the destitute and ignorant, perhaps none have been more efficacious than the Ragged Schools. But, though the children have thus been made powerful instruments to civilise their parents, it is to be feared that quite as often home-influences have smothered all the good which school had implanted in the children. The district-visitor, the Scripture-reader, the City-missionary, the tract-distributor, acting for the most part in concert with the incumbent, and under his direction, have done much. The Bible Society's Colporteurs (for the French term seems now to be naturalised amongst us) have sold a very considerable number of Bibles in these godless precincts, and thus at least have sown a certain amount of good seed. But all these have great difficulties to encounter, and at last find a limit beyond which they cannot go. 'The men are generally "out," and they do not like their families to be visited in their absence.' (*Missing Link*, p. 216). The district-visitor is received as an amateur relieving-officer, whom it is creditable to deceive, and who is not welcome except as the bearer of gifts. And gifts, it is found by experience, only exasperate the evil.

In fact, as we penetrate the depths of the social system, 'beneath the lowest depths a lower still' opens before us, which as yet the fisherman for souls has never been able to reach with his net. The accomplished and benevolent lady who is

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\* Not merely by the loss of burial fees without compensation, but by the deprivation of other just rights, and by the imposition of charges and liabilities which do not legally belong to them.—*Vide* Lords' Report on Spiritual Destitution.

well known to the public as the authoress of the 'Book and its Story,' or L. N. R., as she chooses to be called in her title-page, believes she has found the 'missing link,' the desiderated bond to unite this lost class with their fellow-men, and bring them back to order, morality, and religion. The means she employs are so simple that at first sight they seem hardly adequate to produce such results, yet her plan has all the characteristics which usually accompany success—a small beginning, gradual development, and great plastic power of adapting itself to circumstances.

Her book, which she calls the 'Missing Link,' consists principally of extracts from a cheap periodical publication, edited, and we presume in great part written, by herself—'The Book and its Mission.' This method of compilation rather than composition gives to the reports of her progress much liveliness and a great impress of truth; but it unavoidably leads to repetition, and the narrative wants connexion and arrangement. From the same cause, or perhaps from a graceful reluctance to make herself the heroine of her own story, she does not tell us with the distinctness which we could desire the steps by which she was led on from the first conception to the full development of her scheme. But these are slight blemishes, and detract but little from the interest of her work.

Mrs. Bayly's interesting volume contains the account of an independent effort which she made to civilise the inhabitants of the Kensington Potteries. Her plan in many of its details so much resembles that of L. N. R., that they may advantageously be considered together. The experiment described is very important. We have convinced ourselves it has been very successful; and as it is desirable to give it the greatest amount of publicity, while we heartily commend both books to the reader's perusal, we propose to give a summary of what we have gathered from them of the discovery and application of the 'Missing Link.'

On a summer evening, about three years ago, a lady, who is understood to be the authoress herself, took a walk in St. Giles's, in company with a friend, a retired physician, whose previous practice had made him familiar with its mysteries, in order to ascertain the condition of the London poor. Having long been engaged in promoting the circulation of the Scriptures, her first desire was to inquire how far the tenants of these overcrowded courts and alleys were supplied with the Sacred Volume. In order to ascertain this she resolved to send amongst them as agent of the Bible Society some 'poor woman of good character, who would give a faithful account of her trust.' Why she chose to employ female agency she has not told us; but we must presume she foresaw the advantages (though certainly not to their full extent),

extent), which subsequently developed themselves as her plans expanded. To find a fit person she applied to a City-missionary, whom she had long known. His reply brings to our acquaintance a very remarkable person, the heroine of the book; and as the success of the benevolent experiment is mainly due to the efficiency of the agent first selected, it is worth dwelling on the circumstances of her previous life (*Missing Link*, p. 15):—

‘Marian B. earned a scanty livelihood by cutting fire-papers or moulding wax flowers, or making bags for silversmiths, in London; and her lot had been cast for three-and-thirty years in some one or other of the purlieus of the Seven-Dials. A drunken father, who broke her mother’s heart, had brought her as a young girl of fifteen gradually down from the privileges of a respectable birth to dwell in a low lodging-house of St. Giles’s. He died shortly afterwards, and left her and a sister of five years of age orphans in the midst of pollution, which they by miracle escaped, often sitting on the stairs or doorsteps all night to avoid what was to be seen within. An old man, who was her fellow-lodger, kind-hearted but an atheist, had taught her to write a little, but advised her never to read the Bible. “It was full of lies, and she had only to look round her in St. Giles, and she might see there was no God.”’

Elementary education, such as she obtained in early youth, ‘she picked up from gazing in continually at the shop-windows.’ She married at eighteen, and, though her husband was very poor, ‘she then knew for the first time,’ says our authoress, ‘the meaning of that blessed word “home”’—though that home was only a room in St. Giles’s.

Five years before the time she is introduced to the reader, on a certain rainy night she took shelter in an alley that led up to the little Mission-Hall in Dudley-street, and she listened to the missionary’s address. Some verses quoted from Hebrews xi. struck her; and hearing that books were lent from that place, she asked for a Bible. The missionary gave her one, and offered to call and read it to her. She answered respectfully, ‘No, Sir, thank you; we are very quiet folk; my husband might not like it; I will take the book and read it for myself.’ How she spent these five years, and how she contrived to complete her education, we are not told. She was sorely tried by ill health, having been twice for long periods an inmate of the hospital. Her husband also was often disabled by sickness, and they felt the pressure of extreme poverty; but, with occasional help, they had just been able to live. At the time when the authoress applied to the missionary for an agent to distribute the Bible, Marian had lately written to him a letter, which we are assured was undoubtedly her own composition, and which is so extraordinary, considering her previous history, that we must give it to the reader entire. He must learn to know

Marian,



Marian, in order to believe her subsequent success. After some apology for making her communication in writing, she proceeds :—

‘It is unnecessary to relate the circumstances by which I became first acquainted with your efforts to make known the Gospel of Christ; but you may remember the request I made the first time I ever addressed you. I asked you to lend me a Bible. You knew not my name or residence, yet with cheerful kindness you complied with that request, and for the first time in my life I brought a Bible into my home: it was on the 11th of February, 1853. That Bible I still retain. Of its influence over me none but its great Author can be aware, nor of the slow but certain means by which its precious truths have been revealed to my hitherto benighted soul.

‘With my bodily sufferings during that period you are to a great extent acquainted; twice compelled to seek surgical aid in a hospital, to all appearance I was sinking to my grave, but my God looked mercifully on me, and bade me live.

‘You know, however, nothing of the wounds which defied the surgeon’s skill, wounds that Divine Grace inflicted, and which Divine Mercy alone could have healed. But that I have been the recipient of such mercy, I humbly dare to hope; and, God helping me, I have devoted every moment of my life to prove my gratitude. I feel that to testify my thanks for the precious pardon of an offended God, there are other ways than words; and I have thought over many plans, all of which I have dismissed but one, which is for me perfectly practicable, and it is to ask your co-operation in it that I presume to address you.

‘During the time I was in the hospital I had frequent opportunities of witnessing the utterly friendless condition of many poor outcasts who sought admission to its charity; the filthy plight of their persons and clothing proving their need of a female hand to rectify disorder.

‘I have not to learn, Sir, that in your missionary-visits to the abodes of vice you meet with many such who have none to help them. Now I would wish to dedicate the time I have to spare (it might be two or three hours a day), not so much to the decent poor, who have a claim on the sympathy of their neighbours, as to the lost and degraded of my own sex, whom, from their vicious lives, no tenderly-reared female would be likely to approach. But to me, who, by God’s mercy, was preserved in my youth from a like fate, such scenes will have no terror; and I shall esteem it another benefit received, Sir, if you will at any time let me know where such a sufferer lies, no matter how degraded she may be. It will be enough for her to require my aid, such as cleaning and washing her, and repairing her garments. If she can by your means obtain admission to a hospital, I will, by frequent visits, take care she has a change of linen, and in all ways endeavour to win such erring sister back to virtue and to peace.

‘But while especially devoting my services to those who have none to help them, I shall ever consider it as much my duty to render aid  
to

to any desolate sick who may at any time come under your notice.'—*Missing Link*, p. 11.

That the style of this letter is in parts a little stilted appears to us an additional evidence of its genuineness. A self-educated person, like Marian, who has taught herself entirely from books, and has passed her life with those who have no education at all, must necessarily, when she writes with care, express herself with something of the stiffness and constraint which belong to the use of a dead language.

The scheme which was now proposed to Marian was not exactly that which she had chalked out for herself; but she was pleased with the avenues of usefulness which it opened out to her. She saw that, having once obtained access to a house to sell the Bible, she might return to it afterwards on any errand of mercy the case might suggest. She accepted the offer in a letter which is not less remarkable than the one we have given, and contains in fact the germ of that idea, the development of which forms the subject of the whole volume.

Marian was immediately installed in her office, under the superintendence of her benevolent patroness. The Bible Society made a small grant of 5*l.* to pay their new agent 10*s.* per week for a length of time judged sufficient to test her efficiency. The Bible Society does not distribute the Bible to the poor gratuitously; it supplies copies at a considerable reduction of the cost price, and by means of its collectors, paid and unpaid, facilitates the purchase, by receiving in payment small instalments of 1*d.* a week. Marian was supplied with some Testaments at 4*d.*, some Bibles at 10*d.*, which by their cheapness, and the smartness of their gilt edges, were thought likely to tempt her customers, and with some much more bulky copies at 2*s.* 6*d.*, the large clear type of which is as agreeable, almost as necessary, to those who read with difficulty as to those whose sight is failing. Armed with a bag containing a sample of each of these she set out on her first morning's walk. She chose for the scene of her experiment the streets in Soho bordering on St. Giles's, and plunged at once into their most appalling recesses:—

'Some of her earliest visits were paid to courts in which no one professed to get an honest maintenance. . . . Their dwellings are like cow-houses, save that cow-houses are sweet in comparison, lighted by but one pane of glass, if that be not broken and stuffed with rags; and a bag of shavings or filthy straw for a bed. Some of them buy hare and rabbit skins, and hoarding them till they have enough to sell, create a stench which breeds fever. The hair of the women never seems to have known cap or comb. Such clothing as they have never appears to be taken off day or night. They have no yards,



yards, and no back door. A pump is found in the little square, but the supply of water is very scanty; and five, six, or seven children will swarm in their closets of rooms even in the day-time. It is worse by night. A policeman very recently, after due warning to the landlord of one such place, who persisted that only his wife and his son slept in the house, broke in the door at two o'clock in the morning, and found sixteen persons in heaps on the floor of all ages; and in their midst a woman with her new-born babe of scarce an hour old.'—*Missing Link*, p. 23.

It is not to be supposed that all the homes which she entered were such as are here described, but 'designedly,' the authoress says, 'her first Bible-visits were paid to a class below the decent poor, and to those who compose that large underlying class of humanity which never seeks to bring itself within the range of moral or spiritual efforts for its own elevation.' In her own words, 'she found enough for the labours of a lifetime *underneath all that*.'—*Missing Link*, p. 29. No wonder then she was often met with the rebuff, 'What is the use of coming with the Bible here? It is not for such as we are.' And many doubtless will repeat the question in another form, and ask what end she hoped to gain by forcing the Sacred Volume upon those who cannot or will not read it, and who will pawn or sell it for drink? \* The objection indeed is plausible; but it is such-like objections that have long obstructed all efforts at improvement; and L. N. R.'s whole narrative is an answer to it. If the Bible were a gift, it might probably be parted with for anything so cheap an article would fetch. But it is a purchase: it has not been acquired without a previous wish to possess it, nor without an effort of self-denial—an effort moreover which has been periodically repeated. We should venture to predict, that, speaking generally, it will not be sold, and experience proves that it is not sold. As to the benefit to be immediately derived from its possession, Marian's reports clearly prove that few of her customers were able at the time of the purchase to appreciate its value. But even thus, feelings are called into play which may lead to something better. It is something to excite in the reckless the desire and the pride of possession. 'This is the first book,' exclaimed one subscriber, 'I could ever call my own.' (*Missing Link*, p. 165.) The effort of self-denial raises self-respect, and to excite self-respect is half the work of conversion.

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\* We have lately, for example, seen these arguments used in an urgent appeal for the increase of the London clergy. The utility of the measure thus advocated is so obvious that we cannot think it necessary to exalt it at the expense of other missionary exertions. When at last the clergyman is able to penetrate within these dens, what more advantageous opening could he hope for than to find a Bible, even though unread, lying on the shelf?

The great misfortune of Marian's clients was their proneness to think themselves 'too bad to be mended.' The mode of making payment demonstrates to them the considerable results of very small savings. The vague wish to have a book 'that may do them good' is the harbinger of a more definite and earnest desire for amendment. It is no novelty, as our book-collectors well know, to buy books without the power of reading them. Alfieri made a collection of the Greek classics before he had learned even the alphabet. But in almost all cases these poor people found means to obtain some knowledge of the book they had purchased. In some its possession excited the desire to learn to read. Some had children who could read to them; some were induced to admit the visits of missionary or Scripture-reader; to many Marian herself returned to read chosen passages, and a little knowledge raised the wish for more. Those who have lived only among classes tolerably familiar with the contents of the Sacred Volume, but apparently indifferent to its precepts, can hardly believe the powerful impression which even a few verses will sometimes make on those whose ears the voice of Scripture reaches for the first time. Humanly speaking, not even St. Peter could have converted by one sermon 3000 educated but careless Christians.

Even when the Bible-woman's invitation is rejected, the way is generally opened for a future call, but nothing is more curious in the narrative than the answers which her proposal to buy the sacred book draws forth, and the unexpected facility with which it is often accepted. In many instances the person addressed seems satisfied with having made one harsh protest that he wants food, not Bibles, and suddenly his hardness softens like wax in the sun, and he desires to be 'put down' as a subscriber. At p. 191 we hear of a sweep, a 'rough man,' who begs the Bible-woman 'to keep out of his house, for he is no chapel-goer. You see, if I've my pot and my pipe, it's all I care for, and I've no time to look at the Bible.' His visitor asks him if it ever occurred to him he must find time to die? and to this searching question and the exhortation that followed it we are not surprised to hear that the rough sweep replied, 'If you don't get out, I'll kick you out;' but we do feel surprised on being told that when a week afterwards the Bible-woman was again at the door, 'he then,' as she says, 'called downstairs to me, "Come up, Missus, I want you. I'm a rum chap; but, after all, I dare say what you said was true. I don't care anything about myself"—this was the last effort of expiring pride—"but," he added, "I should like a Bible for my boy. Here is sixpence, and you may call every week, for perhaps a little of your talk may do me good."' We learn afterwards that the sweep became a sincere and zealous convert.

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At the end of the first month Marian had on her books not less than seventy subscribers for Bibles. But this result had not been obtained without many rebuffs, and the exertion of much perseverance and not a little courage. Once only she met with rough usage. In one narrow court of infamous repute a bucket of filth was thrown upon her from an upper window; but even this turned to good. The vile indignity roused all the better spirits of the place, who came out to her rescue, and were afterwards her warmest friends and protectors. On one occasion a City missionary, who met her in the notorious 'Church-lane,' cautioned her not to go up a certain staircase: 'The woman who lives there is not a woman—she is a fiend—it takes four men to carry her home when she is drunk.' 'It is to such I go,' said the quiet visitor, and proceeded. —'She found a virago of six feet high, the same who had frequently "threatened to trample her to pieces if ever she ventured into her court."' She was standing over a naked boy of nine years old, whom she had been beating severely, and whose trousers she was cutting to pieces in search of a sixpence which he was supposed to have received for sweeping a crossing. The woman stared at her visitor's audacity, but was disarmed by the mildness of her address—

"Do not beat him any more," said Marian. "I dare say he will remember this; but what will you do with his trousers? he cannot put them on again;" and, turning to the child, she added—"A lady gave me a pair of trousers this morning; but they were for a good boy, if I found him. Could you promise never to keep back the money from your mother if I brought them to you?" The offer was so timely, and the voice of kindness so unusual in that apartment, that it melted the child, and even touched the mother. An influence began from that day alike over mother and children.'—*Missing Link*, p. 25.

We regret we have not space for the whole passage; but the result of this auspicious opening was that the tamed termagant began to subscribe for a Bible, to dress herself decently, and even to attend a place of worship. On first trying the experiment of going to the gallery of old St. Giles's, she declared 'she felt so much more comfortable than when she had been to the gin-shop, she should certainly go to church again.'

But now the idea of engrafting on her Bible-mission a project for social reform had gradually developed itself in the minds of Marian and her benevolent superintendent. Experience had shown them the Bible-woman's power. Belonging to the class whom she desired to benefit, she was familiar with their habits, and understood their feelings. There was nothing in her manner or appearance to alarm their pride or excite their hopes. They never

never begged of her (p. 208), and they perceived no unfitness in making her their friend. It was agreed that Marian should give a tea-party, to which she asked eight of the most hopeful of her subscribers: 'They all came, and three brought babies, whom they could not leave.' Marian's accommodation was not magnificent: she had five chairs, and three of her guests were seated on the bed. Nor was her entertainment costly: an ounce of tea, half a pound of sugar, half a pound of butter, and a quartern loaf, cost 2s. 'She had thought of adding two pennyworth of cream;' but as she meant this to be a pattern 'tea,' she rejected the cream as extravagant. They had all 'washed their poor caps and gowns, and looked so tidy, that their hostess hardly knew them.' (*Missing Link*, p. 35.) But, in fact, they were far from very poor. They were all going to the hop-picking, where they earned enough to eke out their scanty gains for the rest of the year. Nothing can be more dexterous than the way Marian insinuates her lectures. Every one of them, according to their own accounts, had bad husbands. 'Might not' (she suggests) 'the husbands be reclaimed if their homes were made a little more tidy and comfortable?' They none of them had clothes to go to church. 'How would you like,' they remonstrated, 'to go and sit with a poor old gown, and not a rag of a shawl on, by the side of Mrs. —, with a handsome cape, and a nice veil on a bonnet?' Marian takes the opportunity of observing, Mrs. —'s husband does not earn higher wages than his neighbours, but then he is a teetotaler; and she goes on to prove how comfortable they might make themselves if they would employ wisely the money earned 'at the hops,' instead of squandering it in riotous living. She read to them the parable of the Prodigal, which they all listened to with the deepest interest. 'It was Marian's great art,' her employer tells us, not 'to preach' too long nor unseasonably. The unwonted charm of order, quiet, cleanliness, and courtesy, made a great impression on her guests; the vision of something better than they had ever known before began to dawn upon them, and Marian herself felt that she had found the true method of realizing her favourite day-dream, the establishment of a domestic mission.

Just at this critical moment, when funds were wanted for the further extension of her plans, some small subscriptions were sent unasked by a lady and certain other readers of 'The Book and its Mission,' who had been interested by the account there given of Marian's labours. Her first use of this unexpected supply was to buy a few saucepans to lend to her poor neighbours—a very few sufficed for forty families, for everything is passed from hand to hand in St. Giles's—and she persuaded them

to

to buy for a halfpenny a printed receipt for making good soup for sixpence. She bought cheap materials, and at the evening meetings, which she soon discovered to be a most important part of her scheme, and which accordingly were regularly established, she taught the women to convert them into clothes—for which also they were to pay—for every day's experience confirmed her in the conviction that 'nothing is valued but what is paid for.'

Her grand discovery, however, was the application to clothes and furniture of the principle of gradual payments, which had been found so beneficial in promoting the sale of the Bible. Thus by the weekly sacrifice of 1*d.* or 2*d.*, indispensable clothing might be procured. The purchase of a flock-bed at the cost-price of 6*s.* might be effected by rescuing 6*d.* a week from the gin-shop; and even this rude mattress awakens, in those who have never lain in a bed before, a perception of luxury beyond anything they have hitherto experienced. The possession of a bed suggests a bedstead; and sheets—a refinement undreamed of before—present themselves to the imagination as an object of desire and of possible attainment. All this can be accomplished only by the correction of bad habits, and thus providence and self-control are learned:—'one woman left off beer for a month in order that she might get a bed; and in that month, she says, I have learnt to do without it' (p. 75).

Subsequent experience has finally settled the rules by which a clothing-club of this kind is most advantageously managed. The articles are purchased by the lady-superintendents at the cheapest rate, and are sold at cost-price. But those who are able to pay for what they want *at once* are referred to the shops. It would be a sorry charity to help the poor by starving the honest trader.\* It is creditable to the intelligence of the lower classes of London that it never occurs to them to impute interested motives to the ladies who turn shopkeepers for their sakes, or to fancy, as the members of agricultural clothing-clubs sometimes do, that a profit is made by their benefactors. No article is given up till the full amount of the price is paid. Marian was at one time so far carried away by her good-nature and the importunities of her clamorous clients as to recommend that in certain cases promises should be accepted in part of payment. But the experiment failed. The migratory habits of St. Giles's induced some, who perhaps had not intended it, to break their engagements.† Others found the temptation too strong for their newly-awakened virtue. One hundred pounds

\* Far from showing any jealousy, the tradesmen have generally been most liberal in supplying to lady-superintendents the articles they needed for their clothing clubs at the lowest possible prices.—*Missing Link*, p. 261.

† In six months of the year 1855 a City-missionary in Dudley-street kept an account which showed that during that period 536 families had left the district, and an equal number had entered it in their stead.—p. 5.

was lost to the charity, but valuable experience was gained. Since then nothing is given, except orders on the butcher and grocer to subscribers who are ascertained to be really ill, and tickets for hospitals and dispensaries. However interesting the applicant may be, and however great the temptation to make a present of the coveted article, this rule is absolute. The most perfect impartiality must be manifested towards all—no vague hopes must be excited—no temptation to hypocrisy, deceit, or flattery, held out. Self-respect and self-reliance are the virtues with which the minds of the very poor require to be strengthened; and the good-natured blunder of a moment might break down the work of months.

But we are anticipating. We must now return to Marian, who has arrived at the close of her first year. On the 10th of June, the anniversary of her first visitation of St. Giles's, the results are thus summed up:—

'She has sold 1004 copies—413 Bibles, 591 Testaments—purchased in St. Giles's by the "lowest of the low," each penny called for once, twice, and sometimes thrice, by the patient and earnest *native agent* chosen from among themselves.'\*

A year ago Marian 'knew comparatively little of the circumstances of her neighbours beyond the precincts of her own court. But now she has learnt their ways and watched their wants,' and with the assistance and advice of her kind superintendent, who modestly keeps in the background her own share in the work, she has invented a plastic machinery capable of indefinite extension and wonderfully adapted for improving their moral and social condition.

'She has reported simply and faithfully to her superintendent, who has again reported to the lovers of the Book and of the poor, the discoveries made by this its home-mission. The Lord has disposed kind hearts from far and near not to cast *gifts as into the Slough of Despond*, but to advance the means to help the mothers of St. Giles's to help themselves, for which—sums up our authoress—they express tenfold the gratitude they have ever bestowed for pure gifts.'—p. 74.

And now, to our great regret, we must take leave of Marian. Her health began to fail; her husband sickened, and after a long illness died; all she had of strength was devoted to nursing him, and for many months she could attend to nothing else. Since his death she has left London. For a short time, indeed, she resumed her labours, not with the same activity as before, but

\* The difficulty of finding the lower class of St. Giles's can be imagined only by those who have attempted it. 'Out,' 'out,' 'out,' is the perpetual answer in room after room.—*Missing Link*, p. 29.

rather



rather to survey the progress of her successor, and witness how others had watered where she had planted. Since then her eyes have become seriously affected. But zeal like hers cannot be idle, and we understand she has found, in spite of her infirmity, a new sphere of usefulness and a congenial occupation in the country. But, though her career of benevolence is closed in London, she has trained more than one successor to take her place.

The next experiment, in chronological order, was made at Paddington, and the first Bible-woman whom Marian instructed began to labour among a class whose existence and whose business are unknown to the majority of our readers, though its labour-field is so near their own homes, and its subsistence is derived literally from their own hearths. The dustman's bell has ceased to ring, but we may often see the dustman's cart standing at the area-gates, yet few are aware how valuable are its contents, and to what manifold purposes they are turned. We cannot refrain from transcribing the authoress's account of a dust-heap, though our diminishing space obliges us to compress some passages:—

‘The contents of every dust-bin in this vast London are carried away periodically. The dustman receives a small gratuity from each householder, and when he has collected a cart-load, he demands another shilling at the gate of the Paddington wharves as he deposits it within their precincts. A dust-heap is very valuable to the contractor, and a large one is said to be worth four or five thousand pounds. It has to be sifted, sorted, and disposed of. We can give but a slight idea of its miscellaneous contents. Its chief constituent element is cinders, mixed with bits of coal, from the carelessness or waste of thousands of servants, which the searchers pick out of the heap to be sold forthwith. The largest and best of the cinders also are selected for the use of laundresses and braziers, whose purpose they answer better than coke. The far greater remainder is called breeze, because it is the portion left after the wind has blown the cinder-dust from it, through large upright iron sieves, held and shaken elbow high by the women who stand in the heap, whilst men throw up the stuff into the sieves. The breeze and ashes also are sold to brick-makers; the ashes are mixed with the clay of the bricks, and the breeze is used as fuel to burn between their layers.

‘But the heap likewise includes soft ware and hard ware. The former includes all vegetable and animal matter—all that will decompose. All these are carried off to be employed as manure. . . . Stale fish and dead cats come into this list—the skins of the latter being stripped off by the sifters, who can sell them for 4*d.* or 6*d.*, according to their colour, white being most, in request. The “hard ware” does not merely mean broken pottery, though of this there is great abundance. Part of the pottery is matched and mended by the women who find it,

and becomes their perquisite; the rest, with the oyster-shells, is sold to make new roads. But hard ware in the dust-heaps means rags, which go to the paper-makers; bones, which go to the bone-boilers; old iron, brass, and lead, to salesmen of those metals; broken glass, to old-glass shops; old carpets, old mattresses, old boxes, old pails, old baskets, broken tea-boards, candlesticks, fenders, old silk-handkerchiefs, knives, and salt-cellar—*not forgetting old shoes, which go in baskets to the 'translators,' who turn old shoes into new; everything, in short, that the householder has thought "not worth mending," besides many a wasteful addition which the masters never knew, from mansions where recklessness and extravagance bear rule.*

'Some of the contents are the sifter's perquisite—a certain amount of cinders and as much paper and wood as they can carry, and corks of bottles, by which alone some boast they can find themselves in shoe-leather; pill-boxes also and gallipots are their lawful property. Jewellery, silver forks and spoons, and money, are occasionally found, and too often appropriated by the finder. One day a check for a considerable sum was discovered among the waste paper.'—*Missing Link*, p. 553.

This is a fair sample of the contents of the dust-heap and their uses. But we must give one item more. One day a good-natured missionary, on being asked to stir the pot boiling on the fire of a bed-ridden old man, remarked its savoury odour. 'Mayhap, master,' replied the invalid, 'you would not like it so well if you knew all. It's some bones well washed and some potatoes and onions my wife picked off the heap; but it's well enough for me' (p. 50).

The women who work on these heaps are much what we might expect from their occupation to find them: they may often be seen returning from their work 'in almost savage guise, with dust and fine ashes filling up all the lines of their faces,' a load of cinders on their heads, and gowns upturned to carry a heap of wood or paper, or whatever else the day's finding may be; their heads and arms, the colour of ashes, are scarcely distinguishable from the grimy piece of carpet tied round their waists, their feet are encased in navvies' boots, and perhaps a man's old coat completes the costume.

And alas! what are the homes to which they return!

A lady, who does not choose to give more publicity to her name than is conferred by her initials H. G., had often seen these grotesque figures pass her window. She had read in the 'Book and its Mission' what the labours of Marian had effected in St. Giles's; she longed to follow the example, and, with the advice and assistance of the Editor of that periodical, she found a fitting agent in 'Martha.' This poor woman and her husband had borne the trials of sickness and poverty with exemplary piety and



and resignation. Seven years ago the City-missionary remembers to have visited them for the first time. He found the man, on whom depended the bread of the family, laid prostrate by fever, but then convalescent. The patient had recovered his appetite, but there was nothing in the house to eat. 'He had prayed,' he said, 'that God would be pleased to send them food, or to damp the children's appetites, and all this morning,' he added, 'they have not once cried for bread.' Since those sad days the pious couple had struggled on, and by great industry and frugality had managed to keep the wolf from the door, and generally to put by a weekly penny in the savings-bank to provide for a day of yet more urgent need. They were still poor, but their children were off their hands, and Martha's time was at her own disposal. Brought up in the school of want, she could sympathise with the needy, and she could quote her own experience to enforce those habits of providence and self-denial of which she had felt the benefit. It was not, however, without difficulty she was induced to accept the charge offered to her. She had many scruples, and felt much distrust of herself, but after accompanying Marian for a short time in St. Giles's, she was appointed paid-agent of the Bible Society, and on the 25th of January, 1858, with much misgiving and 'all in a tremble,' she took her first walk in the neighbourhood of the dust-heaps.

Like Marian, she had her difficulties, her rebuffs, and her trials; but on the whole she met with a success beyond her hopes. The population of the dust-heaps is sharp and intelligent. The women at once understood the advantage of a clothing club such as she proposed, and availed themselves of it with rapturous gratitude. She hired a small house opposite to one of the largest dust-heaps for the use of the club and the domestic missions. In the lower part she established a self-paying soup-kitchen, where soup is made so good, that it is declared to be 'worth two pots of beer.' It is sold at three-halfpence per quart, including a piece of bread. At no lower price could it be made so as to keep up this high reputation. To this kitchen, moreover, and its adjoining porch may repair at the hour of meals those who prefer order and quiet to licence, oaths, and slang. But Martha did not limit her exertions to her dust-heaps. Many a wretched home did she visit, but one only presents any novelty in its wretchedness. She was long in attendance on a rat-catcher's wife, a 'poor broken-spirited creature,' who, nevertheless, in the midst of her poverty, was subscribing for a Bible.

'Half the miserable room was occupied by a rat-pit. The creatures are caught in the sewers, and sold to be hunted by dogs. Sometimes  
their

their teeth are mercilessly broken out with pincers by the vendors, which is called taking out the sting. "We have not any to-day, sir," said the woman to a customer while Martha was waiting. "Yesterday," she added, turning to Martha, "we sold two, and bought a quartern loaf. We should be glad to leave the trade, if we could find anything else to do."—p. 260.

In the mean time the spirit of active charity spread far and wide. The 'slums' of Westminster were visited by Bible-women, and missions were established. Similar agencies penetrated the obscurest alleys of the City—the City! which, beyond any spot in the known world, exhibits in closest juxtaposition the extremes of wealth and poverty. In the Broad-street ward, comprising not more than 30 acres, the income-tax of which was lately calculated at two millions and a half, the Bible-woman found between 600 and 700 families to visit. ('Missing Link,' p. 182). In Stepney and in Shoreditch Mr. Stooks tells the House of Lords\* there are massed together myriads of working people cut off from all friendly intercourse with their non-resident employers, from the sympathy and good offices of richer neighbours, from spiritual instruction, and all that can instruct, comfort, or elevate; and hither the Bible-woman has found her way as the missionary of God's word and of the charities of social life. One of the latest missions was established in Limehouse, between the Whitechapel-road and the river. The population is very poor. Their living is precarious, their habits reckless and dissolute. But there too the Bible-woman was not less well received than in more promising districts. Even in the notorious George-yard, Whitechapel, schools and an evening meeting were established. Rapidly the same plan was extended to another and yet another of the poor and over-crowded districts of London, till at length all were supplied with their Bible-women and their domestic missions. We must refer the reader to the pages of the 'Missing Link' for a graphic description of the various parts of the town and their inhabitants over which the net-work of missionary agencies was spread. The leading characteristics are the same in all, but the wants, the tastes, and the habits of the population are variously modified by their circumstances and occupations. In all, the clergy are too few to attend to the spiritual wants of their flocks, the church-accommodation is miserably deficient, and the lack of religious knowledge and religious principle just what might be expected. In most of them a great number of Romanists are to be found; but these, though not unwilling to avail themselves of the benefits of the clothing-club,

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\* Lords' Report, p. 57.

were,

were, as might be anticipated, but rarely purchasers of the Bible. Their theology seemed scarcely to amount to more than a vehement preference for the 'old religion,' and a steady rejection of 'Henry VIII's Book.' Yet even thus they are further advanced than their nominally Protestant neighbours. Among the weavers of Spitalfields and Bethnal Green is a large colony descended from the French refugees, who, on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, transferred their arts and industry to England. Their dark eyes and foreign features still attest their Gallic origin, but, alas! they have lost all knowledge of that Sacred Book which was dearer to their ancestors than worldly interests, homes, and fatherland. The population of Bethnal Green exceeds 90,000, and on the Census-Sunday of 1851 the aggregate congregations at places of worship of all denominations did not amount to 12,000.\* In Spitalfields there is also a large population of Jews, amounting, we are told, to not less than 5000, and in their quarter is the well-known Petticoat Lane, or 'the Lane,' as it is called by the buyers and sellers of third and fourth hand goods, by whom it is frequented. In its neighbourhood there are not less than four markets for the sale of old clothes; and these, as might be expected, are to be seen in the most boiling ferment of activity on Sundays. The Jew is not breaking the law of Moses, and the law of the land in that lawless district is paralyzed. The Christian of the 'rookeries' has not the same excuse, but everywhere within these graceless precincts Sunday trading more or less prevails. The Rector of Bethnal Green complains that his church on Sunday seems to stand in the midst of a fair. Clare Market and the Mint are regular Sunday marts.† The Brill, in Somers Town 'is one of the poor man's great Saturday-evening and Sunday markets, and there, all Sunday long, may be seen a riot, and a struggle, and a scramble for a living.'—p. 224. And here is the description of a Sunday in Lisson Grove:—

'The air echoes alike to the brawl of the swearer and to cries of "boot-laces!" "pipes!" "tatoes!" and "greens!" butchers roaring "Buy, buy, buy!" four pounds for 2d. but of meat in what condition! while poultry is sold in all states of poisonous decay. Drunken men crowd the pathway, tossing up their halfpence till they have gambled away their jackets, and even their donkeys, on which their livelihood depends.'—p. 258.

Deeply as we may lament this state of things, we cannot but

\* This is given merely as a specimen of the spiritual destitution of London. In the Lords' Report on this subject may be found more minute details.

† *Vide* Lords' Report.

deprecate any attempt to put it down forcibly by legislative interference. New enactments against Sunday-markets are superfluous while those already in existence are violated in these quarters with impunity. The police stand by in perplexity, and are unable to act. Laws are ineffectual, unless a power adequate to the probable resistance is provided to enforce their execution; and it is often a delicate problem whether the violent execution of the law may not cause greater mischief than the evil it is designed to remedy. The persecuting rigour of St. Dominic, backed by a large standing army, would fail in enforcing the due observance of the Day of Rest on the tenants of the 'rookeries.' Desecration of Sunday is rather the symptom than the cause of irreligion; and to repress the symptom would not eradicate the disease. It would be as easy to cure an abscess by compression. The only remedy is the gradual civilization and religious education of the people. The humble Bible-woman has already done more in these districts than the whole power of the legislature could effect. She has induced many an earnest disciple of Christ to keep the Lord's Day holy, and abstain from trading, though on that day 'there is more to be got than in all the week besides;' and when we speak of self-denial for conscience-sake, let us give due honour to the sacrifice of the half-starving trader of the 'rookeries.'

The reader may form some idea of the rapid spread of these domestic missions when he is told that at the close of the year ending June 1859, there is a tabular Report of the labours of twenty-eight Bible-women in twenty-six districts, including all the poorest parts of the town and its suburbs. In that year the Bible-women had sold 4419 Bibles and Testaments 'to a class of purchasers who by no other means could have been reached, and they had 1438 subscribers on their books.' (p. 262 'Missing Link'). The Bible Society, encouraged by success, has changed its first small grant into a considerable annual allowance. It takes upon itself the whole cost of distributing Bibles. The expenses of the domestic missions are supplied by voluntary subscriptions; and, as the funds increase, penny savings-banks, coal and shoe-clubs, and such other improvements as the circumstances and wants of the district may suggest, are introduced. In one of the northern suburbs the lady-superintendent has established a school for little cripples who are too weakly to associate with their rude fellows, and who were wont to sit at home fractious and helpless, spoilt or perhaps maltreated by their parents, without the possibility of learning any useful business to keep them in after-years from the workhouse.

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The principal modification of the original plan which experience suggested was, that, as the domestic mission became every day more important, a more active and prominent part was taken by the lady-superintendents. It was not to be expected that Bible-women, capable of acting for themselves like Marian, could everywhere be found. The regulation of expenditure and the trading department could be entrusted only to ladies, and so onerous has this part of the business become that in most cases the superintendent has been obliged to call in the assistance of kind colleagues and fellow-labourers. The lady's high character is needed to inspire confidence and enforce order; her tact and knowledge of the world, to obviate difficulties and prevent misunderstandings; and above all, it is only by ladies that the evening meetings can be managed so as to give them their full effect.

Meetings of this kind had been tried by the authoress of 'Ragged Homes' some years previously to L. N. R.'s experiment in St. Giles's, as a means of civilising the inhabitants of Kensington Potteries, and her present work describes the result of her efforts. She has the merit of stating more forcibly and distinctly than any other writer on the subject with whose works we are acquainted that 'The first step to raise the social condition of the labouring classes is to instruct their wives and daughters in the arts of domestic management.' Early familiar with the ways and habits of the poor, Mrs. Bayly tells us she had even in childhood been struck with the helplessness and mismanagement of the women. 'Among the lowest class of poor,' she observes, 'the earliest marriages are contracted, and the women are utterly unfit for the duties which they undertake with less preparation than would be necessary for breaking stones on the road. I have known women under thirty years of age, with six or eight children, so totally unqualified for almost everything they had to do, that I have wondered how they managed to exist at all.'—*Ragged Homes*, p. 11. In the 'Missing Link,' p. 250, the workwomen in Westminster tell their Bible-woman 'they know no more how to clean a floor than she does how to make an artificial flower.' Even in rural districts, where the women can keep the houses tidy and the children neat, they have much to learn in the arts of management. They are bad economists and worse cooks. When they cannot obtain the best wheat flour they starve. If the farm-labourer's wife could be taught such cookery as befits the cottage, it would be equal to a considerable addition to his wages. Mrs. Bayly does not overstate the case when she says, 'So long as the wives and mothers

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of the poor continue such as we generally find them, we cannot look for any great improvement in their social position.' (*Ragged Homes*, p. 11.)

On her first taking up her residence at Kensington she accepted a proposal to preside at a mothers' meeting, where, with as little parade of instruction as possible, she endeavoured to teach her humble friends the various arts of housewifery. Her account, which is very instructive, of her first difficulties and her final success, confirms in a remarkable degree the impression made by the reports of L. N. R.'s fellow-labourers; and both are calculated to stimulate to activity the charitable by showing how great is the need of their help, and how certain the triumph of good-will, temper, and perseverance. 'There is no use finding fault,' says one of the Bible-women ('*Missing Link*, p. 229) (and this is an useful hint to our lady-visitors in rural districts); 'nothing will do short of offering them the opportunity of doing better.' In these evening meetings Mrs. Bayly gives practical lessons in cutting out, in making, and mending clothes. By her conversation she imparts hints for the management of the children and the house. She excites her hearers' interest and curiosity by narrating to them stories from the Bible, and tries to make a still deeper impression by reading and explaining portions best suited to their wants and their capacity. It is very interesting to observe in the progress of the narrative how instruction is imperceptibly conveyed to these untutored natures by example, and to watch the effects of courtesy on those who have hitherto known nothing but the undisguised selfishness of half-civilised life. At first they seemed to doubt its reality and sincerity, or to eschew it as a surrender of their natural liberty; but insensibly they yielded to its charm as they began to feel how much comfort and real freedom its restraints confer.

The only objection, Mrs. Bayly says, which she has heard made to these meetings, is, that they take mothers from their homes, whence they can ill be spared. But she replies, with great truth, that they do not occur often enough to create any practical difficulty; they take place in the evening, when the children are in bed, and the husbands, far from objecting, are delighted that their helpmates should attend, for they soon discover the practical benefits of improvement in the arts of domestic economy. The objection is founded on conjecture; the answer on actual experience. There is, in fact, no difficulty. But if by chance any real impediment occurs, Mrs. Bayly, with the practical good sense which marks the whole of her book, begs her guests to stay away, and not to apprehend that she takes their absence as a slight.

Considering



Considering the wide extent of their operations and the importance of the results produced, it is remarkable how noiselessly the domestic missions have pursued their active and laborious course. They call no meetings, they print no 'Reports,' they indite no circulars, they make no appeals. Till the publication of 'The Missing Link,' which has attracted a good deal of attention, the existence of such an association was hardly known beyond the readers of 'The Book and its Mission.' Their silent and unostentatious usefulness reminds us of the old inscription on a well:—

'Thirsty traveller, see in me  
An emblem of true charity,  
Who, while my bounties I bestow,  
Am neither seen nor heard to flow;  
But I have fresh supplies from Heaven  
For every cup of water given.'

And what is their organisation? As yet (and we think they have judged wisely) they have not encumbered themselves with the formal constitution and the complicated machinery of a mendicant charitable society. In each district the lady-superintendents with their Bible-women pursue the course they deem most expedient. The principles on which they proceed are in all the same; details may be varied according to circumstances. But though their movements are not regulated by any central committee, they have meetings at fixed periods to compare the results of their experience, and mutually to take counsel of each other. On these occasions they have the assistance of some friends of the other sex, among whom are several incumbents of London parishes. And to this council of reference the audit of their accounts and any questions of importance that may arise are submitted. There is a general fund, but for the most part each lady-superintendent obtains from her own friends and her own district the greater part of the sums her mission requires. The most accurate accounts are kept, and the balance-sheet for the half-year gives a summary of the amounts received and disbursed by each lady-superintendent. The great secret of the stability and the efficacy of the association is that *they erect no buildings and they incur no debt.* The work, says L. N. R., is comparatively inexpensive, and in part self-paying; and no fresh extension is attempted till the necessary funds are provided. For the purposes of the mission, a room in a mean street, in the centre of the population which it is desired to benefit, is hired; in time perhaps the rest of the house is added. But if a wish could raise in each district a handsome mission-house, no one acquainted with the feelings of the people would express that wish. A 'grand' room  
immediately

immediately suggests to them the contrast of their own rags, and they slink away abashed.

The Bible-women, in as far as they are engaged in the circulation of the Scriptures, are paid by the Bible Society; for the rest, by the Domestic Mission; and however the duties of the superintendent have increased in number and importance, the Bible-woman still remains the connecting link between her and her clients. 'The woman goes where the lady might not enter, and performs offices which are most fittingly rendered by persons of the working class. The floor is scrubbed by a good woman better than by a pious lady. But the lady can find the scrubbing-brush and the soap, and the materials for the soup, and the supplies of clothing—the funds which are needful, and the sympathy and counsel which are indispensable.'—*Missing Link*, p. 269.

Those who have not been able to verify the results of the domestic missions by personal visits, and those whom experience of the world has made incredulous of good, will find their faith in the successful working of the 'Missing Link' not a little strengthened by observing the great good sense which the authoress displays in the conduct of her plan, and in the rules she lays down for the selection of agents. Let no lady, she says, 'offer her services as merely honorary or intermitting.' If health, family cares, or other hindrances, leave her only a small portion of her time to dispose of, let her not undertake duties 'which are sure to increase on her in many forms.' The doubt which we own we entertained as to the possibility of finding a sufficient number of competent Bible-women is relieved by the sobriety of the following sensible passage:—

'We feel called upon to reject at once an evidently "pious gossip;" or a weakly person who merely wants a place; or a woman whose duty is to her own small family; or a pretty delicate young widow, unfit for rough work; or one who evidently thinks great things of herself, and "is sure she knows all about it" before she hears; but a clean, tidy, humble, cheerful, pleasant-spoken matron, with a good character—a character for real piety without cant—with a quiet energetic missionary spirit about her, in her own small sphere, is what we want, and gladly accept, at least for a month on probation.

'She should certainly be able to read and to write, and her lady-superintendent may improve her in both particulars before she commences her work. . . . In every one of our thirty women there is something one might wish otherwise; but God works often with very imperfect instruments, or he would not work with any of us.'—*Missing Link*, p. 283.

But nothing gives us more confidence in the usefulness and the stability of the association than the principle which it inflexibly maintains with respect to almsgiving. It ought to be superfluous



superfluous at the present day to urge the evils of indiscriminate charity. But mendicity-societies have been attacked from the pulpit,\* the heroes of religious and charitable novels are blessed by grateful swarms of virtuous mendicants, and in real life not a few old gentlemen and ladies, to the infinite annoyance of the police, who are obliged to watch their movements, shower shillings and sixpences on all the vagabonds who waylay them in their walks. To these and to all whose love of antiquity and picturesque effect leads them to admire the promiscuous dole of the Franciscan convent or the feudal castle we recommend the following passages:—

‘The abuse of Christmas gifts throughout London is patent to all those who have opportunity for observation. . . . The well-meant and frequently-repeated dole of charity, so called, only renders the receivers improvident hypocrites and ungrateful rogues. Dirt, drunkenness, and beggary, are the result of sovereigns indiscriminately showered on those who are happiest if they receive shillings, and *work for them*.’—p. 183.

‘This has been a terrible week in this district. Large gifts have been distributed, and often in money. Some old inhabitants have received as much as three sovereigns, and the scenes of drunkenness have been past description. The people have sent their boys and girls for gin, which they drink on their way back. . . . I was jostled by boys of ages varying from twelve to fourteen, with clay pipes in their mouths, a bottle sticking out of each pocket, and spilling beer from pots in each hand besides. Other children were so far gone they could not stand.’—p. 189.

It is obvious, however, that as the lady-superintendents extend their personal visitations of the poor, cases must arise in which the rule ‘never to give’ must be relaxed, and that it is sometimes relaxed we gather from passages of ‘*The Book and its Mission*’ to which we have referred, but its spirit is invariably observed. Assistance is limited to those who have none to help them and who are unable to help themselves. It is granted only for a time and in case of great desert. Nor can these occasional deviations from the strict rule be considered as altering in the slightest degree the main design of the association, which is ‘to help the poor to help themselves.’

We have conveyed a very false idea of the authoress’s meaning if we have led the reader to suppose that she makes the circulation of the Scriptures merely a pretext for social reform. It is, on the contrary, the groundwork of her whole scheme. ‘The enterprise,’ she says, ‘was undertaken only with a deep

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\* On one occasion a sermon was actually preached by a well-known Divine to this effect at Oxford, where a mendicity-society had recently been established.

sense that the message from God should be carried to every member of the human family. Its welcome from the lost and fallen was somewhat unexpected, and led her to the conclusion that the right agency, the 'Missing Link' between these unfortunates and those who wished to serve them had, *perhaps by accident*, been found' (p. 32). Experience has taught her that spiritual, intellectual, and social improvement mutually assist each other. But her 'missions' are not precisely what the term in its usual and more restricted sense denotes. The object of the Bible-woman is to excite a desire for spiritual instruction, rather than to convey it—to prepare the way for the minister of religion, and not to fill his place. Her aim is in every way to bring her clients within the range of good influences—to put them in communication with the lady-superintendents, the Scripture-reader, the minister—to lead the parents to the church, and the children to the ragged school. Nothing can be better adapted than the domestic missions, thus conducted, to assist the Church in her present dearth of labourers, or to prepare the way for her advance, as she is gradually enabled to multiply her ministers so as to meet the requirements of the population. That she may effectually be enabled to do so is most earnestly to be desired, and, in the mean time, it is a matter of rejoicing that the subject has attracted the attention of the legislature, and that private beneficence is so actively engaged in the cause. But the work requires time; and even could it be instantaneously completed, the Bible-woman, such as she is described in L. N. R.'s pages, is the pioneer that is needed to smooth the way for the parish-priest before he can penetrate the dens of London. We have great pleasure in believing that the association which has been formed for conducting these home-missions has generally been approved and in many instances is most warmly supported by the clergy. But the clergy are not, and in the present state of things cannot be, the chief conductors of its movement. Till their numbers are raised to the minimum-amount necessary to discharge their functions properly, the parochial system fails in the essential condition of its efficiency, and must to a certain extent remain in abeyance.\* It is the duty, however, of every churchman to restore it to life and vigour as far as he can. In every plan for the improvement of the parish he will endeavour to obtain the

\* The Diocese of London contains a population of about two millions and a half, and is increasing yearly at the rate of 50,000 souls. 'There are in this diocese three parishes with populations exceeding 35,000; four, with between 30,000 and 35,000; five with between 25,000 and 30,000; six, with between 20,000 and 25,000; sixteen, with between 15,000 and 20,000; and thirty-two, with between 10,000 and 15,000.' 'Appeal of the Bishop of London to the Laity of the Diocese,' the whole of which is well worth the most serious consideration.

sanction, and, as far as may be, the co-operation of the incumbent. But the incumbent, on the other hand, must remember it is his duty, and, if so low a word may be used, his policy,\* to appropriate to the Church every praiseworthy effort for good, whether he himself is the mainspring of its movement or not. He is unable to discharge to his own satisfaction the ordinary claims of his overgrown parish, and that he should actively direct all extraordinary exertions for its benefit is impossible. L. N. R. says:—

‘We wish clearly to repeat, that, helpful as it may prove to all good ecclesiastical effort, the present movement is not ecclesiastical. . . . The distribution of the word of God and the improvement of the homes of the poor are both objects in which all Christians [all Protestants, we presume, she means] can unite. There is no need for sectional division here. Let every church of Christ, or “congregation of faithful men and women,” set itself to discern the fit helpers it possesses, and give them up to the work. The self-denial of determining not to keep them and use them *congregationally* is a high element in the matter. If they are used *congregationally*—if the Bible-woman is looked upon as another curate, and if her superintendent must *necessarily* be the clergyman’s or minister’s wife—that is a very limited view of the scope of this new effort, and we think it must expect a limited blessing:—*Missing Link*, p. 285.

‘It would indeed be folly in the labourer to reject an instrument admirably suited to his purpose because his name is not engraved on its handle. It is fortunate, however, that sometimes difficulties which appear formidable in theory melt away in practice; and adjustments which could not be prospectively defined without endless cavil, are easily effected by the force of circumstances. For the most part the London clergy have shown a laudable readiness to avail themselves of such missionary agencies as they approve, though not invented nor always exclusively directed by themselves. We rejoice to hear that persons of all parties in the Church are found to be cordially co-operating with each other in promoting the Bible and domestic missions. Indeed we cannot imagine a better cure for all sectarian partisanship than a few weeks’ active visiting in the ‘rookeries,’ where the spirit of controversy is silenced in presence of the misery which all desire to relieve, and teaching is confined to those elementary truths of Christianity in which all agree.

\* The Bishop of Ripon states, when he was appointed to the rectory of St. Giles’s, he found seven City-missionaries at work in the parish. ‘I immediately,’ says his Lordship, ‘offered to the Society to take the superintendence of them, and the Society were very willing I should do so; at that time three or four of them were Dissenters, and I made a request to the Society that they would give me Churchmen instead, and they willingly did so.’—*Lords’ Report*, p. 185.

Since the date of L. N. R.'s volume the operations of the Society have been considerably extended, and the results are proportionally greater; the Bible-women now amount to nearly 100; the meetings are more numerously attended, and the lists of subscribers for Bibles and for clothing are greatly increased; but, besides this, an influence for good has been created, and is working to an extent which no statistical returns can estimate. Each reformed drunkard, each amended slattern, is a lump of leaven which must help to quicken the inert mass in which it is embedded. L. N. R.'s plan has been adopted in several provincial towns, and imitated by Christians of other communions, and everywhere with success like her own. Yet so simple is it, and so easy in its application, so well adapted to all the purposes for which it was designed, so obvious does it seem, now that it is discovered to us by the sagacity of others, that we are ready to echo the exclamation of the authoress's friends, 'Why was this Missing Link never thought of before?'

No reader, we think, who has learnt to take an active interest in social progress can lay down these volumes without an inquiry how far he can forward the cause which they advocate. And certainly never was there a time which, more than the present, required the active intervention of benevolence. Many causes concur to aggravate the pressure. At all times the high price of food reduces the poor to want, the very poorest to starvation. A severe winter long leaves its mark on the following year; and, in the present instance, the prolongation of the inclement season has ruined the traders of the 'rookeries,' whose wares are hawked about in the open air, and who depend for custom on fine weather. Alas for the flower-making and flower-selling population of St. Giles's!—for the sellers of provisions, and the holders of stalls, in the streets! Above all, the recent commercial treaties have caused, amongst those whose manufactures are affected by foreign competition, and especially among the weavers of Spitalfields and Bethnal-green, an amount of misery which is appalling, and as yet is uncheered by any hope of relief. Those who have influence and the power to make their voices heard could not serve the cause of humanity more effectually than by qualifying themselves to give their testimony as to the actual state of the London poor, and the results of the efforts which have been made for their relief. The task of visiting the 'dens,' once difficult is now easy, and a missionary or district visitor could readily be found to conduct the inquirer at once to whatever he desired to investigate. We are not now alluding to the advantage of quickening

ening his philanthropy and enlarging his knowledge by seeing what must be seen to be thoroughly felt and understood, but to the effect of his testimony on the public. It is distrust and doubt that freeze the stream of public bounty. Where confidence in the right application of money is felt, almost any amount of it can be procured.

Direct co-operation in many ways is easy, and especially by contributions to local missions or the general fund. Though no charitable agency was ever conducted with so little expenditure, money is always needed to extend the Association's plans. But no gift can be more acceptable than that of old clothes, furniture, or rags of every description; nothing is too small, nothing too mean, to be turned to use. The authoress of 'Our Houseless Poor' gives an interesting account of the great benefit which was conferred on the 'Refuge' by a tailor and a milliner who severally collected together the 'shop-snippings' and the 'refuse-cuttings' and sent them for the use of the Institution, instead of having them swept into the dust-heap.\* A similar gift would be not less acceptable to every domestic mission-house. It would tax our masculine dullness too far to attempt to describe the uses which female ingenuity can discover for what appears to us the merest rubbish. If shreds are too small and too mean for any other purpose they will serve to stuff pillows—pillows not to be despised by those who have hitherto had at the best no better resting-place for their heads than a roll of rags or a wisp of straw.†

Again, there is no doubt that similar agencies may be extended to untried parts of London, and to large provincial towns, which have all their own 'rookeries,' though it is only to a few of them that the plan of the domestic missions has as yet been applied. It is also probable that in reputable neighbourhoods, and among classes placed above indigence, something of the same kind, with the requisite modifications, might be introduced for the purpose of improving the women in the arts of housewifery. The retired and married cook of rectory or manor-

\* 'Our Houseless Poor,' p. 143. The authoress proposes to establish in every house a Refuge-bag, or a Refuse-bag—either name would do—to receive the rubbish which may be turned to such good account. She also mentions a very affecting present to the Institution, which was sent anonymously. A very large package was brought one day, which contained a child's clothes, playthings, school-books—all that had belonged to it—and a great number of handsome dresses, which, for some reason or other, had become as painful to the bereaved mother as what had belonged to her lost child itself. What was too fine to be turned to use was sold for the benefit of the Institution.

† Subscriptions, we are told, will be received by the Honourable A. Kinnaird, at Messrs. Ransoms, and Mrs. Ranyard, 13, Hunter Street, Brunswick Square. To the latter of course all contributions not in money must be addressed.

house might, for instance, undertake a culinary mission among her cottage-neighbours with good effect, if she has the tact to convey her lessons unostentatiously, and to avoid wounding the susceptibility of the labourer's wife, who, in her way, has as much pride and more touchiness than the finest lady of the land.

But it is on the rising generation that our hopes of improvement mainly rest; and surely those who devote their time and attention to the improvement of schools might devise some method of making the girls' education more practical. The 'curriculum' of the female training schools might be altered, and some provision made to render the schoolmistress more competent to give instruction in the arts of domestic management; and if this involved the sacrifice of some of what Mrs. Malaprop calls the 'superstitious branches of learning,' the gain would be greater than the loss. In large parishes a soup-kitchen might be appended to the school, and in this the elder girls, and perhaps some of the labourers' wives, might be employed to assist. The soup-kitchen must be self-supporting, for otherwise it would be no real boon to the parish, and it would not answer our purpose by serving as a school of cookery. Charitable soup may be anything; soup that is sold must be good, or it will be left on hand. Moreover, in this same kitchen, food for the sick and convalescent might occasionally be prepared, and the composition might be taught of various savoury and economical dishes, by which the labourer's purse would be spared, and his comforts increased. Against all schemes of this sort it is usual to urge, that the prejudices of the poor are invincible. They are strong certainly, but there is a sure way of overcoming them. Let each of the articles be good of its kind, and prejudice will yield to the sense of taste. Against greasy water flavoured with pepper, and misnamed soup, their prejudices, we admit, are invincible.

There is no great novelty in these suggestions. Many instances could be quoted of similar plans for the same purpose which have been carried into effect. We only press the attentive consideration of the subject on every painstaking clergyman's wife and every Lady Bountiful who takes a pride in her nicely-ordered school.

Another most effectual mode of co-operating with the present effort, and indeed with every other for the advancement of the working classes, is to improve their dwellings. We have already considered this subject as it regards the agricultural classes. In towns the difficulties to be overcome are much greater. It is not enough that the philanthropist should satisfy himself



himself what ought to conduce to the real good of the class he intends to benefit. He should consult their feelings, and, if he doubts what those feelings are, let him look within his own breast. The poor man values his free agency quite as much as his wealthy benefactor, and perhaps all the more because spiteful fortune seems always wrestling with him to deprive him of it. The model lodging-houses are not popular, though in none, as far as we know, are any restrictions imposed which the tenant ought not to impose on himself. It is worth considering whether rows of houses might not be built, or, better still, repaired, which might be let only to tenants of good character, and from which the dissolute and disorderly might be dismissed without exercising any apparent superintendence or enforcing any special restrictions.\* Moral reformation may perhaps be all the more easily effected if it is less ostentatiously pursued.

It is impossible to urge too strongly on the well-intentioned the necessity of gaining the most accurate information, and of looking on all sides of the subject, when any reform is contemplated, and especially when the interference of the legislature is desired. Mrs. Bayly commits the common mistake of attributing to laws and law-makers a greater power than they possess, and she imputes to Parliament the blame of indifference to social evils which, in fact, it does not deserve. The public are hardly aware of the numerous exertions made of late years by the legislature in the cause of humanity; for they naturally judge by the results, and not by the statute-book; and little, it must be owned, has been effected in proportion to the efforts made. Legislators, like many less distinguished philanthropists, are apt to fancy that, because their motives are pure, their knowledge must be accurate and their judgment sound; a disregard for difficulties and objections passes with them for a proof of firmness and zeal; and they set down as the enemies of improvement all who oppose them in their mode of attempting it. But the effectual correction of an abuse (not the enactment of a law for its correction), especially if it be of long standing, is a far more difficult matter than sanguine and impatient benevolence is willing to believe. Its growth probably has been encouraged by circumstances, and fostered by constantly-acting influences. Many interests have concurred in introducing the mischief, many are involved in maintaining it, and much that is lawful in itself may have grown up in connection with it. Its summary correction may often inflict damage and injustice as great as that which it amends. Lawfully-vested interests must be respected. Peter must not be robbed to pay Paul.

\* We by no means quarrel with the lodging-houses that already exist. The only question is, whether it may not be wise in future to attempt less.



A law must be such as it is possible to execute. It is vain, to make constructional regulations, which, if enforced, would oblige the demolition of thousands of dwellings. It is little more than a protest of the legislature when an act is passed against the overcrowding of lodging-houses, which both parties concerned have an interest in violating; which thousands violate nightly in spite of the police, and will continue to violate as long as it is profitable to the landlord to receive as many tenants as he can cram together, and the necessity of the tenant compels him to accept any shelter he can get.

Philanthropy, armed with the power of the legislature, is seldom satisfied with less than rapid and wholesale results. But even the legislature, all-powerful as it is in theory, meets a resistance which is insuperable if its measures are precipitate or premature. To improve sewage, drainage, and the supply of water, to encourage, or, where the occasion serves (as, for instance, when a bill is introduced for the demolition of an old 'rookery'), to enforce, the erection of new dwellings for the poor, to compel such alterations in existing buildings and such regulations for the construction of new ones as shall not press unfairly on the owner or deter the builder, are attainable objects. But the nature of things is not altered by names; it is not made lawful to rob the proprietor of a mean house by calling him a greedy speculator. We must be just, and we must be reasonable. The lodging of so vast a population must be treated on the true commercial principle of mutual benefit, and not as a matter of sentiment and charity.

We should be sorry if our remarks had the effect of discouraging any who are disposed to turn their attention to philanthropic legislation. Those who aspire to do great good must be content to take some trouble, and that not always of the most agreeable kind; not the trouble of bustle, of advocacy, of notoriety, but the trouble of patient investigation, laborious thought, and careful judgment. And in reminding them of this, we are serving them not less than the cause which they desire to benefit.

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ART. II.—*Joseph Justus Scaliger.* Von Jacob Bernays. Berlin, Herz, 1855.

FROM the space which Joseph Scaliger once filled in the world—at least in the world of books—it might have been thought that he would have found many biographers. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries every writer of any figure had his Boswell. Joseph Scaliger wrote the Life of his Father, Julius

Julius Cæsar. But Joseph himself is an exception. Professor Bernays, at the distance of two hundred and fifty years, is the first person who has undertaken to give any complete account of perhaps the most extraordinary man who has ever devoted his life to letters.

This remarkable silence is itself not without a cause. Scaliger's great works in historical criticism had outstripped any power of appreciation which the succeeding age possessed. It was not that his name was forgotten at his death; on the contrary, his fame maintained itself at least during all the first period of splendour of the Leyden school, by whom reverence for Scaliger was exalted into a *culte*. But this veneration was inspired by Scaliger's secondary labours—by his gift of emendatory criticism, and his skill in the Greek language. His merit came to consist, with these worthy commentators, in his having given good editions of two or three Greek authors, and, with the schoolmasters, in his facility in writing verses. But when it was found that the Variorum Classics were vastly better edited, and that his Greek Iambics contained metrical errors, his credit was shaken. In the philosophical eighteenth century, when the tables were turned upon classical learning, when, from having engrossed all the honours of the republic of letters, the classics were voted obsolete, or only endurable in a 'modern dress,' Scaliger became a synonym for a pedant. When Churchill, foaming at the mouth, would make his teeth meet in Warburton's flesh, he can do no worse than compare him to 'the Scaligers, the learned pedants of the sixteenth century.' Only a scholar of comprehensive knowledge, here and there one, such as Wesseling or Ruhnken, was capable of measuring the stride of Scaliger. Gradually, and recently, the revival of the study of the ancient world in Germany has drawn attention to the founder of historical criticism, and men have become aware of the gulf which divides the emendatory critics, the 'syllabarum aucupes,' the herd of grammarians and antiquaries, from the master-mind of Joseph Scaliger. 'What, when compared with him,' cries Niebuhr, 'is the book-learned Salmasius? Scaliger stood on the summit of universal solid philological learning, in a degree that none have reached since; so high in every branch of knowledge, that from the resources of his own mind he could comprehend, apply, and decide on, whatever came in his way.'

Professor Bernays, himself a rare union of comprehensive intellect with intimate familiarity with the details of the literary history of the time, has at last restored the younger Scaliger to his rightful throne. The powerful delineation of his philological labours presented by Dr. Bernays, throws quite a new light on the origin

of historical science in modern Europe. In laying before our readers some notices of the personal life of the archeritic, we must beg to refer them to the volume of the Breslau Professor for a strictly scientific survey of his philological and critical performances.

Joseph Juste de L'Escale was born at Agen, then in the province of Guienne, 4-5 August, 1540. Joseph was the tenth of fifteen children, whom his father had by his marriage, at the age of 46, with Andiette de Roques Lobesac, æt. 16. De L'Escale is only the French form of Della Scala, the title of the princely house of Verona, who were dispossessed by the Venetians. From a cadet-branch of this family Jules-Cesar, the father of Joseph, believed himself descended. When the Jesuits afterwards got the ear of literary Europe, they spent a vast amount of lying and forgery in disproving this descent, and at last succeeded in persuading the world of their story. The world was bored enough with Joseph in his capacity of '*Princeps literarum*;' it could not put up with having to acknowledge him a Prince by blood besides. The Jesuit onslaught on Scaliger—for we shall use henceforth the Latinized form of the name—is an important feature in his life, and will have to be explained presently.

At eleven years of age Joseph was sent to a Latin School at Bordeaux, a school where his elder brother Sylvius had been before him, and whither two younger brothers accompanied him. A fondness for bringing celebrated names into contact has made the biographers say that George Buchanan was one of his masters. But Buchanan had quitted Bordeaux, where he had been a master at the Gymnase, or High School, in 1544; and at the time that Scaliger went to school there,—not to the High School, but one for younger boys, kept by Simon Beaupré, of Orleans,—Buchanan was a prisoner of the Inquisition in Portugal. A plague—or rather *the* plague of 1554—breaking out at Bordeaux, the boys were sent home. Joseph never returned to school; nor did he get any regular instruction at home. But he enjoyed what was more useful to him than any schooling could have been—daily intercourse with his father. Julius Scaliger, though advanced in the seventies, and broken by rheumatic gout, still retained much of the vigour of his extraordinary mind. He soothed his declining years with writing Latin verses. Scarce a day passed but Joseph was called upon to write to his dictation eighty, or one hundred, on one occasion two hundred, lines. The prosody and grammar of these effusions are far from exemplary, but there is a command of the resources of the Latin vocabulary which we may seek in vain in the thinner diction of the best modern Latinists.

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Besides thus acting as his amanuensis, he was required by his father to produce daily a short declamation in Latin prose, turning on any story or matter of fact he chose to select. In other respects he was left to himself, and we do not hear of his yet attempting any course of classical reading. But the daily practice of speaking and writing a language, under the control of one who knows it thoroughly, is worth more to a boy than any amount of reading. We may fairly ascribe to this exercise the athletic Latin prose which appears already fully matured in Joseph's earliest production, the '*Conjectanea in Varronem*,' and that firm grasp of the principles of versification which distinguished him from all the scholars of his time. Bentley's judgment, '*nemo in arte metrica Scaligero peritior*,' holds good, without exception, of all scholars before and after Scaliger till Bentley himself. The praise is relative; for no one knew better than Bentley that Scaliger was not free from various erroneous opinions on scansion, which Bentley himself was the first to correct. To his own keen taste we must attribute it, that Joseph, while he imbibed the good, rejected the bad. He has escaped the faults of his father's style; the ambitious strain which in Julius's Latinity fatigues the attention. The last thing which a youthful taste learns is the might of simplicity. The more artificial the model, the more captivating to the tyro. We should remember this, if we would do justice to the originality and native idiom which distinguishes Joseph's style, equally free from the platitudes of Ciceronianism, and the hopeless involutions of contemporary French Latin.

More important, however, than the technical tuition, such as it was, was the domestic intercourse he enjoyed as his father's constant companion during the last four years of his life. To this we may trace his disposition for *real* knowledge, and the observation of nature. His subsequent superiority over other scholars lay not merely in his being a better scholar, but in his being something more than a scholar. The knowledge of the other philologists, however acute or book-learned, is bounded by their books. They know what the ancients said on any matter, but have seldom any practical knowledge of their own. Scaliger, on the contrary, never loses sight of the actual world. This power in him is, perhaps, a natural gift; nothing more, in short, than vigour of understanding. But its habitual direction and employment was an impulse communicated by the father. Intimately connected with this were the pains taken by Julius to impress upon all his children the habit of truthfulness. 'We never went before him,' says Joseph, 'but he bid us "Never tell a lie."' In Joseph truth became less a moral habit and a rule of conduct

duct than the very law of his intellect. Its manifestations explain his personal history as well as his books. He found his vocation in philology in the single-eyed endeavour to carry the real and the true into regions in which arbitrary caprice, fancy, tradition, and prejudice, had hitherto passed unquestioned. His straightforwardness in speaking, both of men and things, brought upon him no little of that personal malignity of which he afterwards became, in such a peculiar way, the object. Here, again, the young man's simple nature assimilated the good, and threw off the unwholesome elements of the nourishment presented to him. He had no taste—perhaps he was too young—for the subtle and sophisticating Aristotelic speculations in which the father revelled. Joseph afterwards read up Greek philosophy as matter of duty, but never dwells upon it with pleasure. In his rare allusions to such topics we may even think we trace a tone of positive distaste. Dr. Bernays says there are only twenty quotations from Plato to be found in all his books. These quotations, too, are chiefly from the lesser dialogues, occasionally only from the *Timæus* and the *Laws*. In quoting the latter on one occasion he adds, 'that it is a long time since he read that dialogue.'

It may excite our surprise that Julius should not have attempted more instruction with a youth of the promising capacity he must have discerned in his son Joseph. We must call to mind the distractions caused by the pestilence, which in 1555 reached Agen, and drove the family into the country; the father's age and infirmities, and his probable expectation that his end was imminent, when his son would be free to return to Bordeaux. Besides this he had neither the intention nor the wish to bring up any of his children to letters as a pursuit. It does not appear that Joseph had learned the rudiments of Greek at the time of his father's death, 21st October, 1558. He certainly had not learned more than the rudiments. He had seen enough, however, to understand that 'not to know Greek was to know nothing.' The death of his father affected him so deeply as for some time to disorder his health. As soon as he had recovered from the blow, he determined to make good this deficiency.

Adrian Turnebus was at that time the most renowned Greek scholar in France and in Europe. For a youth of eighteen, who had yet to begin his grammar, less than the first Grecian of the day might have served. But this is a truth which only experiment can teach us. Joseph made his way to Paris, and enrolled himself in Turnebus's class, that he might imbibe Greek at the fountain-head. A trial of two months opened his eyes, and he understood that to begin one must begin at the beginning; a lesson, in learning which two months were well spent. He adopted

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the resolution—be it remembered he is nineteen—to shut himself up in his chamber, and become his own teacher. It is not said, but we may be certain that it was instinct, not accident, which guided him to Homer. With the aid of a Latin translation he went through it in one-and-twenty days. From Homer he passed in order down the series of the Greek poets; and four months sufficed to devour the whole. The same instinct, and the same spirit of determination, guided him here in not interrupting his poetic reading by any deviation into prose; the difference of idiom being, he may have felt, distinct dialects, incapable of being mastered at one effort. As he went along, he formed a grammar for himself by his own observation of the analogies, the only grammar he ever learnt. Huet, alluding to the Scaliger feat, thinks it incredible, but on no better ground than that he himself had made an unsuccessful attempt to repeat the experiment. Gibbon, more modestly, declares that he was well satisfied with himself when he got through the same task in as many weeks as Scaliger took days. We might quote against these authorities Wytenbach despatching Athenæus in fourteen days; or Milton's assertion that he had read 'all the Greek and Latin classics' in five years, if it were not that parallel is misplaced in speaking of Scaliger and Greek. There are things which a man cannot teach himself. And this he had now to experience, when elated by his victory over Greek, he attempted to carry Hebrew by storm in the same manner. He did ultimately acquire both Hebrew and Arabic. But Dr. Bernays, who has the best title to judge in the case of the first-named tongue, pronounces that he never reached, in Hebrew, that practical hold upon the idiom—the *usus linguæ* which was the foundation of his critical skill in Latin and Greek. This is sufficient to correct the idle romance of those biographers who, in their ignorance, make Scaliger's mythical eminence to consist in his knowing many languages. He spoke thirteen languages, says one of the most recent of these open-mouthed wonderers (Poirson, *Histoire du Règne de Henri IV.*, vol. ii., p. 460), as if Scaliger was a Wotton or a Mezzofanti. It illustrates the way in which the French manufacture history, to say that the origin of this extravagance is a flight of Du Bartas. (*Sem. seconde.*)

'Scaliger, merveille de notre age,

Le Soleil des sçavants, qui parle éloquentment

L'Hébreu, Grecquois, Roman, Hispaniol, Alemant,' &c.

Of the four years Scaliger spent at the university of Paris, nothing is known. In 1563 he received an invitation from a nobleman of Poitou, Louis Chastaigner, Lord of La Roche-Pozay, to travel with him. The acquaintance, which may have been  
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formed at the university, ripened into friendship. For thirty years Scaliger was domesticated in this family, and when he finally quitted France in 1694, one of the sons accompanied him to Holland in the character of pupil. A connection which might be useful to him as a young man became necessary to him in after-life; for in the course of the Civil Wars his little patrimony perished in the wreck of the paternal property at Agen, and the house of La Roche-Pozay became his asylum. That Scaliger felt this dependence is certain: 'All my life,' he says, 'I have eaten the bread of charity' (*eleemosynis vixi*). But it was made as little galling to him as such a clientship can be. As long as Louis lived, he treated Scaliger as a brother; and the sons, Jean, who succeeded his father as Lord of La Roche-Pozay in 1594, and Henri-Louis, afterwards Bishop of Poitiers, inherited their father's esteem for their illustrious guest. Of the period of thirty years, 1563-1594, not more than half was actually spent by Scaliger under his patron's roof. But it was always open to him, and his books and papers—his only property—seem to have been deposited in one of his Poitevin chateaux. Such arrangements, where the great man took into his house a man of learning nominally as his secretary or tutor to his children, but really as companion to himself, were common enough at that time and long after. So D'Ossat, afterwards Cardinal, read Plato with Paul de Foix; so Locke lived with Shaftesbury; so Bentley, though only tutor to his sons, ruled Stillingfleet's household, as the Bishop almost complainingly describes it. It does not appear that the elder La Roche-Pozay was a man of peculiarly classical tastes. Like all the seigneurs of that disturbed period, he led of necessity a semi-military life, in camps, and forays, and sieges. But even the military noblesse of that day read Greek; and Louis studied the theory of tactics in Polybius, which Scaliger expounded to him as they rode. We gather too that they had read, at least, the Latin poets systematically through, though only Propertius and Statius are named (*Comm. in Propert.* ii. 2, 12).

These thirty years, during which Scaliger acquired his knowledge and his reputation, were by no means years of quiet and leisure. In reviewing the period himself, at its close, he says (1594):—

'If in our editions of classical authors hitherto we have not given satisfaction to men of learning, and we know too well that we have not, my excuse is the desultory nature of my life, and the want of leisure, the indispensable condition of study. From the year 1563, when I first went to live with M. de La Roche-Pozay, up to the present moment, I have had no rest for mind or body, but have been harassed by incessant anxieties, or movement from place to place.'

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His biographer is inclined to think this complaint a little overcharged. But it certainly agrees with all the notices contained in his correspondence relating to the period in question. And when we look at the disturbed state of the country—and especially of Poitou, the Marche, and the Limosin—during the greater part of the time, we shall rather wonder how study so systematic could be carried on at all, in a country where every château was at any moment liable to be beaten up by a raid of the foe, or to have to find quarters for a troop of its own partizans. He has repeatedly to excuse himself from answering some query, because he is separated from his books. 'N'eust été cette maudite et meschante guerre,' he could (1587) have communicated to Dalechamp an important MS. for his edition of Pliny. 'All public disorders are enemies to this sort of literature,' complains Markland, meaning that the public have thus something else to think of. But this is a light evil. The man who was not content 'scribere sibi et doctis' would have little of Scaliger's sympathy. His own complaint, 'inter arma non esse Musis locum,' meant much more. It was the complaint of a man who had handled a matchlock, and who had had to snatch a hasty read of a pocket classic by the light of a camp-lantern.\* To reading such as Montaigne's, a bit here and then a bit there 'à pièces descousues,' such a life might be even favourable. Scaliger, however, made it compatible not only with the systematic study of the whole of the remains of the ancient world, but with a work of plan, compass, and concentration, such as the 'De Emendatione Temporum.'

We have said that of this period of thirty years during which Scaliger was the inmate of the de La Roche-Pozay family, only half, or thereabouts, was actually passed under their roof. The first four years, 1563-1567, were occupied in travelling with the young lord of Roche-Pozay, who was making his grand tour. Dr. Bernays makes him go as ambassador to the Holy See; but this must be an error. The Roman embassy of Louis de La Roche-Pozay was at a later period, in 1576. In 1564 he was not yet thirty: scarcely a ripe ambassadorial age, but the very best age for a tour of instruction. Italy was their first destination. They made a prolonged stay at Rome, went on to Naples, and returned to Rome. At Rome Scaliger found his countryman, Marc Antoine, commonly known by the surname of Muretus. Muretus, when a youth, had been a great favourite with Julius Scaliger; had visited at his house at Agen, and used to call him 'Father.' He had afterwards alienated Joseph by passing off

\* 'Tuque mihi vigilis studiorum conscia cura,  
Illustrans noctes parca lucerna meas.'—*Poemata*, No. 44.

upon him some Latin lines of his own composition as a 'fragment of Attius;' and Joseph had retorted by an epigram which perhaps more than paid off the score. Muretus now handsomely sunk the quarrel, and remembered only the old intimacy. He undertook to show the strangers the lions of Rome. He very soon detected that in the son of his old friend he had to do with an extraordinary man, and as long as their stay in the Eternal City lasted, Muretus never quitted Scaliger's side. He was able to be especially useful, besides, in making him acquainted with all the literati of the place. For Muretus, though in his youth he had narrowly escaped being burnt at fanatical Toulouse for the laxity of his talk and his behaviour, had quite recovered himself, enjoyed high consideration at the Court of Rome, and was in communication with all the Italian *érudits*. Leaving Rome, the travellers visited the north of Italy and Venice. As may be supposed, Scaliger did not neglect the opportunity of seeing the home and the graves of his ancestors. His address to Verona—choliambics in imitation of Catullus's lines to Sirmio—which was then under the rule of Venice, breathes a spirit of no feigned hatred against the 'City of Pirates, the city of rapine and perjury, the poison-cup and the dagger,' the ruiner and oppressor of the country of the Scaligers, the proscriber of their very name. It is strange now—when general sympathy is on the side of Venice, as fallen under strange masters—to go back to a time when the republic was herself the oppressor and ravisher instead of the victim—'the arbiter of others' fate,' instead of 'suppliant for her own.' On Venetian territory he took the precaution of concealing his name. For the Venetians were very jealous of their acquisition of the Veronese, and chose to give out that the family of the Della Scala was extinct; an assertion they would assuredly have made good upon all claimants of the name who might venture within reach of their police.

Of Italy, or rather of the Italians as they then were, we shall not wonder that Scaliger carried away an unfavourable impression. It was the time of the Catholic and conservative reaction against the paganism and indifference of the *Renaissance*. Religious profession, and zeal for the Church, were now in vogue. But Scaliger's eye was not imposed upon by appearances:—'The Italians are a set of atheists,' was the exaggerated phrase in which he utters the opinion he had been obliged to form. The phrase requires interpretation. It is aimed rather at the hypocrisy than at the professed scepticism of the time. Men did not disbelieve the truths of the Christian religion, but they affected a zeal for the interests of the Church beyond what they really felt. The free and ardent spirit of curiosity which had  
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animated the Italian mind in the early part of the century was exhausted. In its place had come, not secret unbelief, but callous acquiescence. The soul, the heart, and the imagination were dormant or dead, and were replaced by a cold and superficial polish of the understanding. The zeal for the interests of the Church which animated the religious orders was not participated in by the literati, but they submitted to it. They were cowed, not converted. Literature had degenerated into style—a prolix and insipid effusion, which came not from the mind. They had no longer thought or knowledge to inspire their pen, yet their pen was more prolific than ever. To all this Scaliger's habit of mind was in antipathy. He could care for no knowledge but what was real. Truth, not amusement, was his aim. His verbal criticism, on his skill in which so much stress has at times been laid, was never to him more than the road to exact knowledge. The Italian scholar necessarily seemed to him a frivolous and emasculate being, who used the classics as playthings, ignorant of all that grand experience of life and the world which was wrapped up in them. The dislike was, of course, mutual. The simplicity and directness of Scaliger's character provoked the bitterest hatred on the part of these affected *virtuosi*; at least, the foundation was now laid of that rancorous hostility with which he was afterwards pursued by the whole clique of Catholic Latinists.

There were, however, several exceptions to a dislike which was rooted in the very foundations of character. Where his feelings were interested, Scaliger could like and love even where he did not esteem. It is difficult to think that he esteemed Muretus as a scholar. But this stylist without convictions, who could write at least as well as Cicero, only that unfortunately he had nothing to say, found his way to Scaliger's affections. Scaliger never names him but with a certain tenderness; grieves for his death (in 1586); and always holds up his style as a model of prose Latinity. He forgave him his panegyric on the massacre of St. Bartholomew, evidently from the knowledge that Muretus did not mean anything by it, and would have been as ready to write on the other side had he been retained on it. 'There are not many Muretuses in the world,' he said; 'if he only believed in the existence of a God as well as he can talk about it, he would be an excellent Christian.' On another occasion, in comparing Muretus with Lipsius, he is made to say, 'Lipsius is nothing to him'—a judgment which ought to have guided those compilers of literary history who have pretended to enter the narrow pedant Lipsius in a 'triumvirate' with Scaliger and Casaubon. To the Italian friends of Scaliger must be added

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the laborious antiquary Onufrio Panvinio. As a native, and the historian, of Verona, he had a double claim to a good reception from Scaliger, who was introduced to him by Muretus. But the early death (in 1568) of this prolific compiler—at thirty-nine he had written more volumes than he was years old—interrupted an acquaintance to which Scaliger seems to look back with interest. With these exceptions, we find no traces of partiality for the Italians or their ways; for Rome and its pharisaical religion only the deepest aversion. The lines in which he bids farewell to Rome in 1565—he never returned there—are of such Archilochian bitterness that Dr. Bernays will not reprint them. They are given by Des Maizeaux in his notes on the ‘Scaligerana;’ but the reader can dispense with them, as they only express the writer’s intense feeling without either elegance or point.

From Italy the travellers passed to England. In the spring of 1566 we find Scaliger in Edinburgh, at that moment when the public speech was of ‘the discord between the Queen and her husband’ (*Randolph to Cecil*, 25 April, 1566). But he brought away from our island a not more favourable impression of our countrymen than our neighbours in general were used to do at that period. The barbarism of our manners, and the want of those material accessories of civilisation among the middle class which were in use on the Continent, predisposed our visitors against us; while the energy and quick circulation of free life which now extorts their respect was not yet developed. He made, however, some acquaintances in Oxford and Cambridge; though his most valued English correspondents, William Camden and Richard Thomson, were later introductions. For Rainolds, President of Corpus, the most learned theologian in the English Church of that, perhaps of any time, Scaliger conceived a profound respect, and lamented his death (1607) as a calamity to all the Protestant churches. Rainolds and Whitaker were known to him only by their writings. Camden had never been out of England, and was not personally acquainted with Scaliger; but he introduced himself by letter at a later period, forwarding to Scaliger a copy of his ‘*Britannia*’ (1594). His only regular English correspondent was Thomson, a person well known in the learned world of his day, though now so wholly forgotten, that Dr. Bernays calls him ‘one Thomson.’ He was an M.A. of Clare Hall, and one of the translators of the Bible, being grouped with Andrewes, Overall, and Saravia, for the portion from Genesis to Kings. Having been born in Holland, though of English parents, he had been led to form foreign connections. He had travelled in France and Italy, sought out the acquaintance of

scholars

scholars wherever he went, and maintained correspondence with them afterwards. He returned to England and to Cambridge in 1599, and from that time made the University his residence, becoming proctor in 1612. In his youth he had played at emending the classics. Farnaby acknowledges his assistance in his preface to his 'Martial,' in the *dilettante* Italian style apparently. But in James's reign he was drawn in, like all the rest, to the growing theological polemics, in which all learning was wrecked. He became a strenuous champion of the Arminian side, and wrote pamphlets 'by order' in support of Andrewes. The style of these productions is better than their matter, and bears marks of imitation of Scaliger's peculiar Latin. He does not venture to name Scaliger, whose name was unpopular with the theological belligerents, owing to his known contempt for their ignorant squabbles, but he quotes him once as 'the Muses' nightingale.' The stock of knowledge he brings to the controversy is not more than respectable, and what may be measured by the fact that he is found consulting Scaliger by letter as to whether S. Irenæus wrote in Latin or Greek. When we find Prynne styling Thomson 'a dissolute, ebrious, and luxurious English-Dutchman,' we must remember that any licence of abuse was considered justifiable against an 'Arminian.'

Next to seeing and learning to know each other, the great object of the journeys of the learned, then, was to see MSS. At the present day, when the whereabouts of all MSS. of the classics is ascertained, an editor may still have to undertake a journey to Rome or to Florence for the purpose of collation. In the sixteenth century, when a scholar had read all the Greek that was in print, it was still necessary that he should visit the great libraries, in order to complete his knowledge by reading what as yet existed only in MS. Though, by the end of the century, the hopes long entertained of recovering more of the capital productions of classical antiquity had pretty well died away, there was still much of the Lower Empire, of the Ecclesiastical writers, of the Grammarians and Lexicographers, of great value for illustration and interpretation of the nobler remains. The harvest of fragments too, scarcely yet after the lapse of 300 years all gleaned, had already begun. During his visit to Italy, Scaliger's attention seems to have been given chiefly to inscriptions. The labour he bestowed on their transcription, a task which the frivolous Italian literati, who lived among them, were too supine to undertake, is evidenced by the great collection of Gruter. In this 'Corpus Inscriptionum,' published by the Commelins at Heidelberg, in 1601, a large, if not the largest, part, was supplied by Scaliger. Indeed so great was Scaliger's share in this work, commenced

commenced at his suggestion, continued by his encouragement, and deriving its chief value from his corrections, and the Indexes, the labour of ten months of his life, that Gruter is overpowered by his ally, and driven to the unmanly device of concealing the extent of his obligations. In Italy, Scaliger may have thought his time better employed upon this most perishable class of ancient relic. In England, where inscriptions were not to be had, his attention was turned to the libraries. He seems to have been disappointed at not finding here more Codexes. From this it may be inferred that the fact was not yet generally known, that no English monastic house had employed itself in the transcription of Greek MSS. He soon perceived, however, that our strength lay in our National Chronicles. Without any of the *Renaissance* pedantry which contemned everything not written in Ciceronian Latin, Scaliger admired the variety of our monkish chroniclers, in which, for the Anglo-Norman period, we yield neither to France nor Germany. None of these were as yet in print—Archbishop Parker led the way, with Matthew of Westminster, in 1567—and Scaliger must have formed his opinion from the written copies. What Greek we had did not escape him. He notices the Cambridge MS. of ‘Origen against Celsus,’ which was not printed till 1605, an edition for which the Cambridge copy was not employed. The ‘Lexicon’ of Photius, which was afterwards borrowed by Scaliger from England, was not the famous ‘Codex Galeanus,’ which had not yet found its way into Trinity College Library, but a transcript made by Richard Thomson at Florence.

His first interest was for books, but by no means his only one. We have no notice of his travels, and it is only from casual hints in his later writings—a note here and there in Eusebius, or an allusion in his ‘Table-Talk,’ that we see how various was his observation. The change in the patois with each day’s journey in Italy; the absence in England of seignorial jurisdiction; the merit of the Border ballads; the beauty of Mary Stuart; our burning coal instead of wood in the north; the indolent lives of Fellows of Colleges; the universal prevalence among us of the sectarian point of view; these little memoranda of travel are dropped here and there quite casually, and belong to that habit of his mind already noticed, which sought to bring all the parts of common knowledge to bear upon the illustration of the ancients. If in these matters of fact he is not always accurate, the errors will be found chiefly in the ‘Table-Talk,’ and are ascribable to his reporters. But he is often right where his critics are wrong, *e. g.*, he speaks of the rich endowments of the Church of England, but qualifies this by saying, that the Crown has invaded them,



them, and extorted a moiety for itself. Here the editor, Le Clerc, contradicts. But Le Clerc did not know that Scaliger was speaking of those scandalous cases, notorious enough in the reigns of Elizabeth and James, where bargains were made for pensions to be paid out of the episcopal revenues to royal favourites, or sees kept vacant while a minister drew their income. So the see of Ely lay vacant for eighteen years (1581-99); and Andrewes, as is well known, was kept out of preferment, because he refused to be a party to a transaction of this nature.

The feeling with which Scaliger left Italy was one of pity or contempt for the mental and moral enervation of its educated men. That with which he regarded the English was rather aversion for our manners. It was the repugnance of his French nature; for in these things Scaliger was a genuine Frenchman. Time and experience did not qualify this sentiment. As late as 1603 he writes to Casaubon, then meditating settlement in this country, to dissuade him:—

‘You would be going amongst a people who cherish a traditional hatred of the French, and exchanging a certainty for an uncertainty. Settlement in a foreign country is at best a hazardous experiment. You would be incurring a great expense, and only get laughed at for your pains by all the court-monkeys. I could tell you many tales of their inhuman disposition, their inhospitable treatment of foreigners, their peculiar grudge against our country. Even if it be in your fates, that you shall go to reside in England, at least do nothing to precipitate the event.’

There is in these words something of the bitterness of an exile; Scaliger had been ten years in Holland when this was written. But he never speaks in this way of his hosts, the Dutch, though all the honour and consideration with which they treated him did not compensate him for the loss of his own country. This ill-repressed antipathy to English manners is the more remarkable, because Scaliger had no Catholic sympathies. The repulsion was not one of creed. In common with all the Protestants, he looked to Elizabeth as the protector of the reformed interest in Europe. In spite of community of political interest his freer nature could not accommodate itself to the starched puritanical reserve which formed the typical character of the English gentleman of that age, and was the very mould in which our domestic virtues were originally cast.

In this patriotic spirit he returned to France only to find that his own country offered him neither hope of an honourable career, nor opportunity of studious retirement. It was in a blaze with Civil War—that which is styled by historians the Second War of Religion (1567-8). In this, and in the third which grew  
out



out of it, Scaliger was involved through his connexion with the La Roche-Pozay family. For three years he led an unsettled camp-life; moving from château to château in the train of his patron, if not actually fighting under his banner. He lost a great part of his early friends in the murderous fights; was cheated out of his patrimony during the period of lawlessness; and noted with despair the steady progress of religious faction and its concomitant barbarism among the noblesse, penury and misery among the peasantry. The political horizon of France and of Europe was overcast by the portentous shadow of Spain—the Spain of the Jesuits and the Inquisition; of Philip II. and the Armada. The hearts of the brave and free were failing them for fear. That fatal temper was forming, mixed of fanaticism and infidelity, which broke out afterwards in the St. Bartholomew and the League. France was no longer a place for letters or learning. It was indeed scarcely a time to complain of the neglect of science when virtue itself was in danger of perishing; when, under the auspices of the infamous Catherine, perfidy, disloyalty, and treachery, were becoming religious duties. Scaliger determined to withdraw from the sickening scene. Disgusted with life almost before he had entered upon it—he was (1570) in his thirtieth year—he quitted Poitou and took refuge at Valence, in Dauphiné. The comparative security of this remote province, and the fame of Cujas, the greatest civilian who had arisen since the revival of letters, had drawn hither a crowd of auditors from all parts. Cujas received him with open arms as a friend, not as a pupil, and shortly succeeded in raising him from his despondency. He entered with his usual zest into the spirit of the place, undertaking the study of the Roman Law, to which he had been till then a stranger. His proficiency was rapid, and Cujas would have had him embrace the profession, offering him an assistant-professorship. But Scaliger was true to himself. He never for a day hesitated as to his own career, or played with this and that. He had vowed himself to philology, and he remained faithful to it as his only and sufficient calling. He would master the Civil Law but as an instrument of philological inquiry. How indispensable a knowledge of this living tradition of Rome is for the understanding of the Empire, scholars have always recognized. What light may be reflected back from the Imperial Law upon the earlier period of the Republic has first been shown in our own day by the brilliant results educed by Professor Mommsen and the school forming around him. Cujas, too, was not only a great lawyer, but a great critic. Scaliger pronounced—but this was before Casaubon had published—D'Aurat and Cujas the only living critics capable of

of making a conjectural emendation. Cujas's valuable collection of MSS. was treasure-trove to Scaliger. He fell upon them, and was almost testily complained of by their owner 'd'avoir depucellé les manuscrits.' In his will Cujas had left his books to one who knew so well how to use them. This was after the death of his only son. But three years before his own death, Cujas's second wife brought him a daughter, and Scaliger did not get a single volume. The library, as well as the very considerable fortune which the father had amassed, were speedily dissipated by Susanna Cujas, in the course of her wild career.

Upon these days of his peaceful retirement in Dauphiné Scaliger always looked back with a peculiar satisfaction, though a sad one. He seems to have thought that if ever creative impulse stirred within him it was then—

‘Tunc, tunc poeta, tunc Apollini carus  
Vixi; Camenis tunc amicus audiui;  
Nec ulla surdo plectra movimus Phœbo.’

The sympathy of Cujas had first rallied him from a state of intellectual dependency. In the circle gathered round the great Jurist he found, for the first time, a congenial sphere: a new and promising field of study opened before him. The enthusiasm for his science, which Cujas knew how to inspire into his pupils, communicated itself to Scaliger. Politics and party passions were banished from this sanctuary of Themis. ‘Nihil hoc ad edictum prætoris’ was the playful way in which Cujas was wont to stop dispute which began to take a political turn. Twenty years younger than Cujas, Scaliger would inspire no jealousy in his master, whose reputation was now established beyond the reach of rivalry. In the voluntary homage of the young law-students, who flocked from every quarter round the ‘Pearl of Lawyers,’ was laid the foundation of that universal fame to which Scaliger slowly rose. Upon this growing celebrity Cujas placed the stamp of his own countersign, when, in his published ‘Commentary on the Digest,’ he accepted an emendation as supplied him by ‘doctissimus Josephus Scaliger, a quo pudet dissentire.’ Here too was formed, among other friendships, one most valued by Scaliger and only broken by death, with De Thou (Thuanus), the future President of the Parliament of Paris. The ‘History’ of De Thou, once the source in which every practical statesman sought political wisdom—Johnson designed to translate it, Pitt quoted it in Parliament—is now scarcely known except to professed historians. In his ‘Own Life’ (*De Vitâ Suâ*), De Thou thus speaks of his intimacy with Scaliger:—

'It was at Valence that my friendship with Joseph Scaliger was commenced. He had gone thither, on Cujas's invitation, in company with Louis de Monjosieu and George Du Bourg. This friendship, begun in the daily intercourse of Valence, has been continued since, either by personal communication or by correspondence, for the space of thirty-eight years uninterrupted. This friendship is the pride and pleasure of my life. All the calumny and misrepresentation which it has occasioned me, are, in my opinion, balanced by the satisfaction of an intercourse so honourable and so delightful to me. I know that I have been reproached with it by mischievous men; but I both glory in it publicly, and cherish it in my own breast. As for Scaliger's sentiments on religion, I solemnly affirm that I never heard this great man dispute on the controverted points of faith; and I am well assured that he never did discuss them but upon provocation, and then reluctantly. Independently of his religious opinions, were there not in Scaliger the most transcendent attainments of human erudition? And did not the singular endowments bestowed upon him by Heaven claim the veneration of all worthy men?'

This apology for a friendship with a Huguenot is a humiliating confession of the degraded state of public opinion in France at the time it was written. But it belongs to a later period, 1601.

This time of sunshine at Valence was as transient as the happy days of our life too commonly are. It was just that brief interval of about two years which separated the third war of religion from the St. Bartholomew (1570-72). That bloody night, however, was not the occasion of Scaliger's leaving Valence. Queen Catherine had deputed Monluc, Bishop of Valence, to negotiate the crown of Poland for her son the Duke of Anjou. Cujas recommended Scaliger to the bishop as one of his retinue. On the 22nd of the fatal month of August, 1572, Scaliger, who happened to be at Lyons on business, received notice to meet Monluc at Strasburg. He set off, taking the route through Switzerland, and slept at Lausanne on the dreadful night of the 24th, ignorant of the tragedy then enacting in Paris. Not till he reached Strasburg did he learn the horrid news. The other members of the embassy had already arrived at the rendezvous, but Monluc did not make his appearance. Disconcerted by the failure of their chief, and fearing to remain so near the French frontier, while alarming accounts were hourly coming in of the fury of the Catholic populace in the provincial towns, the party determined on dispersing. Scaliger was too glad to regain the shelter of Swiss territory. He bent his steps, naturally, to Geneva.

For Scaliger, as we have said, was a Huguenot. The date of his conversion, a step so decisive of the colour of his future life, cannot be fixed to a day, only because there was no formal

formal abjuration and reception. He was brought up in the Catholic faith, in which his father had died. But the opinions of Julius had taken towards the close of his life a very liberal complexion. Not that he embraced Lutheran tenets, but he was disgusted with the wickedness of the dominant churchmen. In his series of 'The Saints' there is a short poem addressed to St. Peter, which might have been written by a Protestant, and which the Jesuits accordingly mutilated when they reprinted the volume. 'Though my father,' said Joseph, 'had not a knowledge of true religion, yet, had he lived in these days of the Jesuits, he would have hated them; for anything like falsehood and hypocrisy was what he could not abide.' It was not, however, till Joseph had been four years in Paris, and had completed his university course, that he was first taken by a friend, M. de Buzanville, to hear a reformed preacher. After this he submitted to the regular instruction of a Huguenot pastor, and attended his last mass during his stay at Rome, in 1660 probably, when he was twenty-six years of age. We may allow the predisposing causes of this conversion to have been the bias received from his father's philosophical opinions, from the example of Turnebus and De Salignac, and the indignation excited in young and generous minds by the cruelties with which the Government sought to put down the reformed opinions in France. In Scaliger's youth hardly a day passed on which some unhappy Huguenot was not roasted alive for his religion. Such brutal scenes most surely revolt those minds which they do not subdue. But, after allowing for these influences, we must look within rather than without, for the momentum which Scaliger's religious convictions obeyed. The creed of a scholar or a man of science is often a matter of small interest to him; he wears the religion of his country as he does its garb. With Scaliger it was not so. He could not have been a Catholic. For his knowledge was not a professional skill, a linguistic, a verbal art, or a literary taste. His criticism was to him an instrument of truth. Philology was not an amusement for the ingenious, but the mode of ascertaining the true sense of ancient records. And the controversy as it came to stand at the end of the century between Catholic and Protestant was much more one of interpretation than it has since become. We now think Scaliger's dictum, 'All controversies in religion arise from ignorance of criticism,' (*Non aliunde dissidia in religione pendent quam ab ignorantia Grammatica*, 1 Scalig., p. 86), somewhat overdrawn. But it was almost literally true at that time. Not only had the Catholic theologians rested their case on all sorts of false renderings and expositions of the Scripture and fathers, on supposititious documents, on historical frauds, on exploded hypo-

theses, but their principle of interpretation was a rotten one—the principle, namely, that that is the true sense of a text which is conformable to the received doctrine of the Church. A clear scientific insight into the laws of interpretation inevitably forces the mind which arrives at it to rebel against such a maxim. The spell is broken, and it becomes aware that that may be the true sense of Scripture which the Church may have ruled to be heresy. It was, therefore, impossible in the sixteenth century for a consummate critic to be other than a Protestant. ‘Jamais superstitieux ne fût docte,’ is a saying of Scaliger which intimates his consciousness of the real alliance between knowledge and the Protestant faith. And, in another conversation, he says of his Augsburg correspondent, Welser—‘Romanism (*superstitio*) prevents Welser from knowing more than he does.’ A mere antiquary like Sigonio, Latinists like Lipsius or Muretus, textual critics and collators of MSS., might be either Catholic or Protestant, as it happened. But where character and intellect, knowledge and will, are intimately blended, the entire man is of a piece and uniform; his opinions are no longer matter of accident or impulse; he is the law unto himself. The whole of Scaliger’s utterance, whether in conversation or in his books, is stamped with this noble surrender of the understanding to the truth, whatever it might be, as the inevitable law of his thoughts which he had no choice but to obey.

The name of Scaliger appears in the City-Register as admitted citizen of Geneva, 8th September, 1572. Geneva became again at the St. Bartholomew, what it had been thirty years before, on occasion of the edict of Chateaubriand, the city of refuge for the unhappy Protestants flying from death. It was now filled with refugees from all parts of France, and they were received, as before, with hearty welcomes. Among other former friends whom Scaliger fell in with here was one of the Valence circle of students, Claude Groulart. His name stands next on the Register to that of Scaliger as ‘Ecolier de Dieppe,’ admitted on the same day. He became one of a number of young students whom Scaliger gathered round him here, as he did afterwards at Leyden, giving them regular instruction and more general encouragement and guidance in their studies. Groulart returned to France on the restoration of order, and rose to distinction in his native province in the only way in which advancement was attainable, by conforming to the Catholic church. He was afterwards one of the most strenuous advisers of the abjuration of Henri IV.

Beza and the managers of the Genevan Academy—a quasi-University set up by Calvin with a view to supply ministers to the

the French churches—were urgent with Scaliger to settle among them as a teacher in the institution. He was very reluctant. He never had any taste for lecturing; but he yielded at last, predicting that he should not satisfy the expectations formed of him. On the 31st October, 1572, according to an entry in the Register of the 'Venerable Company,' he was admitted 'Professor of Philosophy.' Here he read on Aristotle's 'Organon,' and Cicero's 'De Finibus.' The students' judgment was, 'Monsieur Scaliger did not beat about the bush like the rest, but explained his author.' Grôulart, who had begun Greek late, said, 'he learnt more with Scaliger in a month than with others in a year, because he never went off into useless matter, and no difficulty stopped him.' Groulart's Latin version of three orations of Lysias is reckoned among the best specimens of translation, and was praised as such a century later by Huet—a credit it probably owes to its having been looked over by Scaliger. Geneva, however, with its ecclesiastical police and the petty tyranny of its pastors, was, at best, but a tolerable abode. Every other interest was there as nothing in comparison with church interests, and church interests were there understood in a narrow spirit of sect which denounced all Protestant communities beyond the strictly Calvinistic. To the ordinary discomforts of exile was added for the refugees the misery of want—alms the Republic was itself too poor to give. They must work; and in a little town and territory so overcrowded with foreigners, the supply of labour was out of all proportion to the demand. Calvin, in inviting a French seigneur to expatriate himself, had warned him 'not to suppose he was coming to an earthly paradise. Our people here are so wretchedly off, that I am almost ashamed to speak thereof. You will have here the pure word of God, and that is all. As for comforts, you will have to take that which God shall give you, and to do without those of which He shall think fit to deprive you.' That Scaliger was not ungrateful for the shelter afforded him, we gather from some verses written at Geneva, in which he says—

... metu dejectus, obsitus luctu,  
Atratus, exspes, in tuum sinum fugi  
Geneva, quæ me patriæ exulem terræ  
Blanda atque amica caritate fovisti.'

But lecturing was irksome to him. 'His vocation,' thinks his intimate friend Vertunien, in 1574, is not 'caqueter en chaire et pedanter.' When afterwards, at Leyden, Scaliger counts among his blessings that here he 'is not deafened with the harangues of professors, or the impertinences of fanatical preachers' ('nullis cathedris pedagogorum obstrepimur, nulla nos fanaticorum concionatorum mendicabula obtundunt.'—To *Casaubon*, January, 1601),



1601), we see what were his reminiscences of Geneva. He took his leave in the summer of 1574, and returned to France; not, however, to Valence, which Cujas had now quitted, but to Poitou and the protection of his friend and patron de La Roche-Pozay.

Of the next twenty years of Scaliger's life (1574-1594), hardly any events are recorded, because there were few to record. We only know that he was domesticated with the Lord of La Roche Pozay, sharing the fortunes of that family, which was throughout that turbulent period engaged on the royalist side. Their possessions lay in Touraine, Poitou, La Marche, &c., the centre of French Calvinism, and therefore the most exposed to the ravages of the Catholic troopers. In times of peace, the family, and Scaliger with them, were continually on the move from one château to another, in the old seignorial fashion. In times of disturbance, they secured themselves in their castle of Preuilly (in Touraine), which was sufficiently strong to hold at bay any body of marauding leaguers from Bretagne, if they did not bring artillery with them. Scaliger's books, of which he gradually amassed a considerable number, were at Abain, and the continual separation from them was a great hindrance to him\* in his various undertakings. Far from being glued to his desk, he was perpetually in motion, ready to take his turn of garrison-duty in case of necessity; not unable or disinclined to join a party for *la chasse*, and to spear a boar with his own hand. In 1581 he is paying a visit of condolence to Cujas, who was now at Bourges; in 1583 he is at Nerac, at the court of the King of Navarre; in 1584 he paid a visit to Paris; in 1586 he is staying in Provence; and though we know that he did not in all this period quit France, it should seem that this is by no means a full account of all his journeys in different parts of the kingdom. As this locomotion, however, has to be spread over twenty years, there was left ample time for steady labour. In this respect, command of his own time, Scaliger's position, humble as it was, was not unfavourable.

If a man were desirous, at that day, of devoting himself to classical learning, the only bread-winning profession open to him was that of teacher (*pedant* they called it) in a university or a school. Whatever might be the case in Italy, in France church endowments were not employed to reward or promote learning. The Huguenots had no endowments, and the ministry among them was, if no longer the road to martyrdom, at least a life incompatible with any secular study. Scaliger is almost a solitary instance of a man who gave up his life to study, without being

\* Dr. Bernays, p. 173, says at Preuilly, quoting De Reves, p. 53. But a comparison of that letter with *Ep. ad Lips.*, p. 88, leads us to the conclusion that they were kept at Abain.



attached to a university. He was not married. His personal wants were few, and provided for by the liberality of his friend de La Roche-Pozay. The remains of his mother's fortune enabled him to provide himself with the most necessary books. He found himself thus, in the maturity of his powers and the fulness of his knowledge, enabled to give up his undivided mind to literature, to grasp it as a whole, and so to conceive and execute a series of master-works, distinguished by the comprehensiveness of their range from the fragmentary patchwork of the commentators, and by the fresh life of genius which pervades them from the dull compilations of erudite antiquaries.

In 1577 he brought out at the Paris press of Robert Estienne an edition of the three Latin elegiac poets—Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius. In this and in the 'Festus,' which he had printed at the same place the year before, he showed what he could effect, if he chose, in that branch of criticism which restores corrupted text. This very subordinate exercise of ingenuity was then rated, doubtless, far beyond its real value. Yet even here the prevailing procedure was conducted on erroneous principles. The Italians had been the great offenders. Their scholars had destroyed the integrity of the text of the Latin classics by thrusting upon it any and every alteration which occurred to them as an improvement or a novelty. Emendation was, with them, a pastime with which an idle hour might well be whiled away when society was not to be had. Even the systematic correction of a complete author was too large an undertaking for this enervated generation, and the Italian presses produced nothing but volumes of miscellaneous criticism or desultory marginalia. The better specimens of this class, such as the 'Varie Lectiones' of Muretus, or those of Petrus Victorius, contain little else but trifling remarks, or the common anecdotes repeated from Plutarch or Suetonius, betraying the poverty of the land, and making us aware that the Italian man could not get beyond the reading or the sphere of thought which he reached in his school-days. This frivolous toying with literature could only be expelled by presenting a model of thorough treatment. The two French critics who preceded Scaliger, Lambinus and Turnebus, had done much to introduce a more manly turn of thought and a more sustained industry with this department. They had, too, entered upon the field of Greek—a language which few Italian scholars had ever mastered, and for which they had now become wholly incompetent. But even Lambinus and Turnebus do not rise beyond the thought of making classics an instrument of education—of editing 'in usum studiosæ juventutis.' Scaliger first showed the way to that sound notion of textual criticism in which the genuine tradition is made the basis, and  
alteration

alteration is only permitted on condition of establishing itself by rigorous proof. True, it has required a long experience and many attempts to bring the rules of criticism, simple though they seem, into the clear light in which they stand before a modern editor. Both in establishment of text, and in accumulation of aids to right interpretation, 300 years have, it may well be supposed, added not a little. But we need not forget our obligations to those who first taught criticism to walk in the road in which it should go, who reclaimed it from a hap-hazard guess-work, and made it a rational procedure subject to fixed laws. This Scaliger's editions of the 'Catalecta,' of Festus, and the three erotic Poets did. They did it, too, with a mastery over not only the language, but the literature, which was then the common language and literature of all educated persons, and the result was to attract general attention to Scaliger even beyond university circles. It began to be understood that a man had arisen who could not only do better than any one else what every one else was doing, but who was able to lead the way to a new method of treatment of ancient literature—a method which promised incalculable results.

No sooner had Scaliger, by his 'Catullus,' &c., placed himself by common consent at the head of textual critics, than he took leave for ever of diorthotic criticism, and struck out a new path. He saw his way to a task, to which the restoration of texts in their integrity, even could it be completely achieved, was but a stepping-stone. Leaving editing to others, he threw himself upon the material contents of the books, and embarked alone of all the early philologists upon the unexplored ocean of primitive history—a voyage in which he had no predecessors, and, till within the present century, no followers.

The transition to the new field of labour was his edition of Manilius (1579), the five books of whose 'Astronomica,' the most difficult of the Latin classics, offer to the interpreter a series of puzzles which frightened off the smaller critics. Scaliger grappled with the problem, and, mathematicians assert, rather forced his way through it by sheer dint of arm than solved it. As his object was scientific, and not philological, he did nothing for the text except where necessary for his purpose, viz. to make Manilius a peg on which to hang a representation of the astronomical system of the first century A.D. The Manilius was, in fact, but an introduction to a comprehensive chronological system which he brought out in 1583 in his 'De Emendatione.' By this grand effort of genius, Scaliger may be said to have created for modern times the science of chronology. Hitherto the utmost extent of chronological skill which historians had possessed or dreamed of had been to arrange past facts in a tabular

series

series as an aid to memory. Of the mathematical principles on which the calculation of periods rests, the philologists understood nothing. The astronomers, on their side, had not yet undertaken to apply their data to the records of ancient times. Scaliger was the first of the philologists who made use of the improved astronomy of the sixteenth century to get a scientific basis for historical chronology. With the modern light which Copernicus and Tycho Brahé supplied, he went back upon the ancient epochs and systems, and showed on what principles they had been formed. Nor did he confine himself here within the range of Roman antiquity, the narrow horizon which had so long bounded the view of scholars. The various Greek modes of reckoning time, the Hebrew calendar, those of the east and west from Persia to Mexico, as far as the materials were then accessible, are all subjected to scrutiny. In ascending to primitive ages, he saw how chronology may become to the critic an organ of discovery for times when historical narrative fails us. This suggestion is seen already in the first edition of the '*De Emendatione*' (1583). Following out his own hint, he conceived the idea of compiling a book which should embrace the archives of the whole early world.

We are so accustomed to take this point of view of Universal History that we do not readily imagine the effort required to rise to it at a time when the primitive classical ages were imperfectly known, when nothing at all was known of the extra-classical world (Syria, Egypt, &c.), and when between the classical and biblical world an impassable barrier was considered to exist, and it was a cherished principle of Protestant exegesis not to bring any secular knowledge to the interpretation of Holy Scripture. Scaliger was the first to perceive that the history of the ancient world, so far as it could be known at all, could only be known as a whole. Further, that the only direction in which the facts of this remote period could be looked for was in the remains of those chronologers of the empire, who, copying statements they often did not understand, transmitted in this way to future generations the universal tradition of the human species. He set himself, accordingly, to collect the distorted fragments of Berosus, Menander, Manetho, and Abydenus—names which he first dragged from the oblivion of more than 1000 years, but which have ended by rivetting the attention of historical antiquaries. Ultimately he resolved to adopt, as the basis of such a representation of primitive tradition, Jerome's Latin translation of Eusebius's '*Chronicle*.' A few words may be necessary to explain the importance of this '*Chronicle*,' one of the most precious of the remains of Greek historical literature.

It is well known, even to the general reader of ancient history, that the Greeks, for many ages, entirely neglected the history of those whom they, in their narrow conceit, termed the 'Barbarians.' Pleasing their imaginations with the romantic fables of Homer and Herodotus, they did not suppose it worth while to obtain a real knowledge of the past history of the great Oriental empires. Greek history was thus for centuries merely Greek, national and local. Even when they wrote about the Persians or Phœnicians they only reported travellers' tales, gleaned by word of mouth in the evening khan or the mid-day agora. It was not till the time of Alexander that conquest opened to them the real records of the Babylonian empire. As their sense of nationality declined, their interest in what was foreign gained ground. As their imagination lost its vigour, their perception of truth and fact strengthened. Astronomical observations began to furnish a new and certain basis for the computation of past time. One by one the subjugated nations laid open their annals to the eyes of their conquerors, proud to contrast the hoary antiquity of their pedigree with the recent origin of the Hellenes, whom they looked upon as still in their childhood. The materials were thus gradually accumulating for a general history of the world and its inhabitants. But a focus was still lacking which should draw together these scattered rays of history, and present the nations of men as only different members of one common family. The central point was, at last, in the fulness of time, supplied from the Bible. From the moment that the Jewish Scriptures became known to the Greeks, the sacred volume could not but take its place as a compendium of the history of the world. With all the exclusiveness of Jewish nationality, the Old Testament yet presented what no book had done—the families of the earth looking back to a past and forward to a future which made them aware of the unity of their destinies. The Alexandrian antiquaries at once adopted the Scripture narrative as the centre round which to group all they could find recorded of the Oriental empires. With the growth of Christian ideas and Christian interests a controversial element was imported into historical criticism. It became a point of honour with the Christian annalist not to allow to any other race an antiquity superior to that of the Jewish people. It was the endeavour of the heathen antiquary to carry back, as far as possible, the commencement of Babylonian or Egyptian dynasties. At the beginning of the fourth century A.D., Eusebius, the learned Bishop of Casarea, undertook a synchronistical compilation of the annals of all known nations, from the beginning of the Assyrian empire to his own time.

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This harmony of all sacred and profane history became at once the standard chronology of the Christian world. The original Eusebian work has perished in the wreck of Greek literature. But a Latin translation by St. Jerome, with a continuation to the death of the Emperor Valens (A.D. 378), has been the fortunate vehicle which has conveyed to us, through the middle ages, the contents of this inestimable document of pre-classical history. For ages the scribes continued to preserve it as an integral portion of the works of St. Jerome, with a very remote idea of its value. On the revival of letters neither the Paganizing *littérateurs* nor the Protestant controversialists knew what to make of it, and it was left out of their editions of Jerome's works as so much useless lumber. Even Erasmus omitted it from his scholar-like edition of that Father. It was not restored to its proper place in his works, before the handsome but uncritical edition of Verona, 1734. For the Italian *litterati* the 'Chronicle' was devoid of interest, for they cared for nothing but Roman history. To the Protestants anything which placed the Biblical annals *en rapport* with the history of other nations was a profanation; so far was the level of theological attainment in the sixteenth century sunk below even the times of Eusebius.

Scaliger had, as we have seen, from an early period, proposed to himself an aim in philology which rose equally above the æsthetic trifling of the Italian Ciceronians and the narrow sectarianism of the Protestant biblicist. Ancient learning was for him a means of instruction, not of amusement; a road to truth, not a storehouse of religious polemics. The Eusebian 'Chronicle,' in which no artifices of style disguised the facts, in which the annals of all nations are ranged side by side with the Jewish, seemed to him the very object he was in search of to which to apply his stores of erudition. If the substance of the 'Chronicle' was tempting, the form in which it has come to our hands offered an irresistible attraction to Scaliger's peculiar habits of mind. The Greek original having perished, the question presented itself to him, How far is the Latin version, as we have it, a faithful representative of that original? Besides the general liability of all translation to minor errors, there was, in the present instance, a greatly increased probability of such error by the rapidity with which the translator had worked. It was, as the Saint himself pleads, a 'tumultuarium opus,' needing, on the score of correctness, much allowance from a friendly reader. Nor was the duty of a translator from Greek into Latin understood as we understand it in rendering from a contemporary foreign language into our own. It was no part of Jerome's purpose to preserve Eusebius's work. He thought only of supplying the Western World with

with a manual of general history. Omission and insertion, when they tended to improve the book for the purposes for which it was now designed, was a merit, not a crime, in a translator. Jerome had an eye not to the book-shelves of the curious, who would collate and compare, but to communicate the elements of history to the Western churches, in countries where civilization was already trembling to its fall before the barbarian hordes. To these occasions of error may be added the corrupt state of the MSS. of the 'Chronicle,' an evil to which a book full of dates was especially exposed.

Proceeding on these facts, and following up the trail of the Eusebian Greek which may be detected here and there lurking in Byzantine writers, Scaliger fell upon the hypothesis that the original 'Chronicle,' as Eusebius published it, had consisted of *two* books; that the first of these books had either never been translated by Jerome at all, or had irretrievably perished in the dark ages. That the reason of this difference in the fate of the two portions of the 'Chronicle' was the different character of the two. The later or second book, being a chronological table, had been preserved for its practical utility as an epitome of ancient history. That the first book, on the other hand, had not been thought worth copying out, because it consisted of extracts from Greek historians, who treated of Oriental history; but, for us, it was precisely this lost first book of Eusebius which possessed the highest value.

This hypothesis as to the extent and character of Eusebius's work was hazarded upon such slight data that we need not be surprised at its seeming to ordinary critics little more than a delusion. Extraordinary as it was, it was far surpassed in audacity by the resolution he founded upon it to reproduce the work of Eusebius in the original Greek. The second book of the 'Chronicle,' which existed only in an abridged form in Jerome's Latin, was to be restored complete in its original language. The first book, which was totally lost, was to be recovered both as to substance and language. Divinatorial criticism has often undertaken to work wonders by conjecture operating upon collation of MSS. Bentley's 'Prospectus of a New Testament' engaged to retrieve the text 'exactly as it was at the Council of Nice, without the difference of twenty words, or even of twenty particles:' a brag, by the way, which Bentley did nothing to redeem. But we doubt if the annals of editing can parallel this scheme of Scaliger for the restitution of the Eusebian 'Chronicle.' The resources on which he relied in first undertaking the feat were his skill in imitative translation and his command over the whole extant remains of Greek literature. Of the first of these methods

—retranslation



—retranslation—he did not, in the end, make any use. Of the extent of his research and his ingenuity in detecting the smallest scrap of Eusebius, under whatever disguise it might be hid, it may be sufficient to cite the testimony of a witness not too well disposed towards Scaliger. The Meticharist Aucher, in the preface to his edition, says of Scaliger, ‘Universam pene Græciam lustraverat, nec veterum scriptorum erat quisquam unde aliquid in suam rem posset mutuari, qui diligentissimi hominis aciem effugisset.’ The fragments, however, thus won from the wreck of antiquity would have gone but a little way towards the restitution of a whole book, but for a piece of luck which Fortune, with her propensity to help the daring, threw in his way. In the year 1601 he had come upon the track of a MS. chronicle by a Greek monk, which possibly contained Eusebian fragments, and probably was to be found in the Royal Library at Paris. The MS. is found there. Scaliger, then at Leyden, writes letter upon letter, supplicates and implores. But a stupid and doting bigot, one Gosselin, then in charge of the books, would not be moved either by the humble perseverance of Casaubon or the high authority of De Thou. At last, after a year’s siege, July, 1602, the MS. is obtained. He then finds that ‘this single writer is more towards his purpose than all the other Greek authors put together :’ for it turned out to be the Chronicle, since so well known to chronologists, which was compiled by the monk George, coadjutor (*syncellus*) of Constantinople at the beginning of the ninth century. Syncellus has transcribed Eusebius almost verbatim. Although Scaliger, in his exultation at the discovery, was betrayed into the error of transferring to the columns of his Eusebius much of Syncellus which had never belonged to the Bishop of Cæsarea, we can say with Niebuhr that no one ever better deserved than Scaliger the reward of such an antiquarian find at such a moment. The Greek Eusebius, recovered by this and other aids—which cannot be here described—appeared at last, in 1606, as part of a folio ‘*Thesaurus Temporum*,’ in which every chronological relic extant in Greek or Latin was reproduced, placed in order, restored, and made intelligible. The greatest triumph, however, achieved by this massive volume was in connexion with the Eusebian ‘Chronicon.’ The Veronese edition of St. Jerome, as has been said, first incorporated the Latin Hieronymian version in the ‘*Opera Omnia*’ of that Father. The editor, Dominico Vallarsi, undertakes, in the preface to the ‘Chronicle,’ to refute Scaliger’s theory of the extent and nature of Eusebius’s work. Though Vallarsi’s scholarship is of the slipshod Italian sort—he has hardly a grammatical knowledge of the Greek language—he cannot be denied the praise of industry and zeal in collecting all that



that had been written on the subject. He writes clearly, and, by aid of the accumulated light of 150 years, he is able to expose some of Scaliger's errors. At the very time that Vallarsi was thus presumptuously canvassing Scaliger's hypothesis, a MS. volume was slowly finding its way to Constantinople, which was destined to refute Vallarsi's learned reasonings by the shortest and surest evidence that could be had. This was nothing less than the long-desiderated, 'Chronicle' of Eusebius, perfect, but in an Armenian translation. This MS. of the 12th century—the translation itself dates from the 5th—was brought to Italy, and at last in 1818 given to the press in the Armenian convent at Venice. It then appeared that Scaliger's divination had guided him right. There was a first book, and Jerome had translated the second only. Many also of Scaliger's emendations were established, many of the omissions he had charged on Jerome were found to be omissions. It may not be concealed that this signal triumph was dashed by mistakes as signal which the same discovery revealed. In assigning the contents of this Book I., Scaliger had gone infinitely astray: he had given to Eusebius much of Syncellus which was really taken from Africanus, and for his charge of bad faith against Eusebius there does not appear to be the least foundation.

There is a curious piece of history connected with another section of the 'Thesaurus Temporum.' Among the miscellaneous matters which make up its vast bulk, there is one which has more than once been the subject of misapprehension on the part of scholars. This is a complete Olympiad table, from the 1st to the 249th Olympiad, which Scaliger had drawn up with much pains, ransacking every corner of Greek remains, edited or inedited, for authorities. The pleasure he took in writing Greek, and the convenience of citing the authorities in the original, had induced him to compose it wholly in that language. As it is printed in the 'Thesaurus' in close sequence with the series of continuators of Eusebius—it follows immediately after the last of them, Nicephorus,—as no express notice is given in the title, and as the Greek is allowed to be an admirable imitation of antiquity, it is not very surprising that hasty readers should have taken the piece for a genuine classical relic. No thorough reader could have done this, as Scaliger has given in one place\* a distinct declaration of his own authorship, and has in others alluded to it as his own compilation. These indications, however, were easily missed by skimming readers. The Olympian Table has been a trap into which hasty and un-

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\* P. 431, ed. 2n1.

wary readers have fallen one after another, while the sharp-sighted and careful have avoided the snare. Salmasius and Petavius, in the earliest generation after Scaliger, Bentley, Ruhnken, Wesseling, in the 18th century, down to Niebuhr and Clinton in recent times, were much too accurate readers for such a blunder. But Scheibel, in his very learned monograph on this tract of Scaliger, has enumerated some thirty names, including not only literary men like Bayle and Lessing, but even professional critics like Ottfried Müller and Heyne, who have cited the *Ολυμπιαδων Αναγράφη* as a genuine Greek document. Meursius corrected texts of ancient authors to force them to agree with errors made by Scaliger in his Tables. Thomas Reinesius even wrote a dissertation on the authorship of the anonymous piece, and concluded from internal evidence that its author was either a Gentile, or, at most, a Jew:—a warning to critics—the true scholar does not require it—of the necessity of reading through every book they may have occasion to cite.

To return to Scaliger's personal history. The publication, in 1583, of his 'De Emendatione' placed him at once beyond rivalry at the head of ancient learning; beyond rivalry, but not beyond hatred—hatred all the more bitter because rivalry was hopeless. In the chronic quarrel which has disgraced the republic of letters ever since that community existed, the combatants usually snapped right and left, and gave as good as they got. It was a promiscuous *melée*, in which each abused everybody, and every one came out a little the worse for the scuffle. But the lofty pre-eminence to which Scaliger attained, and which he himself determined to vindicate, gave the combatants for a season a common animosity, and every hand was united against the despot. The envenomed proportions which the attack on Scaliger attained, the importance which came to be attached to it, and the whirlpool-force with which it drew all around into its vortex, cannot be understood without a view of the state of parties at the period, which is beyond our limits. We can only give here a very summary indication.

The year 1583 fell in a short breathing-time which was granted to the unhappy country in the middle of its religious troubles. It was a respite only, for there had been neither compromise nor settlement. Both parties felt that it was only through another armed struggle that their respective positions could be definitively ascertained. The Reformed doctrines were very far from being equally distributed over the surface of the country. The Calvinists were massed together in districts. This was their only chance of security, for, where they were not strong enough

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to defend themselves by force, they were butchered. In the district between the Loire and the Garonne they had taken deep root. So overwhelmingly Protestant was this district, that, even so late as 1625, there was a scheme in the English Council for erecting it into an independent Protestant republic. It was here accordingly that the Catholic seigneurs directed their most desperate efforts. The state of those districts in 1581 is placed before us in a summary of facts by a contemporary writer, who had gathered them from official returns. In the two dioceses of Poitiers and Luçon 70 Catholic priests and monks, and a far larger but not ascertained number of Huguenot ministers, had perished by a violent death since the beginning of the troubles. There had fallen in the field 300 Catholic gentlemen, 400 Protestant; of common soldiers 10,000 Catholic, 16,000 Huguenot; 3000 houses had been burnt or pulled down. These were natives of the province. Of Frenchmen, natives of other parts of France, 40,000 had fallen in the murderous fights or massacres within the above-mentioned limits; 700 persons had been executed for religion, by the way, miscalled, of justice. Confiscation had ruined the Huguenots; but the Catholic peasant was scarcely better off: crushed by the war and the exactions of the great seigneurs, who 'galopoient et trairoient pirement le manant que s'il eût été leur esclave.'\*

A country hardly breathing from such tragic scenes, and looking forward to a not distant renewal of them, was not a favourable arena for feats of learning or science. What value are character or attainments in a society which only asks of any one which side is he on? The mere material wounds of the country, ghastly as they were, might have been healed by a few years of peace. Then, it might be thought, when security of person and property was restored, knowledge would be again in honour. Then the respect due to one who through thirty hopeless years had devoted himself to learning—the best learning then known—would be reaped at last. But it was not so. In this respect Scaliger was most unfortunate. He may be said to have fallen, if ever great man did, on evil days indeed. The ascendancy of Henri IV. brought at last the desired peace, or its immediate prospect. The material wounds of civil war began to close. Civility and letters began again to raise their heads; but the moral wound inflicted upon France by the wars of Religion was not healed, nor in the way to be. The result of the Civil Wars was no compromise upon equal terms between the parties; it was the unqualified triumph of the Catholics, the permanent

\* Fromenteau: '*Les Secrets des Finances de France*,' 1581.

humiliation of the Huguenots. The Calvinists had risen in self-defence; they had saved their necks at least till a better opportunity; let them be thankful for getting off with life. Strange! the Protestants were on the winning side, and yet had to treat on unequal terms with their beaten enemies. Even the reservations made in their favour could not be carried out; public opinion would not allow of it. The mob was against them. The League was defeated at Arques and Ivry, but Rome was triumphant. The war had been begun for the extirpation of heresy: it succeeded in extirpating virtue, honour, and nobility of mind. Men emerged from the long struggle with the conviction that a religious faith was a political pretext—that zeal was a disease to which the lower classes were subject, and upon which wise men worked for their own ends. A philosophical scepticism had become the creed of all thinking men. Montaigne and Charron express the mind of the time. But, whatever you might think, before all things you must make open profession of Catholicism. To be a Huguenot was to lose caste; to profess unbelief was to forfeit party influence. The barefaced corruption of the Catholic seigneurs who had taken up arms for religion, and laid them down for a consideration, seemed to sanction any amount of baseness in inferior men. That noble stamp which we find upon the character of the great Huguenot leaders—Coligni, Du Plessis-Mornay, D'Aubigni, La Noue—died with that generation, and has never been reproduced in France. An heroic breadth of soul, animated by a simple piety, and chastised by a chequered experience, in which adversity had far the larger share, is the common characteristic of the Huguenot seigneur of the epoch. The emergencies of the Civil Wars, acting upon the native chivalry of the French noblesse, and supported by the profound spiritual conviction of the Protestant, generated this lofty type of character—the finest which the whole range of French history has to show. The miseries of the wars of religion was hardly too high a price to pay as a school of such grand virtue. Ordinary times could not have raised the men. The Duc de Maienne hit the secret of the Huguenot character when he said: '*Ces gens étaient de père en fils apprivoisés à la mort.*'

Scaliger had been schooled in this discipline. How far he was from being a bigot has been seen: he had no sympathy with the bigotry of his co-religionaries. The fanatical section of them had as little liking for him; but it was impossible for him to be other than Protestant, the only creed which was compatible with his character or his understanding. Had he been a mere man of letters, he might have transferred himself, with Henry of Navarre, from one church to the other, as so many others did.

He would then have shared the triumph and enjoyed the rewards of the dominant religion. His declining years might then have been surrounded with affluence and troops of friends. His home might have been Paris, and the whole Catholic world might have been united to do homage to the last scion of the Della Scala; but the sacrifice of mental independence was one which he could not make, even at such a price. Abjuration, however fashionable and convenient, was simply impossible for him. He does not make any parade of his consistency, for he *could* not be other than he was. This was so universally felt, that while Casaubon was incessantly plied by solicitations to 'go over,' no one ventured to hint such a step to Scaliger. He was not ambitious of any post which was open to a mere man of letters; but he sensibly felt his dependence. He would have been glad to have been no longer a burden upon his generous friends, and to have had the command of a library of books; but the only resources were a university-chair or a pension. The French provinces indeed stood thick with abbeys, priories, and rich ecclesiastical sinecures; but these were appropriated by the lay noblesse, who paid a curé a starving stipend for performing the spiritual services. Merely being a Protestant was not necessarily a bar to obtaining a rent-charge on such a benefice. Sully had procured himself abbeys to the amount of 40,000 francs a-year; but for such appropriation, which was notoriously illegal, you must have power—only a member of the haute noblesse could make or keep such a prize. For a pension, Scaliger enjoyed that already, *i. e.* the patent for it. Henri III., at a time when it was the policy of the court to conciliate the Huguenots, had conferred on Scaliger a pension of 2000 francs: he might as easily have given 20,000; for in the then state of the French finances, such a compliment was worth the value of the paper on which it was written, and no more. When Henri of Navarre came to the crown, De Thou and Jeannin made efforts to get it paid; but nothing was to be obtained for a Calvinist. Millions were being paid away to the grand seigneurs in gratifications before they would lay down their arms. And then Henri's mistresses were so exorbitant. Lestoile indeed ('Registre-Journal de Henri IV.,' p. 525) asserts that Jeanvins, then ambassador at the Hague, made, by order of Henri, 'munificent presents to the learned men in Leyden, Scaliger, Baudins, and others.' It doubtless flattered the vanity of the Parisian *badards* to think so; and as Lestoile reports it, no doubt he heard it said; but Scaliger never had a farthing. As late as 1608 Jeannin succeeded in getting Scaliger's name on the list of pensions which were to be actually paid some time or other. January, 1609, Scaliger died.

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As for the only professional resource by which he could have maintained himself—a university-chair—we have already seen his aversion to teaching; but had he been ever so inclined, that resource was not open to him in France. As long as Paris was in the hands of the Leaguers, they had closed the colleges, and massacred or driven out the regius professors. After Henri became master of the capital, he affected to patronize education, and set about the restoration of the University. But this was in 1597, and by that time Scaliger had found another asylum.

In 1590 Justus Lipsius, who had been twelve years Professor of Roman History and Antiquities at the University of Leyden, applied to the curators for leave of absence of some duration. He wished, he said, to try the Spa waters for a disordered liver from which he suffered. Though this was all he said, his intentions seem to have been guessed. No one expected that he would ever return. Nor was any one surprised when the news came that Lipsius had followed the fashion, and conformed. He had withdrawn to Mainz, and, in the Jesuit College there, had been received into the bosom of the Catholic Church. Lipsius, though of another order of mind to Scaliger, yet ranked deservedly as the first of living Latin critics. His loss was, therefore, felt as a severe blow to the rising reputation of the young university. The question arose how he was to be replaced?

The origin of the University of Leyden is well known. In reward of the heroic defence made by its citizens, in the memorable siege by the Spaniards, they received from the States of the Netherlands an offer of a perpetual immunity from taxation. The influence of John Van der Does, Lord of Noortwyk, a distinguished statesman, better known as a universal scholar by his Latinized name of Janus Douza, prevailed upon the city to prefer the boon of the foundation of the University. Douza, as one of its first curators, continued throughout his life to foster the school he had thus called into being. Under his enlightened patronage the University of Leyden grew in a single generation into the first Protestant school in Europe. Unable to vie with elder foundations in the splendour of its endowments, Douza had recourse, of necessity, to the more economical, but, at the same time, more efficacious system of honour. 'He knew,' says Sir W. Hamilton,\* 'that at the rate learning was seen prized by the State in the academy it would be valued by the nation at large. In his eyes a university was not merely a mouth-piece of necessary instruction, but a pattern of lofty erudition, and a stimulus to its attainment. He knew that professors wrought more by example and

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\* 'Discussions on Philosophy' &c., p. 362.



influence than by teaching; that it was theirs to pitch high or low the standard of learning in a country; and that as it proved arduous or easy to come up to them, they awoke either a restless endeavour after an ever-loftier attainment, or lulled into a self-satisfied conceit.'

With such maxims of academical management nothing was more natural than that Douza's eyes should be turned towards Scaliger, when the question arose who should fill the gap occasioned by the secession of Lipsius. The precautions taken in approaching Scaliger, the homage to his haughty claims, the express recognition of his princely descent, and his literary pre-eminence, testify at once the earnestness of the desire felt to get him, and the notoriety which even these personal traits of character had already attained. They may have been made known to Douza by Lipsius, who, however, knew Scaliger only by correspondence. They may have been ascertained on the spot by Dominic le Bauldier. This amusing personage, sharp-sighted enough in reading the weaknesses of others, though so laughably ignorant of his own, had left Leyden for France in 1588, and had resided there ever since. With his usual alacrity for doing every one's business, he wished to negotiate the settlement of Scaliger in Lipsius's place at Leyden—having on hand, at the same time, a little scheme for bringing Lipsius to Paris. Douza, however, understood that Scaliger was not to be angled for with such slight tackle as Le Bauldier. A regular deputation in form was sent to wait upon him. Gerard Tuning, a young law-professor of Leyden, was the envoy. He carried, not a nomination, but a petition addressed to Scaliger by the Curators of the University, and a letter from the Government—the States-General of the Netherlands—praying his Lordship '*S'il plaise à votre Seigneurie servir de flambeau et esperon aux études languissans de la jeunesse par deça.*' To reinforce these prayers the ambassador was further provided with a dispatch to Henri from the States-General; also a private letter from Prince Maurice to the same. The States-General implore Henri to further their views upon '*the Phoenix of letters,*' '*for the honour of God and the promotion of the common cause;*'—Henri, who hated Scaliger, because he saw through him, and would not flatter him, and who had already made up his mind to betray '*the common cause,*' in order to secure the Crown of France! Prince Maurice, better informed, avoids these blunders, and writes a mere formal request.

With these credentials Tuning arrived at Dieppe, and found the King engaged in the blockade of Rouen. Henri was quite agreeable; had no objection to part with the '*Phoenix of letters;*' had indeed particular reasons why he should go to Holland; and

wrote



wrote Scaliger a missive, intimating in pretty plain terms that the sooner he took himself off the better. Tuning started for Touraine, with this letter under passport. But in spite of Ivry the League was still in force to the north of the Loire, and Tuning was stopped and plundered. So he reached Preuilly with nothing to produce of all these magnificent appeals, or even a scrap of writing to authenticate him. With what honeyed words the diplomatist supplied the loss of his instructions we do not know. Whatever they were they were not successful. Scaliger sent back the negotiator with letters to the Curators and the Prince, which, at least, left room for further application. The Curators he addresses in a modest and grateful epistle:—

‘There is every reason why I should accede to the honourable proposals you have been pleased to make to me. Civil rage has banished letters from France. This country is no longer a home for men of virtue. In Holland, it seems, I could be useful; here I am scarcely held to possess common sense. More than all, from you I should receive that consideration of which my country has never thought me worthy. All these are strong motives; yet somehow there is wanting a favourable wind to swell the sails of my desires. I cannot be more explicit in writing; but Tuning will possess you by word of mouth more fully of my meaning.”

We can have no hesitation as to the feeling which dictated this reply. Scaliger already foresaw the position in which public affairs would finally adjust themselves; a position in which the tried and the true, the loyal adherents of the ‘common cause’ would be sacrificed to gain the disaffected. He knew that the King and the ‘politiques’ would be equally glad to be rid of the obligation of doing anything for him. All these were inducements for him to go. But friends, less clear-sighted and more sanguine, urged his stay. Things were not so hopeless as he thought. The King meant well by his old friends; if he were obliged to sacrifice himself to gain new ones, he would never leave the old in the lurch; the time would come when he might venture to avow them again. And, even if things should go worse for the Huguenots than it was likely they would do, did not that make it more the duty of every good citizen to stand by his cause to the last, and perish with the rest, rather than run away, save himself, and leave the rest to their fate? This was an argument which could not but weigh with Scaliger. To which must be added, that it is hard for a man at fifty-two to expatriate himself; to leave old friends and go amongst strangers; to exchange the smiling and vine-covered slopes of Touraine for the fogs and swamps of Leyden; hardest of all, to tear oneself from the

the haunts and the home of thirty years, however ungracious and inhospitable it may have shown itself.

Some of the more staunch of the old Huguenot leaders would not have Scaliger leave France without an effort to retain him. Du Plessis-Mornay, as the head of this section of Royalists, and the only one who still retained some influence in the camp of Henri, was engaged to second their scheme, which was to get Scaliger appointed preceptor to the young Prince of Condé. As the King was still without issue by his first marriage, the Prince of Condé was heir presumptive to the crown. Such an appointment was at once honourable and influential. Henri consented, and at Du Plessis-Mornay's suggestion, the Princess wrote herself to Scaliger. Her letter is so characteristic of the person to whom it is addressed that we shall give it in the original.

'Monsieur de l'Escale,—Encore que de long-temps vos vertus aient illustré non seulement ceste France, mais toute l'Europe, si est ce qu'il semble que Dieu vous offre une occasion pour leur donner d'avantage de jour. Car bien q'elles soyent espanduës sur divers peuples, je tiens la plus part indigne de recevoir ceste lumière ; mais si vos labeurs s'employent à former un prince tel q'est celuy que je desire q'il preigne instruction de vous, ce sera faissant bien à un apporter de l'utilité à tout cest estat. La peine en sera moindre et la gloire plus grande. Ces considerations si importantes me font esperer qu'aurez très agreable le desir que j'ay que vouliez accepter la charge d'instituer mon fils, lequel commence d'estre en aage pour recevoir vos belles impressions ; son esprit est plus avancé que ses années. C'est pourquoy je croy, qu'ayant les premiers fondemens de vous, l'œuvre en sera plus parfaicte. L'esperance que l'on prent de luy merite d'estre augmenté par les enseignemens d'un si digne personnage. Ne refusez donc, je vous prie, de servir au Roy mon Seigneur en ceste occasion, lequel je sçay avoir ceste volonté, et d'obliger toute ceste France à vous. Pour mon particulier, j'estimeray atteindre au comble de ma plus grande felicité si je puisse acquerir ce thésor à mon fils ; faisant peu d'estat de toutes les grandeurs du monde si elles ne sont accompagnées de la vertu. Le Gentilhomme vous dira plus particulièrement mon intention sur ce subject. Auquel me remettant, je vous prieray le croire, et que je seray à perpetuité,

Vostre très affectionnée et obligée amy,

KAT. DE LA TREMOILLE.'

This request, urged almost in a tone of supplication, Scaliger respectfully declined. He was not insensible to the honour, but he could not turn courtier at his age. '*Je ne veux point être courtisan,*' he said to his friends. The Princess had recourse to his friends, at the urgency, doubtless, of Du Plessis-Mornay, and got the elder La Roche-Pozay to try his influence. But Scaliger knew far better than his friends to what he could and could not adapt

adapt himself, and he was firm in his refusal. As the offer made to him had had Henri's special approbation, the King's aversion to Scaliger was not likely to be lessened by his rejection of it. This Scaliger, too, must have felt. After an interval of twelve months came a second application from Holland. Douza had now discovered that Scaliger's disinclination to lecture was the insuperable obstacle to his accepting Lipsius's chair. This only needed to be understood to be set right. They did not want him to lecture: nothing more was asked than his presence in Leyden, where he might dispose of his time as he pleased, and continue the series of his great works free from the interruptions to which he was exposed in France. At least, if he could not resolve upon making a permanent settlement among them, let him come provisionally, for a long visit, and see for himself how he liked Leyden.

Scaliger now no longer resisted. But he would only accept provisionally. He would come and see. He took with him the young de La Roche-Pozay, under the express stipulation that he would bring him back himself within the twelvemonth. His books and papers, too, he left behind in Touraine. His true-hearted patron, the *père* La Roche-Pozay, would not part with him on any other terms. He was certain that, 'when peace was once restored, some opening would be found for establishing Scaliger in France; then he would come back to stay, and they would yet spend their old age in each other's society.' Florens Christian, however, who had been Henri IVth's tutor, and who knew his royal pupil well, did not conceal that he thought differently. He wrote to Scaliger—

'Not to stand too stiffly upon the provisional character of the Leyden appointment. Holland had the good fortune to be presided over by a valiant and religious Prince, and a lover of learning, Monsieur the Count of Nassau. Before you make up your mind for leaving such a home, bethink yourself, if you please,'

(here, for greater security, the honest Calvinist drops his French for Latin:—)

'Bethink yourself that the Princes of France excel truly all other Princes in blood and deeds of arms, but that learning must look elsewhere for patronage and encouragement.'

Henri IV. hated Christian for his honesty, for his keen sense of humour, and lastly for having been his tutor. Scaliger felt that Christian was right. About the King's sentiments he was left in no doubt. Henri was at the trouble of writing him a second missive, brief enough, expressing his satisfaction that he was at last going to Holland, avoiding all allusion to the provisional character of the visit on which Scaliger laid so much emphasis,

phasis, and not even paying him the compliment of regretting his loss to France. On his road to the coast Scaliger had an interview with the King for the purpose of taking his leave of his Sovereign. 'So, M. de L'Escale, the Dutch want to have you, and are going to allow you a good pension? I'm very glad to hear it!' Then, breaking off, Henri put to Scaliger a question which we cannot here repeat, which at another time might have been a joke, but under the circumstances of this leave-taking was a cruel insult. A stolid insensibility for the feelings of others was indeed the chief ingredient in Henri's 'Bearnaise humour.' Scaliger took ship for Holland at Dieppe about Midsummer, 1593.

Scaliger's reserved intention of returning to France in spite of these discouragements at least saved him the pang of feeling that he was quitting his own country for ever. But he never did revisit it. No overtures were made to him till the last year of his life, while every year things got gloomier, the Reformation dying out, and France relapsing into Catholicism. In Leyden every one strove to make his sojourn agreeable, and to soften the pains of exile. Here he tasted for the first time his own fame, and, what is better than fame, the silent recognition of superior knowledge. He soon came to be upon a confidential footing with the first men of the Republic, Oldenbarnevelt and Van der Mylen. In Douza's house he was as one of the family. The widowed Princess of Orange, a worthy daughter of Coligni, treasured him. Prince Maurice of Nassau distinguished him by the most flattering attention, placing him at table above his princely cousins, and not requiring in return to be waited on at his levées, a considerate indulgence for which Scaliger is particularly thankful. His intimacy at the French Embassy, at least after the arrival (in 1597) of a superior man, Choart de Buzanville, in that service, gave him the best possible *point d'appui* outside of Dutch circles. This intimacy was not merely pleasant as being with a well-educated countryman, but gave him the best insight into the interior of European politics in that critical period when the Jesuits were preparing their great conspiracy against the liberties of Europe, which afterwards took the shape of the Thirty Years' War.

Nothing could exceed the pious solicitude of the Curators to make their illustrious guest feel that he honoured them in settling among them, not they him in inviting him. They created for him a quite exceptional position, which joined to the complete command of his own leisure all the dignity and influence of high academic office. As he continued to protest his unfitness for public lecturing, they ceased to press it upon him, and contented themselves

themselves with his silent influence upon the place. He instantly attracted round him with the magnetic force of genius all the rising talent of the University. For intercourse with young men Scaliger's temper was well adapted. He appeared to them with all the prestige of his illustrious fame, and the overwhelming weight of acquirements without a parallel. Yet this hero of science, who seemed to realise the most romantic ideal an ardent student could form of universal knowledge, was ever ready to discuss with them on familiar terms all in which they were interested—to talk over men and books—to enter upon the merits of Livy or Statius, of Hesiod or Procopius, as freshly as if he had been reading them for the first time. Age had not subdued the vivacity of his temperament or the vigour of his language. His pithy and direct judgments upon men and things made their way straight to the understandings of the youth, who waited on his words, because they interested their feelings. The timid and the ill-natured complained that he was rash in assertion and reckless in his censures—that there was more passion than judgment in his opinions. 'His ability would be truly wonderful,' writes in 1594 one who was ill-disposed to him, 's'il avoit l'esprit autant posé comme il l'a bizarre.' Ill-nature is keen-sighted and generally hits its mark. But this fearlessness of expression was the frankness of a noble nature, not the *médiance* of a petty spite; and what justly offended the caution of the aged and the prudent was the very ingredient of conversation likely to attract the young. The circle of young Dutch students who were drawn to Leyden by Scaliger's presence there formed not merely a future school of philology, but embraces almost all the eminent names by which Holland was distinguished in the next generation. For the younger Janus Douza, Scaliger had conceived a tender affection. For his premature death he wept for days, 'comme une vieille.' He recognised the early promise of Hugo Grotius, and predicted his future celebrity. It would be tedious to the reader to enumerate names famous in the history or the schools of Holland, but little known beyond its precincts. One must not be omitted, that of his favourite and most attached disciple, Daniel Heinsius. Scaliger interested himself particularly in this youth, in forming him and in promoting his temporal interests. He used his influence to obtain for him the post of librarian, and till the last never ceased befriending him. Heinsius repaid these benefits by a devotion little short of idolatrous. Heinsius never left his side, waited upon everything that fell from his lips, watched by his death-bed, received his last words, and edited his Remains. He was never with Scaliger, he said—and he was with him daily—without

without feeling the inspiring influence of his mental energy. Heinsius had made notes of his 'Table-Talk;' but they are unfortunately lost. From so accomplished a note-taker they would have been, doubtless, of superior value to the collection of the two Vassans which we have. Dr. Bernays thinks that the inflated language which Heinsius and others of the Leyden circle used in speaking of their patron-saint, provoked, in the way of reaction, the abuse which was lavished upon Scaliger. It may have helped to give it currency; as, no doubt, the circulation of the pungent sarcasms which Scaliger threw about him upon pretentious ignorance aroused a vast amount of personal animosity against him. Never, perhaps, has any one in the history of letters wielded such a power over reputations as Joseph Scaliger, from his throne at Leyden. It cannot be said that he is unwilling to praise, where there is room for it. But his standard of attainment is a lofty one. Himself at the top of knowledge, he surveyed from that eminence the attempts of others, and measured exactly the degree in which they approximated to success. He never tramples upon modest and unassuming merit, however imperfect its attempts. What he cannot stomach is presumptuous dogmatism, ignorant what it is to know. This class of writers, always a large one, hopeless of corrupting or softening their inexorable critic, had no resource but to combine against him. But it was not from them that the envenomed hostility proceeded which broke in a storm upon the last ten years of Scaliger's life. The provocative lay much deeper: it lay in the attitude which, as a critic, Scaliger had taken up towards the documentary evidence on which the Catholic controversialists rested their case, and in the irretrievable overthrow by him of the credit of the Jesuits as expounders of antiquity, classical or ecclesiastical. They were sunk past recovery by the fair weapons of learning and argument. It only remained for them, by a combined and systematic assault upon the individual, to attempt to counter-balance that supremacy which his powers and knowledge had, by this time, secured to the Protestant cause. The danger to the Church, which could not be parried upon the open field of erudition and critical debate, might be averted by the moral assassination of the Protestant champion.

In the history of the 'Society of Jesus,' its Second Period is marked by a desperate effort to obtain possession of the region of letters and learning, in the same way as it had, in its First Period, conquered that of religious sentiment. In the first half-century of its existence—1540-1590—it had almost monopolized the reputation of sanctity, of the skill to handle the tender con-

science,



science, to sound the depths of casuistry. It had gained for the Church a complete triumph upon the purely religious and devotional ground. In the Middle Ages a triumph here would have been enough. There was then no other public opinion or common feeling. But in the sixteenth century this was no longer the case. The *mind* of Europe was awakened. He who would rule opinion now must show not merely credentials of his piety, but proof of his knowledge. The women and the ignorant—both very important conquests—had been recovered through the confessional and the pulpit. But there remained to be subdued this new, hitherto unknown, element of public opinion. The Jesuits were not daunted by the formidable nature of their novel enemy, though Church-history supplied them with no precedent to guide their tactics. They saw the strength which the Reformation derived from possessing all the leaders of the new school of Classical and Oriental Philology. Elegant Latin writing was no longer enough. New lines of inquiry and research were being opened up, and men had no longer the same ear for polished versification and sounding oratorical periods. The philologists must be converted, and their dangerous researches stopped or diverted. The Society itself, too, must breed its own philologists, and get up criticism in order to defend the ecclesiastical traditions. In one part of this tactic they had tolerable success. Muretus and Lipsius were carried over in triumph. Of Casaubon they had strong hopes. But Scaliger? He was known to be as immovable in his Protestant faith, as he was invincible in the field of criticism and knowledge of antiquity. As long as this Achilles remained in the Protestant camp, his single arm secured the victory to his party. There was but one resource—tyrannicide. The knife of the bravo might take off the captain who could not be worsted in the field. The pen of the slanderer might write down the arch-critic, whom it was impossible to foil at his own weapons. The whole learning of the Jesuit schools could not vindicate the integrity of the false Decretals, or prove the works of Dionysius to be the production of the convert of St. Paul, but persevering calumny might silence those who dared to intimate the imposture which had been so long palmed off upon the world.

In this spirit the Jesuits entered the territory of letters. Their efforts were but too successful. They clouded the serenity of Scaliger's declining years, and have hung an air of doubt round his character with posterity. Where opinion has to be acted upon, truth, it is often taken for granted, will in the end prevail. Not always, nor without drawback. No individual, however superior, can fight a party, even in the cause of truth. Even

Achilles



Achilles must have his Myrmidons. Nor did the Jesuits merely succeed in damaging the individual. They struck a heavy blow at ancient learning, by introducing into it that spirit of personal polemic of which it never rid itself during the whole of the seventeenth century. They not merely effectually disguised the defeat of the Roman controversialists in a cloud of scurrilous personalities, but they created an aversion to philological studies, lowered their credit, and broke up the alliance which had in the outset been so happily formed between honest research and the Reformed doctrines.

The signal of battle seems to have been given somewhere about the first year of the seventeenth century. Scaliger's withdrawal from France had relieved him from the local entanglements and hatreds of his own country, only to expose him to a wider sphere of religious animosity. It is remarkable that none of his assailants were French. From whatever cause this proceeded, it was not from any lurking sympathy. Neither then nor since have his Catholic fellow-countrymen shown any remorse for having exiled their illustrious compatriot, or made any attempt to '*reclamer*' him as their own. Flanders and Germany were the positions from which the Jesuit guns were pointed against Leyden. At Antwerp, Louvain, and Mainz, they had establishments for training their literary banditti. Here renegades from Protestantism were received, and were especially welcome if they could bring contributions of scandal against their old associates. Having lived with the Protestants, they knew their friends' weak points; ruined in character themselves they were zealous to ruin others. If an imputation could not be made to look plausible, it could be made to look black; quantity was not stinted; they were laid on, says Scaliger, 'by the waggon load.' Martin Delrio, who had taught at Liège and Louvain in Scaliger's neighbourhood, but was now removed to Grätz—one of the Jesuit strongholds for the blockade of Germany—opened the game in 1601. Delrio's language is comparatively decent. It is a noisy lament over Scaliger as a blasphemer and contemner of the 'authority of the Church,' in denying the genuineness of the writings of Dionysius, and in having affirmed that monachism was unknown in the Apostolic age. He goes on to a personal description of Scaliger, offensive and insulting, but not wholly untrue; a caricature rather than a libel. Delrio, in fact, was only the light skirmisher put forward to draw Scaliger's fire. But it would not do. The man was too inconsiderable. Scaliger took no notice, or awarded him only a conversational sarcasm.

The trenches were, therefore, opened on a new quarter. Scaliger had that feeling for his Hebrew attainments which we often have

have for that point which we are conscious is not exactly our strongest. His reputation as an Orientalist was a tender point with him. Serarius, a Jesuit of Mainz, who had some skill in Hebrew, was set on with this bait. They printed for him at their press in Mainz a book on 'The Three Jewish Sects' (*Trihæresion*), in which, quite by the way, some of the Hebrew criticisms in the 'De Emendatione' were called in question, but without violating the received courtesies of controversy. Scaliger could not resist the temptation. Though not replying himself, he appended to a friend's reply to the book a contemptuously-savage demolition of Serarius; and, finding his hand in, he could not refrain from a castigation of Delrio by the way. More important was an epistle addressed to the friendly editor of the volume, Drusius, Professor of Hebrew at Franeker. In this epistle, written in a vein of caustic humour, in which Scaliger has never been surpassed, he throws down his challenge to the whole Order:—'Till now he had kept silence under their provocations. If the offence were repeated he should not take it so quietly in future.' Friend and foe felt that this epistle was a declaration of war. The Heidelberg Calvinists congratulated themselves upon this out-spokenness; and the Jesuits no longer delayed the production of their heavy artillery. In 1605 Carolus Scribonius, Rector of the Jesuit College at Antwerp, produced the '*Amphitheatrum Honoris*.' The '*Amphitheatre*' is not directed against Scaliger only; it includes the Calvinists generally. It is difficult to give the English reader any idea of this production. It must suffice to say that it is one of the most shamelessly beastly books which have ever disgraced the printing press. The leading characters among the Reformed are brought up one after another, and the most filthy imputations alleged against them, without the smallest evidence, or the pretence of it. Even the titles of its chapters could not be reproduced in these pages. In any moral condition of society the compiler of such a mass of ordure would have been driven from among men as a pollution of his species. But fifty years of Jesuit reaction had told terribly on the moral sense of Europe. Scribonius was a defender of the Church, that was enough. The '*Amphitheatre*' speedily reached a second edition, to which a new Part was added, spiced with fresh turpitudes, and a special chapter on Scaliger. Nothing gives a more shocking impression of the depravity of party-spirit in those times than the hearty reception given to this infamous production. It has not a single redeeming point; neither wit, eloquence, piquant scandal, nor plausibility of imputation. It is a cesspool of filth, in which sectarian hate and an impure imagination do not seek to disguise themselves  
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by any arts of composition. Good men were aghast, and recoiled from this 'Amphitheatre of Horror;' but the Catholic public applauded; and where an attempt was made to get the sale of the book prohibited in France, Henri IV. interfered in its favour, and sent the author a message of encouragement, and letters of naturalization as a citizen.

In 1607 the Jesuits followed up this first success by a second. The 'Amphitheatre' had thrown dirt upon the whole Protestant body promiscuously, and only in the second edition had a point been made against Scaliger in particular. He was now made the subject of a companion volume, devoted entirely to himself, his personal history, and character. The 'Supposititious Scaliger' (*Scaliger Hypobolimæus*) of Gaspar Scioppius, is a thick quarto of 400 pages, in which all the slander and gossip about Scaliger and his family which could be raked together in the Jesuit colleges in Italy and Germany is retailed as matter of fact. But instead of the obscure style and clumsy composition of the 'Amphitheatre,' the 'Supposititious Scaliger' is set off by all the arts of an accomplished rhetorician. Scioppius was a master of Latin style; he wields, with a force and nerve not inferior to Scaliger's own, a precise and pungent diction,—a terrible weapon in such a warfare and in the hands of such an adversary, reckless of truth and only intent upon wounding his opponent. We seem to see the steel of the assassin gleam cold and keen in the moonlight, as he withdraws it again and again to repeat his blow and make sure of his victim. A more judicious selection of a champion the Jesuits could not have made. No stronger proof can be given of the impression produced by this powerful Philippic, dedicated to the defamation of an individual, than that it has been the source from which the biography of Scaliger, as it now stands in our biographical collections, has mainly flowed. Such is the power of style! The Jesuits, in their most sanguine dreams, could never have hoped that the pure fictions of Scioppius would establish themselves throughout the literary world as the genuine tradition of the family history of the Scaligers.

Scaliger was in his sixty-seventh year when this terrible blow was dealt him. He might well reel under the shock. A man of irreproachable purity of morals, of religious habits, who had devoted every hour of his life to the pursuit of knowledge, and had done more than any living man to dignify the pursuits which all men agreed to honour, might at least have thought he had earned a peaceful if not an honoured old age. And this was what it was come to! As the reward of his toil, himself and his ancestry were held up to the execration or ridicule of the

the world, and the world received the portrait with rapture. In denying his descent, the Jesuits had found out the heel of Achilles. Upon his belief in his noble blood his whole attitude and demeanour in the world had been founded. If his intellect had broken the bonds of opinion and enjoyed a freer scope and ampler range than that of ordinary scholars, it was because he had started with a consciousness of being the peer of the best and noblest in Europe. His princely birth was but the other side of his princely genius. He had sought and won this principality in letters as some small compensation for the territorial principality of which his forefathers had been robbed. He had cherished, in this inward persuasion, a sensitive, even irritable, love of truth, which had made him abhor disguise and scorn prudence, and now he found himself exhibited to the world as an impostor and a cheat. A sudden revolution had shaken the foundations of his authority. The proud fabric of his reputation was dashed to the ground amid the jubilant exultations of enemies and the cold condolence of friends. He was alone. Upon his single head was discharged all the venom of a triumphant party. The triumph, too, was not over himself, but over science and learning, and over Scaliger as their representative. On every side the work of the Reformation was being undone. A torrent of fanatical passion had set in, and was sweeping away all that the human intellect had for nearly a century been so laboriously constructing. It was time for him to go; his life had been lived in vain. Put away the 'Thesaurus Temporum!' What are honour, truth, virtue, science?—A dream. The Jesuits are masters of the world!

Recovered from his first consternation, Scaliger thought it necessary to reply to Scioppius's libel, though he had not noticed the 'Amphitheatre.' His 'Confutatio Fabulæ Burdonum,' published in his sixty-eighth year, is one of the most vigorous specimens of Scaliger's unrivalled Latin style. For the general reader this little tract is the most attractive of anything which he has left. It is overflowing with spirit and power, with historical knowledge and literary allusion. As a refutation of Scioppus it is most complete; but it had no success with the public. An answer never has. It is the privilege of slander that it does not admit of being removed, but attains its end by being uttered. Casaubon, indeed, was hearty and sympathetic; Heinsius was convinced; but the world regarded the sympathy of the devoted Casaubon as little as the indignation of the Leyden students. It was gratified to see Scaliger humbled, and it would not hear of anything that might abate its gratification. He was made to feel the truth of what he had once said, 'Nunquam major est vis  
calumniæ

calumniæ quam in causâ optimâ.' All consolation and support must be looked for within. The considerations he had himself, some eight years before, offered to a friend under a somewhat parallel infliction show the direction his thoughts would take in his own case. Thus he writes to John Casel in 1600:—

'You must remember how envy waits on merit as inseparably as shadow on body. You would not be the object of this enmity if you had not thus deserved it. I cannot recal any person of worth I have ever known who has not at some time or other been the victim of these malevolent passions, unless by studiously dissembling his gifts, and painfully conforming to the fashion of living and thinking of those around. But if you cannot escape envy you may vanquish it; envy itself, I mean, not the envious, which is but a poor triumph. Gifts of intellect and acquirements of learning are worth little if they do not furnish the soul with resources to meet the spite they excite. *Perfer itaque et obdura*. I am well acquainted with this sort of men, and am indeed daily exposed to their assaults. I can, however, afford to laugh at their stupid malignity, and despise their rage; and sustain myself by a good conscience and lofty purpose.'

If victory is not always granted us, we are sure of release. That hour was very near at hand. The 'Confutatio,' which robbed better work of some valuable hours, was finished in July, 1608. In October he began to feel symptoms, the meaning of which he well understood. The physicians who attended him complained of the difficulty of prescribing for one who was too well acquainted with the pharmacopœia and the power of drugs. For two months it amounted to little more than a sense of uneasiness, against which he struggled as well as his strength permitted. He did not intermit his usual reading; he could take hardly any food, and his body was reduced to the last stage of emaciation, but his mind was as vigorous as ever—'vigilant,' says Heinsius, 'like a soldier at his post.' Up to the very last he was correcting Polybius, and had drawn a sketch of the *pilum* from the description of that weapon in Lipsius's 'De Re Militari.' About Christmas he took to his bed; dropsy had declared itself:—

'I came to him one morning,'—this is Heinsius's narrative,—'and asked him how he felt. "My son," he answered, "you see me in extremis. I cannot any longer bear up against the distress I suffer. My body is worn out by lying here and by the stress of my malady. My mind is as active as ever. If my enemies could see me now, they would say it is the judgment of God upon me. You know how they have said it of others. But you can testify to what you have seen. Go on as you have begun. Watch over the memory of him who has loved thee tenderly. God, I cannot doubt it, has thee in his favour. He will continue to do so; do thou only acknowledge that all thou hast

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is from Him. Be not ostentatious of thy gifts; they will shine all the brighter. Whatever thou dost, shun arrogance and a haughty temper. Never do aught against thy inward convictions for the sake of advancement. Whatsoever is in thee is God's alone. Dear son! thy Scaliger is leaving thee!"

On the 21st of January, 1609, at four in the morning, he fell asleep in Heinsius's arms. The aspiring spirit ascended before the Infinite. The most richly-stored intellect which ever spent itself in acquiring knowledge was in the presence of the Omniscient.

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ART. III.—1. *Miscellaneous Statistics of the United Kingdom.* Part II. (Parliamentary Return.) 1859.

2. *On the Rate of Wages in Manchester and Salford and the Manufacturing Districts of Lancashire, 1839-59.* By David Chadwick, Treasurer of the Borough of Salford. Journal of the Statistical Society, March 1860.
3. *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories for the Half-Year ending 31st October, 1859.* London, 1860.
4. *Mechanics' Institutes as Preliminary Savings Banks.* By Charles W. Sikes. Leeds, 1850.
5. *Plain Papers on the Social Economy of the People. No. II. Penny Banks.* By J. Erskine Clarke, M.A., Vicar of St. Michael's, Derby. London, 1859.
6. *Returns presented to Parliament relating to Military Savings Banks.* 1860.
7. *Post-Office Savings Banks. A Letter to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P., Chancellor of the Exchequer.* By Charles W. Sikes, of the Huddersfield Banking Company. London, 1859.

**A**T a recent meeting of mechanics, held in St. Martin's Hall, one of the speakers used these words: 'Life to a working man is a ceaseless process of degradation, a daily martyrdom, a funeral procession to the grave.'\* This is a very dolorous picture of the working man's life and condition; but happily it is not true. It is amply refuted by the fact that the average duration of life amongst working men is higher, and that they are able to obtain a larger equivalent for their labour, at this day, than at any former period. The conclusion of Brown, the Oxford shoemaker, was much nearer the truth, when he said that 'a good mechanic is the most independent man in the world.' If he be ordinarily skilled, diligent, sober, and intelligent, he may be useful, healthy, and happy. With a thrifty use of his means, he may, if he earns from 30s. to 40s. a-week, dress well, live well, and educate his children creditably. Hugh Miller never

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\* Mr. Potter's speech at St. Martin's Hall, 30th September, 1859.



had more than 24s. a-week while working as a journeyman stonemason, and here is the result of his fifteen years' experience:—

'Let me state, for it seems to be very much the fashion to draw dolorous pictures of the condition of the labouring classes, that from the close of the first year in which I worked as a journeyman until I took final leave of the mallet and chisel, I never knew what it was to want a shilling; that my two uncles, my grandfather, and the mason with whom I served my apprenticeship—all working men—had had a similar experience; and that it was the experience of my father also. I cannot doubt that deserving mechanics may, in exceptional cases, be exposed to want; but I can as little doubt that the cases *are* exceptional, and that much of the suffering of the class is a consequence either of improvidence on the part of the competently skilled, or of a course of trifling during the term of apprenticeship, quite as common as trifling at school, that always lands those who indulge in it in the hapless position of the inferior workman.'

The philosophy that strives to teach people of any class to think the worst of themselves and their condition is of the shallowest sort; and the eloquence expended in the effort to convince well-paid workmen that they ought to be miserable is worse than shallow—it is mischievous. The orator who described the working man as forming part of a funeral procession, because the masters declined to pay him ten hours' wages for nine hours' work, was, however, only practising one of the tricks of platform-oratory. The platform-orator is nothing if not striking. He must exhibit strong contrasts, and hence he exaggerates to make his points tell. It is no doubt true that much unnecessary suffering was inflicted upon innocent individuals in the course of the recent strike; but the 'tyranny' of the masters was not the true cause; nor was the evil to be remedied, as proposed, by establishing the ascendancy of trades-unions. Popular political teachers, who attribute the sufferings of the lower orders to political 'slavery,' are also accustomed to draw largely upon the same fountains of eloquence, and to exhaust the language of sentimental pity in painting the 'degradation' of the working man. But it very rarely occurs to such orators to suggest that the persons whom they address are themselves to blame for what they suffer, or that they misuse the means of happiness which are placed within their reach. They do not tell them that they are themselves in any way parties to the 'process of degradation' which they are described as undergoing. This would be to convey a disagreeable though wholesome truth, and to speak such truth forms no part of the business of the popular agitator. He must please those whom he addresses; and it is always vastly gratifying to our self-love to be told that somebody else is to blame for what we suffer.

If the condition of the labouring classes in this country be viewed by the light of history, it will be found, that, instead of undergoing a 'process of degradation,' the process has been one of solid and steady improvement, and that the chief evils from which working-people suffer are those which only themselves can cure. Political reformers may indeed point to the United States; and Mr. Bright has applauded 'the resolution of any man who is determined by his industry and economy to provide the means of conveying himself and his family to another and to him and them a more happy land.'\* But it is certain that the skilled working man, if he practises industry and economy, may be as happy in England as anywhere else; and the voice that has recently come to us from America, in the shape of Theodore Parker's sermons 'On the Perishing Classes of Boston,' clearly demonstrates, if demonstration were needed, that political institutions, of the most democratic kind, are absolutely helpless in protecting men against the consequences of their own ignorance, improvidence, and vice. A popular historian has even alleged, that, so far from the want of political freedom being a cause of the alleged 'degradation' of this class, 'the working man of modern times has bought the extension of his liberty at the price of his material comfort.'† But instead of this being the case, it is capable of proof that, as respects the means of comfortable living, the English artizan is now better off than at any former period; and has fewer burdens to bear in proportion to his means than the like class in any country in Europe. It is true, in those new countries where land is abundant and cheap, he is enabled more easily to become an owner and cultivator of the soil, to the relief of the 'labour-market;' and it is by this constant drafting off of the provident working-class that the rate of wages in new countries is maintained at a comparatively high standard. But notwithstanding these advantages in favour of the colonist, the English mechanic is as well paid for his labour in proportion to the prices of commodities; and it is quite unnecessary for him to go all the way to America, Australia, or New Zealand, to learn how to prosper. If he uses the land in England as a savings-bank, he will thrive here as there; but if he invests his earnings in the beer-shop, he will be degraded alike in the old country as in the new.

No one can reproach the English workman with want of industry. He works harder and more skilfully than the workman of any other country; and he might be more comfortable and independent in his circumstances were he as prudent as he

\* Letter to the Glasgow Council of Trades Delegates on Emigration.

† Mr. Froude—*History of England*.

is laborious. But improvidence is unhappily the defect of the class. Even the best-paid English workmen, though earning more money than the average of professional men, still for the most part belong to the poorer classes because of their thoughtlessness. In prosperous times they are not accustomed to make provision for adverse; and hence, when a period of social pressure occurs, they are rarely found more than a few weeks ahead of positive want. This habitual improvidence—though of course there are many admirable exceptions—is the real cause of the social degradation of the artizan. This too is the prolific source of social misery; but the misery is wholly a human product. For though the Creator has ordained poverty, the poor are not necessarily, nor as matter of fact, the miserable. Misery is the result of moral causes; most commonly it is the offspring of individual improvidence and vice; and it is to be cured, not so much by conferring greater rights, as by implanting better habits—a course which the efforts to inspire working men with a contempt for their own condition, and a hatred of the classes above them, is in no respect calculated to promote.

We have stated that the remuneration of the lower orders in this country has been steadily progressive. Macaulay has shown that towards the close of the seventeenth century all classes were paid less wages than they are now. Agricultural labourers received only from 2*s.* to 3*s.* a week with food, or from 4*s.* to 5*s.* without. In 1661 the justices at Chelmsford fixed the rate at 6*s.* in winter and 7*s.* in summer; but at the time this order was made all the necessaries of life were immoderately dear, and wheat was selling at what would now be considered almost a famine price—70*s.* a quarter. Private soldiers were paid only 4*s.* 8*d.* a week, yet no difficulty was experienced in obtaining thousands of recruits on very short notice. Even mechanics received only from 6*s.* to 7*s.* a week, notwithstanding the high price of food. In 1680 Mr. John Basset, member for Barnstaple, urged in Parliament that the exorbitant wages paid in this country made it impossible for our artizans to compete with Indian looms; for, said he, the English mechanic, instead of slaving like the Hindoo for a piece of copper, exacts not less than a shilling a day! \* Working people then rarely tasted meat; and sugar, tea, and coffee—now the common necessaries of life—were luxuries altogether beyond their reach. In Charles II.'s time the woollen weavers could only earn 6*d.* a day, and the popular ballads sung in the streets of Norwich and Leeds stated that, if justice were done, and weavers had their 'rights,' they would be paid a shilling a

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\* Smith's *Memoirs of Wool.*

day as in the 'good old times.' But even during the days of the Commonwealth, which were the 'good old times' referred to—a period of great prosperity being still proverbially spoken of in some parts of Yorkshire as 'Oliver's days'—it is ascertained that, while the prices of the ordinary necessities of life were somewhat higher, the better classes of workmen did not earn more than about one-fourth of their present average wages.

Coming down to our own times, we find the earnings of artisans steadily advancing. In 1730 the daily earnings of bricklayers and mechanics employed at Greenwich Hospital averaged 2s. 6d. a day, with bread dearer than at present. Even as late as the year 1800, Mr. Sidney Smirke states that the wages of a good mason in London were only 16s. a week, with wheat at 90s. 6d. the quarter; the same class of workmen now receiving 33s. a week, though wheat is under 50s. the quarter, and all the necessities of life are greatly reduced in price. The more closely the vaunted 'good old times' of the labouring classes are investigated, the more clearly will it appear that they were times of hard work and small pay, of dear food and scanty clothing, of defective means of education and wretched household accommodation. We have lately shown\* that the wages paid to the men employed in the building trades of the metropolis, have increased during the last thirty years from 27s. and 28s. to 32s. and 33s. a week; and that, taking into account the quantity of necessities which the money will purchase, the substantial increase has been equivalent to not less than 30 per cent.

A similar improvement in the remuneration paid for labour has taken place in most of the staple branches of industry throughout England during the same period, as is strikingly exhibited by the 'Miscellaneous Statistics of the United Kingdom,' recently presented to Parliament, which contain a mine of information illustrative of the advances made by the working classes of this country in respect of material prosperity during the last twenty years. The tables furnished by Mr. Chadwick, Treasurer of the Borough of Salford, are peculiarly instructive on this head. We have brought together some of the more striking particulars contained in these valuable returns; and we beg to point out the fact that, whilst the actual money-wages paid to the operatives employed in the cotton trade have increased during the last twenty years from 12 to 28 per cent., the working hours of the labourers have been reduced by the operation of the Ten Hours Factory Bill, during the same period, nine hours per week, or not less than 15 per cent. There has also been a reduction in

\* 'Quarterly Review,' October, 1859, article 'Strikes.'

the hours of labour in silk-mills of six hours a week ; and in the miscellaneous employments connected with the building trade of from three to four and a half hours per week. To this it may be added that there has been a large increase in the number of persons employed in all descriptions of labour ; the number of cotton-factories having increased 21 per cent., and of silk-factories 71 per cent.

WEEKLY WAGES PAID IN MANCHESTER AND THE NEIGHBOURING TOWNS  
DURING THE LAST 20 YEARS.

Nature of Employment.	1839.	1849.	1859.	Increase in Wages over 1839.	Decrease in period of labour.
<i>Cotton Manufacture.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	Per Cent.	Hours.
Steam-engine tenters .. ..	24 0	28 0	30 0	25	9
Warehousemen .. ..	18 0	20 0	22 0	22	9
Scutchers (girls and women) ..	7 0	7 6	8 0	14	9
Strippers (boys and young men)	11 0	12 0	14 0	27	9
Overlookers (carding) .. ..	25 0	28 0	28 0	12	9
Bobbin and fly tenters (girls and women) .. ..	7 6	8 6	9 0	20	9
Minders of self-acting mules (25's to 40's) .. ..	18 0	18 6	22 0	22	9
Piecers (women and young men)	8 0	9 0	10 0	25	9
Doublers (women) .. ..	7 0	7 6	9 0	28	9
Power-loom weavers (principally women), 40-inch shirtings, 2 looms .. ..	9 0	9 0	10 9	19	9
Ditto, 4 looms .. ..	17 0	16 0	20 0	18	9
<i>Silk Manufacture.</i>					
Mill-men and throwsters .. ..	14 0	14 0	17 0	21½	6
Overlookers .. ..	19 0	19 0	22 0	16	6
Spinners (young men and boys)	7 6	7 6	10 0	33	6
Weavers .. ..	18 0	18 0	20 0	11	6
<i>Mechanical Trades.</i>					
Pattern-makers and fitters ..	30 0	30 0	32 0	6	} The same
Smiths and millwrights .. ..	30 0	32 0	32 0	6	
Painters .. ..	24 0	27 0	29 0	20	
Erectors .. ..	32 0	32 0	33 0	3	
<i>Miscellaneous.</i>					
Bricklayers—summer .. ..	27 0	30 0	33 0	22	4½
„ winter .. ..	27 0	27 0	30 0	11	3
Bricklayers' labourers—summer	18 0	18 0	21 0	16	4½
„ winter .. ..	18 0	18 0	18 0	..	3
Stonemasons—summer .. ..	26 0	28 6	30 0	15	4½
„ winter .. ..	24 0	26 0	27 0	12	3
Brick-moulders—summer ..	42 0	42 0	50 0	19	} The same Do.
„ winter .. ..	18 0	18 0	21 0	16	

Mr.

Mr. Chadwick states that the number of persons in Lancashire directly engaged in the various branches of the cotton trade in 1859 was estimated at 400,000 persons, and that the average rate of wages paid to them (including boys, girls, and women) was 10*s.* 3½*d.* per week, or 10,653,000*l.* per annum.

'The rate of wages (he adds) paid to the various trades in Manchester and the neighbourhood during the twenty years from 1839 to 1859 shows that in the cotton trade the advance of wages has averaged from 10 to 25 per cent. In the silk trade an advance of wages has taken place in all the branches equal to more than 10 per cent.,—these advances having in all cases been conceded by the masters without any strike amongst their workpeople. In calico-printing, dyeing, and bleaching, and in silk and fustian dyeing, a decline in wages has occurred in those branches which no longer require any special or peculiar skill; and also in the higher class of skilled workmen, such as machine printers; but the wages of this class now range from 25*s.* to 50*s.* per week, the average rate being 38*s.* In the building trades the increase in the rate of wages has averaged from 11 to 32 per cent. In the mechanical trades there has been a general advance in nearly all branches; in some instances this advance is equal to 45 per cent. A reduction has occurred in the high wages formerly paid to brass moulders (now 30*s.*), and to engravers to calico printers, though the wages of the latter now range from 25*s.* to 48*s.* per week. In the miscellaneous trades, including upwards of eighty classes of workmen, the rate of wages has generally been maintained, and in some cases has been considerably advanced. Where reductions have occurred, they will be found to arise mainly from the following causes:—1. Where the demand for the article has declined, as in beaver-hat making, block-cutters and printers in calico-printing, &c.; and 2. Improvements in machinery, such as the substitution of power for hand-loom weaving, and the substitution of machine-printing of calico and paper-hangings for hand-printing,' &c.

The wages paid to individual labourers does not, however, convey a complete idea of the large incomes earned by families in Lancashire at the present time. In the cotton districts the proportion of labourers employed in the mills is as follows:—19 per cent. are men; 50·2 per cent. women; 6·6 per cent. boys; and 24·2 per cent. girls. Whilst the men are earning high wages in various trades, most of the other members of the family are at work in the mills. In Darwen and the neighbourhood women can earn as weavers from 11*s.* to 20*s.* a week, according to the skill and the number of looms they attend; and winders and warpers, principally young women, earn from 10*s.* to 18*s.* a week. During the last few years the demand for 'card-room hands,' whose labour requires little skill and is easily learnt, has led to an increase in their wages in Darwen of fully 100 per cent. There is a large mill in that neighbourhood



bourhood where, twenty years ago, no hand in the card-room earned more than 6s. a week, whereas now many of them earn from 12s. to 18s. a week, with nine hours less labour.

When these circumstances are taken into account, it will be found—what otherwise might have seemed incredible—that the families of factory operatives in Lancashire are at present earning higher incomes than many of the professional classes of England—higher than the average of country surgeons, higher than the average of the clergy of all denominations, much higher than the average of the teachers of the rising generation,\* and perhaps higher than the average of the middle classes of the United Kingdom generally. In a debate in the House of Commons in 1844, when the rate of wages was considerably lower than at present, Mr. Bright, in the course of his speech delivered in opposition to the Bill for shortening the hours of labour, instanced the case of 51 families inhabiting 51 cottages adjoining his mill, whose average earnings per family amounted to 92*l.* 19*s.* per annum. He adduced another case where 55 families then employed by Eccles, Shorrock, and Co., of Darwen, earned an average income for each family of 117*l.* 7*s.* 9*d.* But since that time the rate of wages paid to the same class of workpeople has so much increased, that there are few families containing children of twelve years and upwards who do not earn incomes of from 120*l.* to 150*l.* We have before us a large number of cases taken from the wages-books of mills in the neighbourhood of Blackburn and Rochdale which strikingly illustrate this statement. In one instance we find a father, son, and daughter, earning 2*l.* 12*s.* a week, or 135*l.* 4*s.* per annum. In another, the husband and wife earn 2*l.* 8*s.*, or 124*l.* 16*s.* per annum. In a third, the father and four girls earn 3*l.* 10*s.* a week, or 182*l.* per annum. These are ordinary examples; but in many families the earnings range much higher. We find a case in which five daughters and two sons working in a cotton-mill earn amongst them three guineas a week, whilst the father, working as a blacksmith, earns 30*s.*, showing a total annual income of 232*l.* 10*s.* In another instance, where the father earns 17*s.* a week as a labourer, the eldest son earns 1*l.* 15*s.* as a warper in a mill, five daughters earn from 13*s.* to 10*s.* a week each, and the youngest son, 14 years old, 8*s.*, or a total income of 287*l.* 10*s.* Even this is not the maximum.

\* The salaries of certificated teachers in the National Schools are under 100*l.*, and of uncertificated teachers under 70*l.* per annum. Whilst we write, we observe from a case before the Colchester County Court ('Times,' 2nd May, 1860) that the salary at which a Dissenting Congregation of that town engaged their minister was twenty-five shillings a week, and that the minister was under the necessity of taking legal steps to recover an unpaid balance of wages due to him at that rate.

There

There is a family consisting of the father, six sons, and two daughters, who realise 6*l.* 17*s.* a week, or, at an average of 6*l.* 10*s.* for fifty weeks, a united income of 325*l.*

Thus, in Lancashire, children are as great a source of wealth to their parents as in any new colony. Large as is the population of that county, it bears a much smaller proportion to the existing steam-power, and to the looms and spindles now running, than it did only ten years ago. A manufacturer informs us that at least 20,000 additional operatives—men, women, and children—are required in Lancashire alone, to enable the existing mills, and those in course of erection, to be worked satisfactorily. Mr. Bright may recommend artisans to emigrate, and the Government may offer emigrants a free passage to Australia at the expense of the colonial funds, but what is really wanted is, not emigration from England, but immigration into the manufacturing districts themselves. Nor is factory-life now accompanied by those hardships which were formerly so common. Mr. Leonard Horner, after twenty-six years' experience as an Inspector, says:—

‘I am persuaded that in no way can the children of the operative classes be placed in more favourable circumstances than while working in a well-regulated factory, under the conditions of the existing law. Their half-day's employment can do no injury to their health; they are exposed to no undue exertions; and they are sheltered from the weather in a dry and warm room—a great contrast to what most of them would be otherwise exposed to; and if the school to which they are sent daily for three hours be a reasonably good one, they get the advantage of some education; and in many of the schools they obtain the lasting benefit of most effective teaching. When they are in the mill they acquire regular and industrious habits, and by the work they are set to, and by what they see around them, their wits are sharpened, and they earn wages that must go a good way towards their maintenance.’

Similar high rates of wages prevail throughout Yorkshire and the other manufacturing districts, where women and children also largely contribute to increase the united earnings of families. In Leeds the average rate paid to men, women, and children, employed in the woollen manufacture, is about 12*s.* 6*d.* weekly; the wages of wool-sorters being 24*s.*, slubbers 27*s.*, overlookers (of slubbers) from 35*s.* to 40*s.*, mule spinners 28*s.*, and others in proportion to their skill and efficiency as labourers. At Bradford and the neighbourhood the wages of men employed in worsted-spinning range from 18*s.* to 36*s.* Mr. Baker, Inspector of Factories, states that the wages paid to the factory operatives of the United Kingdom in 1856 amounted to upwards of nineteen millions sterling; that in no branch of textile labour

had

had wages been reduced since 1833; that the 'average increase was 12 per cent., and in one instance 40 per cent.'

The highest rates of wages, however, are those which prevail in the iron trade, which has recently sprung into great importance, and promises eventually to become one of the leading staple manufactures of Britain. The following return, extracted from the wages-book of a large iron manufactory in the north of England, will show the extraordinary remuneration paid to this class of workmen. It must, however, be premised that the wages are for a week of straightforward heavy work, without an hour's loss of time for change of orders, or any casualty whatever.

Nature of Employment.	Rate of Wages Per Week.	Rate of Wages per Annum.
<i>Puddling Mills.</i>		
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Puddlers .. .. .	2 2 6	110 10 0
Puddlers' underhands .. .. .	0 19 0	49 8 0
Shinglers .. .. .	4 15 0	247 0 0
Shinglers' helpers .. .. .	1 16 0	93 12 0
Rollers .. .. .	3 0 0	156 0 0
Rollers' helpers .. .. .	1 10 0	78 0 0
Ball furnace-men .. .. .	2 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> to 3 <i>l.</i> 5 <i>s.</i>	130 <i>l.</i> to 169 <i>l.</i>
Boy, helper to ditto .. .. .	0 9 0	23 8 0
<i>Plate Mills.</i>		
Furnace-men .. .. .	2 2 6	110 10 0
Boy, helper to ditto .. .. .	0 7 6	19 10 0
Rollers .. .. .	5 10 0	286 0 0
Helpers to ditto .. .. .	1 10 0	78 0 0
Catchers to ditto .. .. .	1 10 0	78 0 0
<i>Rail Mill.</i>		
Furnace-men .. .. .	2 0 0	104 0 0
Boy, helper to ditto .. .. .	0 6 0	18 2 0
Rollers .. .. .	7 <i>l.</i> 7 <i>s.</i> to 10 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i>	382 <i>l.</i> 4 <i>s.</i> to 546 <i>l.</i>
Helpers to ditto .. .. .	1 7 0	70 4 0
Roughers-down to rollers .. .. .	2 16 8	146 16 8
Hookers .. .. .	1 1 0	54 12 0
Boy .. .. .	0 15 0	39 0 0
Ditto .. .. .	0 9 0	23 8 0
Catcher .. .. .	1 1 0	54 12 0

From this statement it appears that rail-rollers are able to earn a rate of daily pay equal to that of lieutenant-colonels in Her Majesty's Foot-guards; shinglers equal to that of majors of Foot; and furnace-men equal to that of lieutenants and adjutants. But this is not all. The furnace-men, rollers, and other workmen employed in iron-mills, add greatly to their incomes by the wages earned by their sons; the under-hands being usually boys from

from 14 years of age and upwards, earning 19s. a week, whilst boys from 10 to 14 years old earn from 6s. to 9s. a week as helpers. Thus an average earning of from 200*l.* to 300*l.* a year is, in ordinarily prosperous times, within easy reach of most working men with families engaged in the iron manufacture; but a total earning of from 500*l.* to 600*l.* a year is not uncommon when the demand for iron-rails is unusually brisk. In the iron-manufacturing districts of Staffordshire the earnings of the workmen are not at present so high as usual, in consequence of the depressed state of the trade in that quarter; but even there the present earnings of rollers and shinglers average 40s. a week, or above 100*l.* per annum; those of puddlers and ball-furnace-men being 35s., keepers 30s., and fillers 24s. a week.

We have not yet, however, stated the whole case in favour of the improved condition of the working class during the last twenty years. The mere money earned by them does not represent the actual increase in the remuneration paid for their labour, which can only be duly estimated by taking into account the increased quantity of necessaries they will purchase. It is well known—notwithstanding the statements which have been promulgated as to the tendency of the present system of Parliamentary Government to throw all the power of the State into the hands of a small and selfish class, who use it for their own benefit, and to the disadvantage of the poor—that the legislation of the country has during the last twenty years been mainly directed to the reduction of the taxes levied upon the necessities of life. During that period the middle and upper ranks have assumed the payment of not less than one hundred and twenty-four millions sterling as property and income tax, besides levying upon themselves taxes on succession, taxes on inhabited houses of 20*l.* rental and upwards, taxes on stamps, and increased assessed taxes,—new burdens which fall almost exclusively on the propertied, commercial, and professional classes of the community,—whilst they have during the same period reduced the taxes on sugar, molasses, coffee, cocoa, tea, currants and raisins, butter and cheese, eggs, soap, and leather; taken off those upon glass, timber, bricks, and other materials used for building; and admitted foreign-grown corn, foreign cattle, and foreign provisions, freely into the country from all parts of the globe. The result has been the actual transfer of a large portion of the taxation of the country from the weekly-wage class to the professional, commercial, middle, and upper classes; and whilst the money-wages of labour have, as we have shown, been steadily advancing, the prices of nearly all kinds of food have been considerably diminished.

Mr.

Mr. Chadwick gives a comparative statement of the details of the weekly expenditure in Manchester, for the years 1839, 1849, and 1859, of a family consisting of a husband, wife, and three children, whose total wages he supposes to amount to 30*s.* a week; from which it appears, that, for the same quantities of breadstuffs purchased, there is a saving of 2*s.* 4*d.* a week, and in coffee, sugar, tea, &c., of 2*s.* 10½*d.* a week, or an average annual saving of 13*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.*; being equal to a reduction in the cost of provisions alone of 20 per cent.

Having thus glanced at the material prosperity of the working classes in the manufacturing districts, let us now inquire what use they make of their largely-increased means of physical comfort and social well-being? What becomes of these large incomes? How many voters have they enfranchised? How many individuals have they permanently raised above poverty and dependence? Mr. Bright considers that the income of the working classes is 'understated at three hundred and twelve millions a year.\*' Allowing a considerable discount for oratorical exaggeration, it is, nevertheless, unquestionable that a very large amount of wealth annually passes through the hands of the working class, which, if properly used and duly economized, could not fail to establish large numbers of them in circumstances of comparative wealth. Now, on looking at the returns of savings-banks, we find that during the last year, which was probably the greatest year of prosperity the working classes have ever known, only about a million and a half sterling was deposited beyond the amounts withdrawn. But it is a remarkable fact, that, although the balances to the credit of the depositors in savings-banks have increased on the whole during the last seventeen years, this result would not have been attained, notwithstanding the increase of population and of wages, but for the accumulation of interest—the deposits in England during that period having been ninety-three millions, and the withdrawals about ninety-five and a half millions. Thus there is an actual decrease in the capital sums deposited of two-and-a-half millions. Nor does the habit of saving seem to exist so extensively amongst the population of those districts in which the highest wages are paid, as in those where wages are comparatively the lowest. It is curious to find that the inhabitants of Wilts and Dorset—counties which were so often quoted during the Anti-Corn-Law agitation as the most backward in England—lodge more money in the savings-banks per head of the population than the highly-paid operative classes of the county of Lancaster; and that the rural districts of

\* Mr. Bright's speech on the Representation of the People Bill, House of Commons, June 7th, 1860.

the county of York are in like manner more thrifty in their habits, if we are to judge by their deposits in the savings-banks, than the highly-favoured manufacturing classes of the West Riding of the same county. In the agricultural counties the average wages of labourers range from 9s. to 12s. a week, and in the manufacturing from 20s. to 35s. and upwards, and yet the following are the savings-banks results:—

Counties.	Population in 1851.	Number of Accounts open in 1858.	Owing to Depositors in 1858.	Number of Depositors to every 100 of Population in 1858.	Average Deposits per Head of Population in 1858.
<i>Agricultural.</i>			£.		£. s. d.
Berkshire .. ..	170,065	16,393	442,257	9.64	2 12 7
Devonshire .. ..	567,098	61,558	1,671,713	10.33	2 18 11
Dorset .. ..	184,207	14,134	480,898	7.67	2 12 2
Oxford .. ..	170,439	14,164	380,348	8.31	2 4 7
Somerset .. ..	443,916	29,115	857,147	6.55	1 18 7
Wilts .. ..	254,221	14,856	477,712	5.45	1 17 6
York (East Riding)	220,983	25,091	730,804	11.35	3 6 1
York (North Riding)	251,517	13,145	381,826	6.22	1 10 4
<i>Manufacturing.</i>					
Lancashire .. ..	2,031,236	117,927	3,285,522	5.80	1 12 4
York (West Riding)	1,325,495	63,334	1,691,006	4.77	1 5 6

Again, if we analyse the accounts of the principal savings-banks in the manufacturing districts, we find that it is not so much the highly-paid classes of working people who deposit money in them, as those who earn comparatively moderate incomes. Thus the most numerous class of depositors in the Manchester and Salford savings-bank is the class of female domestic servants, whose money wages range from 12l. to 20l. a-year. After them rank clerks, shopmen, warehousemen, porters, and minors. Of the whole amount of deposits on the 20th November last, less than one-third belonged to the various classes of highly-paid operatives engaged in the cotton and silk manufactures, the mechanical and engineering trades, and the building and other employments contingent upon manufacturing prosperity. So too in Bradford we find that, in May 1859, the comparatively small class of female domestic servants, with their moderate wages, furnished 506 depositors of 12,756l., or an average of 25l. 4s. 2d. for each depositor; whereas the much larger and more highly-paid class of female factory-workers, married and unmarried, furnished only 563 depositors of 12,036l., or an average of 21l. 7s. 7d. to each depositor. The same result has been experienced in the manufacturing towns of Scotland.

It



It was noticed as a remarkable fact, some years ago, that, in Dundee, 237 accounts stood in the names of female servants, while out of the numerous and well-paid class of female factory-workers only *one* had an account at the savings-bank. Indeed, from the commencement of these valuable institutions they have been principally used by the lowest-paid portion of the industrious classes, and have not yet to any considerable extent been resorted to by the better-paid classes of operatives.

The first savings-bank was started by Miss Priscilla Wakefield, in the parish of Tottenham, Middlesex, towards the close of last century, her object being mainly to stimulate the frugality of poor children. The experiment proved so successful that, in 1799, the Rev. Joseph Smith, of Wendon, commenced a plan of receiving small sums from his parishioners during summer, and returning them at Christmas, with the addition of one-third as a stimulus to prudence and forethought. Miss Wakefield, in her turn, followed Mr. Smith's example, and, in 1804, extended the plan of her charitable bank, so as to include adult labourers, female servants, and others. A similar institution was formed at Bath, in 1808, by several ladies of that city; and about the same time Mr. Whitbread proposed to Parliament the formation of a national institution, 'in the nature of a bank, for the use and advantage of the labouring classes alone;' but nothing came of the proposal. It was not until the Rev. Henry Duncan, the minister of Ruthwell, a poor parish in Dumfriesshire, took up the subject, that the savings-bank system may be said to have become fairly initiated. The inhabitants of the parish were mostly poor cottagers, whose average wages did not amount to more than 8s. a-week. There were no manufactures in the parish, nor any means of subsistence for the population except what was derived from the land under cultivation; and the landowners were mostly non-resident. It seemed a very unlikely place in which to establish with success a bank for savings, when the poor people were already obliged to strain every nerve to earn a bare living, to provide the means of educating their children (for, however small their income, the Scottish peasant almost invariably contrives to save something wherewith to send his children to school), and to pay their little contributions to the friendly society of the parish. Nevertheless the minister resolved, as a help to his spiritual instructions, to try the experiment. Not many labouring men may apprehend the deep arguments of the religious teacher, but the least intelligent can appreciate a bit of practical advice that tells upon the well-being of his household as well as on the labourer's own daily comfort and self-respect. Dr. Duncan knew that, even in the poorest family, there

there were odds and ends of income apt to be frittered away in unnecessary expenditure. He saw some thrifty cottagers using the expedient of a cow, or a pig, or a bit of garden-ground, as a savings-bank, finding their return of interest in the shape of butter and milk, winter's bacon, or garden-produce; and it occurred to him that there were other villagers, single men and young women, for whom some analogous mode of storing away their summer's savings might be provided, and a fair rate of interest returned upon their little investments. Hence originated the parish savings-bank of Ruthwell, the first self-supporting institution of the kind established in this country. That the minister was not wrong in his anticipations was proved by the fact that the funds of the institution rose by successive steps to 151*l.*, to 176*l.*, to 241*l.*, and to 922*l.* in the four following years. And if poor villagers, out of 8*s.* a-week, and female labourers and servants out of much less, could lay aside this sum, what might not mechanics accomplish who earn from 30*s.* to 40*s.* a-week all the year round? What, for instance, might not the wealthy operatives of Blackburn do, when we find that, out of their surplus earnings, they could send nearly 30,000*l.* to support the unsuccessful strike at Blackburn a few years ago, or about 1000*l.* a-week during the period that the strike lasted?

The example set by Dr. Duncan, in Ruthwell, was shortly after followed in many other parishes in Scotland, and in most of the principal towns of England. In every instance the model of the Ruthwell parish-bank was invariably followed, and the vital self-sustaining principle was adopted. They were not eleemosynary institutions, nor dependent upon anybody's charity or patronage; but their success rested entirely with the depositors themselves. They encouraged the industrious classes to rely upon their own resources, to exercise forethought and economy in the conduct of life, to cherish self-respect and self-dependence, and to provide for their comfort and maintenance in old age, by the careful use of the products of their industry, instead of having to rely for aid upon the thankless dole of a begrudged poor-rate. The establishment of savings-banks with these great objects at length began to be recognised as a matter of national concern; and in 1817 an Act was passed, which served to increase their number and extend their usefulness. Various measures (to which it is unnecessary here to refer in detail) have since been adopted with the object of increasing their efficiency and security. But notwithstanding the great good which these institutions have accomplished, it is still obvious that the better-paid classes of workpeople avail themselves of them to only a very limited extent. But a small portion of the three hundred millions  
estimated

estimated to be annually earned by the working-classes finds its way to the savings-bank, while at least thirty times the amount laid by goes annually to the beer-shop and the public-house.

The military savings-bank is of comparatively recent origin. It will perhaps scarcely be credited that the private soldiers of the British army save more money out of their slender pay than the average of artisans do out of their much higher earnings. Soldiers are not supposed to be a particularly thrifty class—indeed, they have not unfrequently been held up to odium on public platforms as particularly reckless and dissolute; but the military savings-bank returns amply refute the vilification, and prove the British soldier to be as sober, well-disciplined, and frugal, as we already know him to be brave. The first proposal for establishing depositaries of savings in connection with the regiments of the British service was made by Paymaster Fairfowl in 1816; and the question was again raised in 1827, upon a letter from Colonel Oylander, then commanding the 26th Foot (Cameronians). The subject was brought under the notice of the late Duke of Wellington, and negatively, the Duke making the following memorandum on the subject:—‘There is nothing that I know of to prevent a soldier, equally with others of His Majesty’s subjects, from investing his money in savings-banks. If there be any impediment, it should be taken away; but I doubt the expediency of going further.’ The idea however seems to have occurred to the Duke, that the proposal to facilitate the saving of money by private soldiers might be turned to account in the way of a reduction in the army expenditure, and he characteristically added—‘Has a soldier more pay than he requires? If he has, it should be lowered, not to those now in the service, but to those enlisted hereafter.’ No one could allege, however, that the pay of the private soldier was excessive, and it was not likely that any proposal to lower it would be entertained. The subject of savings-banks for the army was allowed to rest for a time; but being warmly advocated by Sir James McGregor and Lord Howick, then Secretary-at-War, a scheme was at length approved by Lord Hill in 1838, and finally established in 1842. The result has been satisfactory in an eminent degree, and speaks well for the character of the British soldier. It appears from a paper presented to the House of Commons (No. 93), dated February, 1860, that the total amount of the fund for military savings-banks then amounted to 227,299*l.*, and a further return (No. 140) shows the details of the savings effected by the respective corps. The statement, however, is incomplete, inasmuch as it does not include the deposits made by the regiments on service in India; but we glean from the return

some

some facts of a very remarkable character. For instance, we find that the Royal Artillery corps serving at home contains not fewer than 1432 depositors, and that their savings in the regimental bank amounted, on the 31st of March, 1859, to 23,012*l.*, or an average of 16*l.* to each depositor. These savings of the artillerymen are made out of a daily pay of 1*s.* 3*d.* and 1*d.* for beer money, or equal to about 9*s.* 6*d.* a week, subject to sundry deductions for extra clothing, &c. Again, we find that 591 men of the corps of Royal Engineers—mostly drawn from the skilled-mechanical class—though paid at the rate of only 1*s.* 2½*d.* a day and 1*d.* beer money,\* have a balance of savings standing to their credit at the bank of 11,640*l.*, or an average of about 20*l.* for each depositor. Even in the infantry of the line, where the pay of the private soldier while on home service is only a shilling a day and a penny for beer, we find thrifty habits prevailing to a considerable extent. Thus we find not fewer than 250 men of the first battalion of the Twenty-sixth (Cameronians)—or about one-third of the corps—depositors of 4187*l.* in the regimental savings-bank, which is equal to 16*l.* 15*s.* for each depositor. Next in thrift, amongst the regiments serving at home, ranks the Forty-fifth, which contains 193 depositors, who have saved a sum of 3599*l.* But this is not all. These private soldiers, out of their pay of 7*s.* 7*d.* a week, are also accustomed to remit considerable sums, by money orders through the post-office, to their poor relations at home. Not less than 22,000*l.* was sent in this way from the men in camp at Aldershot in the year 1856, the average amount of each money order having been 1*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.* And if men with 7*s.* 7*d.* a week can effect this much, what might not working men do whose earnings amount to from one to three guineas a week? Soldiers serving abroad during arduous campaigns have proved themselves to be equally provident and thoughtful. During the war in the Crimea the soldiers and seamen sent home through the money-order office 71,000*l.*, and the Army Works corps 35,000*l.* There is not a regiment returning from India but brings home with it a store of savings. Thus for the year 1858-9 there was remitted 10,268*l.*, and for the year 1859-60, 20,278*l.*, on account of invalided men sent back to England; besides which there were eight regiments which brought home balances to their credits in the regimental banks amounting to 40,499*l.*† The highest was the Eighty-

\* Some of the Sappers have working pay, while occupied in surveying, &c., in addition to the regular pay; but this varies with the nature of the work.

† The sums sent home by soldiers serving in India for the benefit of friends and relatives are not included in these amounts, the remittances being made direct by the paymasters of regiments, and not through the Savings Banks.

fourth, whose savings amounted to 9718*l*. The Seventy-eighth (Rossshire Buffs), the heroes who followed Havelock in his march on Lucknow, saved 6480*l*.; and the gallant Thirty-second, who held Lucknow under Inglis, saved 5263*l*. The Eighty-sixth, the first battalion of the Tenth, and the Ninth Dragoons, all brought home an amount of savings indicative of providence and forethought which reflected the highest honour upon them as men as well as soldiers.

We have seen that the facilities afforded by savings-banks have, as yet, been taken advantage of mainly by the most moderately paid among the labouring classes, and not to any extent by those earning the highest wages. Unhappily the ability to earn money by skilled labour does not necessarily bring with it either wisdom or prudence. Hence do we often find labourers earning from 12*s*. to 18*s*. a week happier in their homes, and their families better brought up, than where the wages equal the earnings of the average of the professional classes. A comparison of the class of agricultural labourers with the highly-paid iron-workers in the midland and northern counties is by no means in favour of the latter, though the agriculturist gets only twelve shillings a week, whilst the iron-worker receives perhaps as much a day. But it is often easier to earn money than to know how to spend it. The latter requires a degree of intelligence of a higher order than is needed to roll rails, to hammer iron, to watch a spinning frame, or to mend broken threads. Wise economy is not a natural instinct, but the growth of reflection, and often the product of experience. Prodigality is much more natural to man. Thus the savage is the greatest spendthrift, for he has no forethought, no to-morrow, and lives only for the day or for the hour. Hence, the clever workman, unless he be trained in good habits, may exhibit no higher a life than that of the mere animal; and the earning of increased wages will only furnish such persons with increased means of indulging in the gratification of the grosser appetites. In a time of prosperity they feast, and in a time of adversity they 'clem.' Their earnings, to use their own phrase in some districts, 'come in at the spigot and go out at the bung-hole.' Though trade has invariably its cycles of good and bad years, like the lean and fat kine in Pharaoh's dream—its bursts of prosperity, followed by glut, panic, and distress—the thoughtless and spendthrift take no heed from experience, and make no better provision for the future. Improvidence seems to be one of the most incorrigible of faults. 'There are whole neighbourhoods in the manufacturing districts,' says Mr. Baker in his last Report, 'where not only are there no savings worth mentioning, but where, within a fortnight

fortnight of being out of work, the workers themselves are starving for want of the merest necessities.' Not a strike takes place but immediately the workmen are plunged in destitution; their furniture and watches are sent to the pawn-shop, whilst deplorable appeals are made to the charitable, and numerous families are cast upon the poor-rates.

Mr. Sikes, of Huddersfield, who has done so much by his admirable works to propagate a better spirit, notices the same want of provident forethought amongst the working classes of his neighbourhood.\* In one of his recent publications he says—

'An eminent employer in the West Riding, whose mills for a quarter of a century have scarcely run short time for a single week, has within a few days examined the rate of wages now paid to his men, and compared it with that of a few years ago. He had the pleasure of finding that improvements in machinery had led to improvement in wages. His spinners and weavers are making about 27*s.* a week. In many instances some of their children work at the same mill, in a few instances their wives; and often the family income reaches 100*l.* to 150*l.* per annum. Visiting the homes of some of these men, he has seen with feelings of disappointment the air of utter discomfort and squalor with which many are pervaded. Increase of income has led only to increase of improvidence. The savings-bank and the building-society are equally neglected, although at the same mill there are some with no higher wages whose homes have every comfort, and who have quite a little competency laid by. In Bradford I believe a munificent employer on one occasion opened 700 accounts with the savings-bank for his operatives, paying in a small deposit for each. The result was not encouraging. Rapidly was a large portion of the sums drawn out, and very few remained as the nucleus of further deposits.'

It may be remembered that while George Stephenson was working as an assistant foreman, near Newcastle, it was a source of great joy to him when his wages were raised to 12*s.* a week; and he declared upon the occasion that he 'was now a made man for life!' He was not only enabled to maintain himself upon his 12*s.*, but to help his poor parents, and to pay for his own education. When his skill had increased, and his earnings were advanced to 20*s.* a week, he immediately began, like a thoughtful intelligent workman, to lay by his surplus money; and when he had saved his first guinea, he proudly declared to one of his colleagues that he 'was now a rich man.' And he was right. For the man who, after satisfying his wants, has something to

\* Mr. Sikes's cheap little handbook entitled 'Good Times, or the Savings-Bank and the Fire-side,' has already been circulated by thousands, and well deserves the careful perusal of every working man and woman in the kingdom.



spare, is no longer poor. It is certain that from that day Stephenson never looked back ; his advance as a self-improving man was as steady as the light of sunrise. A person of large experience has indeed said that he never knew, amongst the lower orders, a single instance of a man having out of his small earnings laid by a pound, who had in the end become a pauper. What a contrast between the thrift of George Stephenson and the wastefulness of men of his own class in the same neighbourhood. The iron-workers, whose annual earnings in good times amount to between 200*l.* and 300*l.* a year and more, with very few exceptions save no money. In brisk times they enjoy a sort of riotous profusion ; but after a few weeks' idleness they are found plunged in misery.

Mr. Chambers, in his description of the working-classes of Sunderland, published some years since, says,—‘With deep sorrow I mention that everywhere one tale was told. Intemperance prevails to a large extent ; good wages are squandered on mean indulgences ; there is little care for the morrow, and the workhouse is the ultimate refuge. One man, a skilled worker, in an iron-foundry, was pointed out as having for years received a wage of one guinea a day, or six guineas a week ; he had spent all, mostly on drink, and was now reduced to a lower department at a wage of a pound a-week.’ The report from the Staffordshire iron-works is to the same effect. Our informant at West Bromwich says,—‘In the majority of cases the men employed in the iron-works spend the whole of their wages before the end of the following week. There are of course exceptions, but they are, unhappily, very few.’

The Rev. Mr. Norris, one of the Government Inspectors of Education, speaking of the prominent characteristic of the highly paid miners and iron-workers of South Staffordshire, says :—

‘Improvvidence is too tame a word for it—it is recklessness ; here young and old, married and unmarried, are uniformly and almost avowedly self-indulgent spendthrifts. One sees this reckless character marring and vitiating the nobler traits of their nature : their gallantry in the face of danger is akin to foolhardiness ; their power of intense labour is seldom exerted except to compensate for time lost in idleness and revelry ; their readiness to make “gatherings” for their sick and married comrades seems only to obviate the necessity of previous saving ; their very creed—and, after their sort, they are a curiously devotional people, holding frequent prayer-meetings in the pits—often degenerates into fanatical fatalism. But it is seen far more painfully and unmistakably in the alternate plethora and destitution between which, from year’s end to year’s end, the whole population seems to oscillate. The prodigal revelry of the *reckoning night*, the drunkenness of Sunday, the refusal to work on Monday and perhaps Tuesday,

and

and then the untidiness of their homes towards the latter part of the two or three weeks which intervene before the next pay-day; their children kept from school, their wives and daughters on the pit-bank, their furniture in the pawnshop; the crowded and miry lanes in which they live, their houses often cracked from top to bottom by the "crowning in" of the ground, without drainage, or ventilation, or due supply of water—such a state of things as this, co-existing with earnings which might insure comfort and even prosperity, seems to prove that no legislation can cure the evil.'

Such is the condition of a class of workmen whose earnings probably exceed the average of the professional classes.

A few weeks since Mr. Nixon, of Mountain Ash, Aberdare, when addressing his workpeople at an entertainment to which they were invited by the firm, found the necessity of exhorting them against their prevalent vice of drunkenness:—

'The evil effects arising from it (he said) are not confined to yourselves, but extend to your wives and children, and degenerate them too. You know quite well that while you are here you will have work, and good work too, and you ought to be above making beasts of yourselves. You ought to save a little money, so that when you get old you may have a house over your head, and something to fall back upon. There is not one of you whom I see before me, if you had the determination and strength of mind, but could within a few years possess a cottage of your own. If any of you choose to build cottages, I will take them of you. Indeed, I will even go further—I will go to the extent of assisting those who are willing to help themselves in erecting cottages. But I tell you this: I will not have a drunken man on the premises, for drunken men are the pest of the neighbourhood, and I will have them weeded out. That is my determination. I will have, if possible, only steady sober men, who will find in me a friend; whilst every drunken man will find in me an enemy. I say this for your own good, and for the welfare of your wives and families. I have no objection to moderation—to allow any man to have his pint of beer; but don't go to the beerhouse, and there spend your money, and ruin your families.'

Mr. Porter, of the Board of Trade, in an elaborate paper read by him some years since before the British Association, estimated that the people of the United Kingdom annually expended about fifty-seven millions sterling in ardent spirits, beer, and tobacco; of which he considered that about thirty-five millions represented the wasted earnings of the working class:—

'It has been computed, he said, that, among those whose earnings are from 10*s.* to 15*s.* weekly, at least one-half is spent by the man upon objects in which the other members of the family have no share. Among artizans earning from 20*s.* to 30*s.* weekly, it is said that at least one-third of the amount is in many cases thus selfishly devoted. That this state of things need not be, and that, if the people

people generally were better instructed as regards their social duties, it would not be, may safely be inferred from the fact that it is rarely, if ever, found to exist in the numerous cases where earnings not greater than those of the artizan class are all that are gained by the head of the family when employed upon matters where education is necessary. Take even the case of a clerk with a salary of 80*l.* a year, a small fraction beyond 30*s.* a week; and it would be considered quite exceptional if it were found that anything approaching to a fourth part of the earnings were spent upon objects in which the wife and children should have no share.\*

But where men's ideas of life are low, and their notions of individual and social duty are weak, the comforts of those who are dependent upon them enter to only a small extent into their consideration; and hence higher earnings, so far from benefiting themselves or their families, in many cases only prove a source of demoralization by furnishing them with increased means for animal gratification. Thus times of great prosperity, in which wages are at the highest and mills are running full time, are not necessarily times in which mechanics' institutes\* and boys' and girls' schools for the working classes flourish the most, but times in which publicans and beersellers prosper and grow rich. In Manchester alone it has been estimated that about a million a year is expended by working people upon drink; in Glasgow about the same amount; in Newcastle 400,000*l.*; and in Dundee 250,000*l.* The Rev. Mr. Clay, of Preston, found a drinking-house in that town to every twenty-eight working men. But he went still further: he analyzed the actual expenditure of 131 workmen employed by one master, and ascertained that, while the gross earnings of these men amounted to 154*l.* 16*s.* per week, the aggregate sum spent by them in liquor was 34*l.* 15*s.*, or 22 per cent. of their entire wages! Excluding twelve of the number, who were teetotalers, it appeared that the remainder spent each upon an average 11*l.* 7*s.* 9*d.* annually in the indulgence of the propensity for drink—or a sum sufficient to insure the lives of each for 500*l.* payable to their widows and children at death. Fifteen of the number spent upwards of 25 per cent. of their earnings upon drink, and 41 more spent from 25 to 75 per cent. in the same way. This information was furnished to Mr. Clay chiefly by the individuals themselves, so that the calculation is not to be regarded as overrated. Of the whole number not more than twelve attended a place of worship.

\* When the Ten Hours Bill, reducing the hours of labour in factories, was passed, the secretary of the Ancoats Lyceum at Manchester announced that it had been followed by a great decrease in the members, the number having fallen from 1455 in 1848, to 653 in 1850; and a similar result was said to have been experienced in neighbouring institutions of a similar kind.

On glancing at the miscellaneous statistics of the United Kingdom, we find that the amount of Customs and Excise duties raised upon tobacco, spirits, and malt alone, in the year 1859, was upwards of twenty-two millions sterling. According to the methods of taxation recently advocated and unhappily countenanced by men in high places, the taxes thus levied upon drink and tobacco ought to be forthwith removed, like all other Customs and Excise taxes, and imposed directly upon the accumulated savings of thrift and industry. And this course would be a perfectly logical result of any measure of so-called 'reform,' such as that recently proposed, by which the substantial legislative power of the country should be transferred from the hands of the comparatively thrifty to those of the thriftless. It must be admitted to be a laudable ambition on the part of working men to possess the elective franchise; and under the existing system of representation, we hold that it is perfectly competent for most skilled workmen to obtain the franchise if they desire it, and will resolve to economise their means with the object of obtaining it. A moderate abstinence from drink would enable tens of thousands of them to become the possessors of 40s. freeholds—as indeed many of the best of them have already become through the agency of the Freehold Land Societies. Not an inconsiderable proportion of the present constituencies consists of men who, by the exercise of intelligent industry and prudence, have elevated themselves from the manual labour class into the ranks of the middle class. But to make the possession of the franchise contingent merely upon the occupancy of a dwelling of the lowest average rental would be at the same time to degrade the suffrage and to remove a wholesome stimulus to good conduct and self-denial on the part of those who desire to obtain it. Where operatives do not possess the franchise, it is usually because their standard of domestic accommodation and comfort is low. Working men in the receipt of large incomes are satisfied to lodge their families in comfortless tenements, and thus they remain voluntarily disfranchised. Capt. Williams, on giving evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons on Destitute Children a few years ago, mentioned the case of a workman and his family in London earning from 50s. to 60s. a week—or above the average pay of bankers' clerks—who were content to inhabit a miserable one-roomed dwelling in a bad neighbourhood—the one room serving for parlour, kitchen, and sleeping-room for the whole family, consisting of the husband and wife, four sons, two cats, and a dog. The witness was asked, 'Do you think this family was  
unable

unable to get better lodgings, or that they were careless?' The answer was—'I think they were careless; and that this is so in many instances. There seems to be no desire, on the part of a vast number of these people, to get out of the degraded condition in which they are satisfied to live.'

Notwithstanding the high wages earned by women in the manufacturing districts, it is to be feared that their withdrawal from home has a tendency to keep down the standard of domestic comfort in those quarters. Husband, wife, and children, no doubt earn a vast deal of money in the mills; but the house is meanwhile neglected, and becomes merely a sleeping and eating place. The girls learn how to earn money, but not how to lay it out to the best advantage. They make capital factory-operatives, but poor wives; and probably lose more by waste than they gain by work. Mr. Baker, the Factory Inspector, observes, that 'one of the reasons why the beer-shop has hitherto been more attractive than the worker's home is the want of domestic qualifications on the part of factory-girls as wives, and their utter incapacity to make a home, however poor, more desirable from its comforts than external amusements and associations.' Thus, although by labour in the mill instead of attending to her household, the factory-woman may earn 12s. or 15s. a week in addition to the earnings of the other members of the family, the result is in many cases a loss rather than a gain when the social well-being of the whole is taken into account. The extreme eagerness which exists in the manufacturing districts to earn money would be carried to a still more injurious extent but for the interference of the legislature. Mr. Baker mentions that of 1251 rejections of children by the certifying surgeons in the Leeds, Bradford, and Nottingham districts, 786, or more than one-half, were rejected because of their too tender years; one-fourth were old enough, but 'too little;' and the remainder were physically incapable of work, most of them being in a state of actual disease.\* That the physical condition of the factory-population has so much improved of late years, is in a great measure attributable to the wise provisions of the Factory Act, which has served to protect the tender and the weak against the eager demands of employers for their labour on the one hand, and the cupidity of their parents to earn money by their instrumentality on the other. The action of the Factory Education Act has been equally salutary, and the children have now the advantage of obtaining at least the rudiments of a sound education to an extent formerly unknown in the manufacturing districts. An extraordinary

\* Minutes of Committee of Council on Education, 1857-8, p. 305.

stimulus has also been given by the large grants made by Government under the Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education. Since 1833, as much as 387,405*l.* of public money has been supplied to Lancashire in support of schools aided by Parliamentary grants, and 377,730*l.* has been supplied to Yorkshire for the same purpose. Nearly double the amount was contributed voluntarily by the middle and upper classes of the same districts, and the parents of the children themselves in the shape of school-pence. By these agencies, therefore, the education of the rising generation is steadily advancing; and with the growth of greater intelligence, and, what we hold to be of still more importance, the cultivation of better habits, especially of thrift and forethought, we may reasonably look for a further improvement in the moral and social condition of the labouring classes.

When a working man casts his glance forward, he will find that the three chief temporal contingencies for which he has to provide are want of employment, sickness, and death. The two first he may escape, but the last is inevitable. It is, however, the duty of the prudent man so to live, and so to arrange, that the pressure of suffering, in event of either contingency occurring, shall be mitigated to as great an extent as possible, not only to himself, but also to those who are dependent upon him for their comfort and subsistence. In the case of the unmarried man the duty may seem less binding than in the case of the married; though even the single man is bound to live within his income, and to make provision in good times for possible sickness, loss of work, and old age. There can scarcely be a sadder sight than that of a man who has worked hard and earned good wages, but spent everything as he earned it, reduced in his declining years to become a burden upon his relatives, or relying for his subsistence upon the taxes levied from the frugal. But where a man has married, and taken upon himself the responsibilities of a family, he is not only bound in duty to do his best to support his wife and children during his life, and to husband his surplus earnings as a defence against their future want, but to provide, so far as lies in his power, against their being left destitute in event of his death. He cannot neglect this duty without misery to them and debasement to himself. The man who is always hovering on the verge of pauperism is in a state not far removed from that of slavery. He is in no sense his own master, but is in constant peril of falling under the bondage of others, and accepting the terms which they dictate to him. He cannot help being, in a measure, servile, for he dares not look the world boldly in the face; and in  
adverse



adverse times he must look either to alms or poor's rates. If work fails him altogether, he has not the means of moving to another field of employment: he is fixed to his parish like a limpet to its rock, and can neither migrate nor emigrate. Some employers fear that if their hands were generally to save money, they would become too independent, and be in a position to carry on strikes with greater effect than at present. But the thoughtful and prudent workmen who have saved money are those above all others who avoid strikes. They fear the loss of what they have so carefully accumulated. As Mr. Baker observes, 'the supreme folly of a strike is shown by the fact that there is seldom or ever a rich workman at the head of it.' It is the reckless spendthrift who is the reckless striker. But even supposing a strike to be necessary, the man who has a store of savings to fall back upon, is always in a far stronger position to resist an unfair demand on the part of his employers than he who has nothing.

To secure independence, the practice of simple economy is all that is necessary. Economy requires neither superior courage nor eminent virtue; it is satisfied with ordinary energy, and the capacity of average minds. Economy, at bottom, is but the spirit of order applied in the administration of domestic affairs: it means management, regularity, prudence, and the avoidance of waste. The spirit of economy was expressed by our Divine Master in the words, 'Gather up the fragments that remain, so that nothing may be lost.' His omnipotence did not disdain the small things of life; and even while revealing His infinite power to the multitude, He taught the pregnant lesson of carefulness of which all stand so much in need. Economy also means the power of resisting present gratification for the purpose of securing a future good; and in this light it represents the ascendancy of reason over the animal instincts. It is altogether different from penuriousness; for it is economy that can always best afford to be generous. It does not make money an idol, but regards it as a useful agent. As Dean Swift observes, 'we must carry money in the head, not in the heart.' Economy may be styled the daughter of Prudence, the sister of Temperance, and the mother of Liberty. It is eminently conservative—conservative of character, of domestic happiness, and social well-being. It allays irritation, and produces content. It makes men lovers of public order and security. It deprives the agitator of his stock in trade by removing suffering, and renders his appeals to class-hatred comparatively innocuous. When workmen by their industry and frugality have secured their own independence, they will cease to regard the sight of others' well-being in the light of a wrong inflicted

inflicted on themselves; and it will no longer be possible to make political capital out of their imaginary woes.

From what we have already said it will be obvious that there can be no doubt as to the ability of the better-paid classes of working men to lay by a store of savings. When those classes set their minds upon any object, they have no difficulty in finding the requisite money for it; and if we could but fully impress upon them the necessity for practising economy, as the only safe road to independence, economy would become the order of the day amongst working men and their families. The thirty thousand pounds contributed by the factory-operatives of one town in Lancashire within a few months in support of a strike, was saved for a purpose on which they had set their hearts; but why not save an equal sum with a view to their own permanent comfort? Many factory-families, in times such as these, might easily lay by five shillings a-week, which, in twenty years, would amount, with interest, to 400*l*. Such a store of savings would enable them gradually to give up hard work, to remove from the field of competition as age comes upon them, and prevent them being beaten down into the lower-paid ranks of labour. After sixty a man's physical powers fail him; and by that time he ought to have made provision for his independent maintenance. Nor are the instances by any means uncommon of workmen laying by money with this object, and thereby proving what the whole class might, to a greater or less extent, accomplish in the same direction. We know of one large mechanical establishment, situated in an agricultural district where the temptations to useless expenditure are few, in which nearly all the men are habitual economists, and have saved sums varying from 100*l*. to 500*l*. At Darwen, only a few months since, an operative drew his savings out of the bank to purchase a row of cottages, now become his property. Many others in the same place, and in the neighbouring towns, are engaged in building cottages for themselves; some with the aid of building-societies, and others without. These building-societies, as well as the Freehold Land Societies, have for several years past been largely supported, their principal contributors being small tradesmen and men of the middle class, though, in some districts, the working people have taken advantage of them to some extent. In other districts Freehold Land Societies have been established with political objects; and by the exercise of thrift many persons have thus been added to the roll of electors. In Birmingham, where the movement originated many years since, large sums have been invested in the purchase of forty-shilling freeholds. Mr. Sikes holds the opinion that the working class might, by the exercise  
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of economy, easily lay by twenty millions a-year, besides providing for the contingency of sickness and bad times; and Mr. Prentice, of Manchester, has stated that such a sum might yearly purchase some six hundred thousand forty-shilling freeholds, yielding a good interest for the money, and a county vote into the bargain;—in a few years giving universal suffrage, by every man becoming a voter! But this is a kind of universal suffrage which no man need fear.

Another movement of an extraordinary character—showing in a striking light what the combined means of the working people can effect—has recently sprung up in the manufacturing districts of South Lancashire. In and about Rochdale, Bury, Heywood, and Bacup, a considerable number of cooperative or joint-stock companies of artizans have been formed, in which they club together their savings to build cotton-mills, and work them for their own advantage; and among the results already realised have been the diminution of drunkenness and the increase of thrifty habits and forethought. The number of new mills erected and in course of erection in Lancashire by individual capitalists and by these cooperative companies, has even given rise to the apprehension that great difficulty will be experienced in finding sufficient hands to work them; and the capacity of production is likely before long to be so enormously increased, that another difficulty will probably be to find markets to absorb the additional manufactures. We need not, therefore, be surprised if a panic or glut should give a sudden check to this movement, which, praiseworthy though it be in many respects, is nevertheless very much of a speculative character. It is well known that the extraordinary prosperity of the manufacturing interest in Lancashire during the last year has been attributable in a great measure to the termination of the Indian rebellion—to the recovery of the American trade from the panic of 1857, and to the stimulus given to trade by the supposed opening up of extensive markets in Japan. In the course of a few months, therefore, the present state of things may be entirely reversed; and if it be necessary for the thrifty portion of the working-classes in Lancashire to fall back upon their savings, the mills and machinery in which they have locked them up may possibly prove of but small avail. Looking at these contingencies, we believe that, though in certain cases, such as that of the Rochdale Pioneers, great success may attend the working of cooperative associations, cautiously and prudently managed as that has been, these enterprises are of too speculative a nature to warrant our anticipating much lasting benefit to the working-classes from their adoption; and we are impressed with the conviction that by far the safer course for them

them to pursue in times such as the present is that of simple direct saving. What Cicero said nearly two thousand years ago holds equally true now, that in the Family as in the State the best source of wealth is economy. There may be less chance of gain, but there is less risk of loss. What is laid by is not locked up and contingent for its productiveness upon times and trade, but is steadily accumulating, and is always ready at hand for use when the pinch of adversity occurs.

The instances which we have already cited of persons in the humble ranks of life having by prudential forethought accumulated a considerable store of savings for the benefit of their families and as a stay for their old age, need not by any means be the comparatively exceptional cases that they now are. What one well-regulated person is able to do, others, influenced by similar self-reliant motives and practising like sobriety and frugality, might with equal ease and in one way or another accomplish. In Manchester the deposits in the savings-bank have nearly quadrupled in twenty years; and that the depositors are mainly of the poorest class may be inferred from the fact that upwards of 200,000*l.* belongs to persons who cannot sign their names. Were greater facilities provided for saving, and greater encouragement given by the more intelligent classes to the formation of provident habits, we believe the habit of economy would spring up in many quarters where at present it is altogether unknown. The working man, though he may not like to be patronised, likes to be helped; and those who help to provide him with convenient places in which to place his spare earnings will not fail to be regarded by him as among his best friends. Cobbett was accustomed to scoff at the 'bubble' of savings-banks, alleging that it was an insult to working people to tell them they had anything to save; yet the extent to which savings-banks have been used by the humbler classes in all districts in which they have been established, proves that he was as mistaken in this as in most of the opinions he maintained. There are thousands who would probably never have thought of laying by a penny but for the facility of the savings-bank: it would have seemed useless to try. The small hoard in the cupboard was too ready at hand, and would have been dissipated before it accumulated to any amount; but no sooner was a place of deposit provided, where sums even as low as a shilling could be put away, than they hastened to take advantage of it. A respectably-dressed working man, when making a payment one day at the Bradford savings-bank, which brought his account up to nearly 80*l.*, informed the manager how it was that he had been induced to become a depositor. He had been a drinker; but

but one day accidentally finding his wife's savings-bank deposit-book, from which he learnt that she had laid by about 20*l.*, he said to himself, 'Well, now, if this can be done while I am spending, what might we do if both were saving?' The man gave up his drinking, and became one of the most respectable men of his class. 'I owe it all,' he said, 'to my wife and the savings-bank.'

Much greater facilities than already exist require to be provided for the proper encouragement of economy amongst the humbler classes. A working man who has more money about him than he requires for current purposes is tempted to spend it. To use the common phrase, it is apt 'to burn a hole in his pocket.' He is easily entrapped into company; and where his home provides but small comfort, the public-house, with its bright fire, is always ready to welcome him. The opportunities provided for spending in this way afford a striking contrast with the opportunities provided for economy. In 1859 there were throughout the kingdom 152,222 houses licensed to sell intoxicating drink, and only 606 savings-banks in which to deposit spare money. Thus thriftlessness finds abundant openings for gratification, whilst thrift has perhaps to travel a mile or more to a savings-bank, which opens its door, it may be, for only a few hours once or twice a-week. In Manchester alone there are 6306 houses licensed to sell drink, whereas the whole county of Lancaster has only thirty savings-banks. Warwickshire has nine, Northumberland eight, Devonshire six, and the East Riding of York only four. One reason why private soldiers save so much out of their small pay, is doubtless because regimental savings-banks are conveniently at hand to enable them regularly to lay by the money which they do not need. The extent to which Penny Banks have been used by the very poorest classes, wherever started, affords a further illustration of how much may be done by merely providing increased opportunities for the practice of thrift.

The first Penny Bank was started by Mr. J. M. Scott, some fifteen years since, in Greenock, as an auxiliary to the savings-bank. The projector's object was to enable poor persons, whose savings amounted to less than a shilling (the savings-bank minimum), to deposit them in a safe place. In one year about 5000 depositors placed 1580*l.* with the Greenock institution; and the example was shortly followed in numerous other places. The estimable Mr. Queckett, curate of Christ Church, St. George's-in-the-East—a district since rendered notorious on account of much less estimable proceedings—opened a Penny Bank, and the results were very remarkable. In one year, 1849, as many as

14,513

14,513 deposits were made in the bank. The number of depositors was limited to 2000; and the demand for admission was so great that there were usually many waiting until vacancies occurred.

'Some save for their rent,' said Mr. Queckett, in afterwards describing the success of his plan, 'others for clothes and apprenticing their children; and various are the little objects to which the savings are to be applied. Every repayment passes through my own hands, which gives an opportunity of hearing of sickness, or sorrow, or any other cause which compels the withdrawal of the little fund; and the anxious desire of leaving a penny, to prevent the account being closed, and another depositor supplying the place, is the best evidence that the institution affords essential benefit to those for whom it was designed, which is constantly the case. It is, besides, a feeder to the larger savings-banks, to which many are turned over when the weekly payments tendered exceed the usual sum. Many of those who could at first scarcely advance beyond a penny a week, can now deposit a silver coin of some kind. No expense, beyond the first purchase of the books, attends the working; all the assistance is gratuitous; and the depositors purchase their own books at the bank.'

Never was the moral influence of the parish clergyman employed more wisely than in this case. Not many of those whom Mr. Queckett thus laboured to serve were amongst the church-going class; but by helping them to be frugal, and improving their physical condition, he was enabled gradually to elevate their social tastes, and to awaken in them a religious life to which many of them had until then been strangers.

The next Penny Bank was started in Hull, in August 1849, under the management of a committee including several clergymen of the town. The object of the institution was 'to create and foster habits of regularity and frugal economy, and to afford an opportunity for the deposit of the smallest sums of money, repayable when required.' In the following year a powerful impulse was given to the movement by Mr. Charles W. Sikes, cashier of the Huddersfield Banking Company, who ably advocated their establishment in connexion with the extensive organization of mechanics' institutes. To train working-people when young in habits of economy, he wisely urged, was of more practical value to themselves, and of greater importance to society, than to fill their minds with the contents of many books. He pointed to the perverted use of money by the working-class as one of the greatest practical evils of the time. 'In many cases,' he said, 'the higher the workmen's wages, the poorer are their families; and these are they who really form the discontented, the "dangerous classes." How can such persons take any



any interest in pure and elevating knowledge?'\* Referring to his own locality, Mr. Sikes pointed to the remarkable fact, that, although the wages paid in the Huddersfield district amounted to fully 400,000*l.* a-year, the deposits accumulated in the Huddersfield savings-bank, which had then been established for thirty-two years, amounted to only 74,332*l.*† He suggested that each mechanics' institute should appoint a preliminary savings-bank committee, and attend once a week for the purpose of receiving deposits of the members and others.

'If a committee at each institution,' said Mr. Sikes, 'were to adopt this course, taking an interest in their humble circumstances, and in a sympathising and kindly spirit suggest, invite, may win them over, not only to reading the lesson, but forming the habit of true economy and self-reliance (the noblest lessons for which classes could be formed), how cheering would be the results! Once established in better habits, their feet firmly set in the path of self-reliance, how generally would young men grow up with the practical conviction that to their own advancing intelligence and virtues must they mainly look to work out their own social welfare!'

This admirable advice was not lost. One institution after another embraced the plan, and preliminary savings-banks were shortly established in connexion with many of the principal mechanics' institutes throughout Yorkshire. We may mention the Penny Bank in connexion with the Halifax Mechanic's Institute as one of the most successful. It was commenced on the 24th of February, 1856, and from that time until the 24th of March last the gross amount deposited in the Central Bank and its seven subordinate branches was 20,837*l.* The sums withdrawn during the same period were 10,808*l.*, leaving at the credit of the depositors 10,029*l.* The weekly number of deposits is about 850, and the number of accounts open upwards of 4000. To show how the habit grows with the opportunity afforded for its exercise, it may be mentioned that the number of deposits increased from 7104 in the half-year ending June 1856, to 18,501 in the half-year ending June 1859, and the average amount of each deposit increased from 1*s.* 9*d.* in the former period to 5*s.* 8½*d.* in the latter.

Similar institutes have been established in other towns with nearly similar results. In the first year of the existence of the Southampton Penny Bank 34,284 deposits were made, amounting to 1668*l.*, or under an average of a shilling for each deposit. The

\* Letter in the '*Leeds Mercury*,' February 23rd, 1850.

† We are gratified to learn that, after the lapse of ten years, the deposits in the Huddersfield Savings Bank now amount to about 180,000*l.*, though a considerable portion of these belong to domestics, tradesmen, and others not of the manufacturing class.

Derby Penny Bank was opened in 1857, and in two years 32,758 sums were paid in, amounting to 2051*l*. In 1858 the thirty-three Penny Banks connected with the Metropolitan Visiting Association received 14,000*l*. from 30,000 depositors. At Birmingham, in 1857, 14,042*l*. was deposited in 96,973 sums. In some years the receipts had amounted to 52,354*l*., and the amounts withdrawn to 47,921*l*., leaving a balance to the credit of the depositors of 4433*l*. at the end of 1857. The York Penny Bank was opened in July, 1854, and at the end of November, 1858, 117,479 deposits had been made, amounting to 6218*l*., of which 5247*l*. had been withdrawn, leaving a balance to the credit of the depositors of only 971*l*. The circumstance that so large a proportion as two-thirds of the whole deposits made in the Penny Banks are drawn out within the year, shows that they are principally used as places of safe deposit for very small sums of money until wanted for some special object, such as rent, clothes, furniture, the doctor's bill, and such like purposes. The Penny Bank is emphatically the poor man's purse. The great mass of the deposits received throughout the kingdom are paid in sums not exceeding sixpence, and the average of the whole does not exceed a shilling. The depositors consist of the very humblest members of the working class, and by far the greater number of them have never before been accustomed to lay by any portion of their earnings. But the Penny Banks act as the stepping-stones to savings-banks; as is proved by the fact that the aggregate deposits in the latter have increased the most in those districts in which Penny Banks have been opened. Thus the Penny Bank established in the small country town of Farnham is estimated to have contributed about 150 regular depositors to the savings-bank in the same place. The Committee of the Glasgow National Security Savings-Bank, in their report for November last, point to the thirty-six Penny Banks established in and around Glasgow, as calculated 'to check that reckless expenditure of little sums which so often leads to a confirmed habit of wastefulness and improvidence;' and they urge the support of the Penny Bank as the best means of extending the usefulness of the savings-bank. At Bradford fourteen Penny Banks have been established within a year and a half, and on the 20th September last they had 2147*l*. deposited with the savings-bank; added to which many depositors, after they had formed these habits in the minor institution, transferred themselves and their deposits to the larger one. The Rev. Mr. Clarke, of Derby, who has taken a very active interest in the extension of these useful institutions, gives the details of the deposits made in the Penny and Savings Banks in that town respectively, on a certain Saturday

night in August, 1858, in illustration of the different orders of working people upon which they act. In the Penny Bank 242 persons deposited 20*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.*, 221 of the deposits being under 5*s.* in amount, whereas in the Savings Bank 49 persons deposited 54*l.* 14*s.* 3*d.*, only six of the sums deposited being under 5*s.* Mr. Clarke further states that more than one-tenth part of the whole amount received by the Penny Bank was deposited in copper money, and a large portion of the remainder in three-penny and fourpenny pieces. It is clear, therefore, that the Penny Banks reach a class of people of very small means, whose ability to save is much less than that of the higher-paid workmen, and who, if the money were left in their pockets, would in most cases spend it, probably in the nearest public-house. Hence, when a Penny Bank was established at Putney, and the deposits were added up at the end of the first year, a brewer, who was on the committee, made the remark—'Well, that represents thirty thousand pints of beer *not drunk*.'

The eagerness with which poor people in all districts have availed themselves of the opportunities thus afforded of laying by their little savings, affords the best proof how much they are appreciated, and of the actual want which they supply.\* At York 451 deposits were made the first night on which the bank was open. But Mr. Clarke observes that the absence of immediate success need be no cause for discouragement, for at the Derby Penny Bank only seventeen deposits,

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\* There is one danger connected with Penny Banks which deserves more attention than has yet been paid to it. We refer to proper *checks against fraud*, which is not in all cases provided against. The plan of the West Riding of Yorkshire Penny Savings Bank is unexceptionable in this respect, a large number of noblemen and well-known gentlemen of the county having subscribed sums of money to a considerable amount for the special purpose of guaranteeing the security of the deposits made with the branches of the bank. The rules of the Huddersfield Penny Bank also provide for the safety of the funds, the names of the gentlemen giving guarantees, to the extent of 100*l.* each, being printed on the cover of each depositor's book. The provision of a proper guarantee ought to be the first step taken. No money ought to be received or paid except in the presence of at least two persons. And to complete the security of the banks, there should be an independent and constantly-recurring audit. This question of safety is of the greatest importance—not so much because of the amount which might be lost through possible fraudulence or neglect, but on account of the confidence which it is so desirable to maintain, and which, if once shaken, would prove most disastrous to the cause of providence. Several companies have been formed under the Limited Liability Act, which are inviting the working-classes of the manufacturing districts to entrust their savings to them, by holding out the suspicious bait of a high rate of interest, which they assert they are enabled to pay by lending out the deposits to borrowers at a still higher rate. But this is a dangerous trade, and in event of a commercial crisis may prove a disastrous one. Without ample guarantees for the security of the funds lodged with them, and for their due repayment when required, such Limited Liability Companies ought to be carefully avoided by working men.

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amounting to eleven shillings, were made on the first night, though eventually the institution flourished. At one of the Penny Banks in Yorkshire, an old man in receipt of parish out-door relief was found using the Penny Bank as a place of deposit for his pennies until he had accumulated enough to buy a coat. Others save to buy an eight-day clock, or a musical instrument, or for a railway-trip. But the principal supporters of the Penny Banks are boys, and this is their most hopeful feature, for it is out of boys that men are made. At Huddersfield many of the lads go in bands from the mills to the Penny Banks; emulation as well as example urging them on. They save for various purposes—one to buy a chest of tools, another a watch, a third a grammar or a dictionary. One evening a boy presented himself to draw 1*l.* 10*s.* According to the rules of the Penny Bank a week's notice must be given before any sum exceeding 20*s.* can be withdrawn, and the cashier demurred to making the payment. 'Well,' said the boy, 'the reason's this—Mother can't pay her rent; I'm goin' to pay it, for, as long as I have owt, she shall hev' it.' In another instance a youth drew 20*l.* to buy off his brother who had enlisted. 'Mother frets so,' said the lad, 'that she'll break her heart if he isn't bought off, and I cannot bear that.' Thus these institutions give help and strength in many ways, and, besides enabling young people to keep out of debt and honestly to pay their way, furnish them with the means of performing kindly and generous acts in times of family trial and emergency. It is an admirable feature of the Ragged Schools that almost every one of them has a Penny Bank connected with it for the purpose of training the scholars in good habits, which they most need; and it is a remarkable fact, that during the last year not less than 8880*l.* were deposited in 25,637 sums by the scholars connected with the Ragged School Union. When this can be done by the poor boys of the ragged school, what might not be accomplished by the highly-paid operatives and mechanics of England?

But another capital feature in the working of Penny Banks, as regards the cultivation of prudent habits among the people, is the circumstance that the example of boys and girls depositing their spare weekly pennies often has the effect of drawing their parents after them. A boy goes on for weeks paying his pence, and taking home his pass-book. The book shows that he has a 'ledger folio' at the bank expressly devoted to him—that his pennies are all duly entered, together with the respective dates of their deposit—that these savings are not lying idle, but bear interest at  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. per annum—and that he can have them restored to him at any time—if under 20*s.*, without

notice ; and if above 20s., then after a week's notice has been given. The book is a little history in itself, and cannot fail to be interesting to the boy's brothers and sisters, as well as to his parents. They call him 'good lad,' and they see he is a well-conducted lad. The father, if he be a sensible man, naturally bethinks him that, if his boy can do so creditable a thing, worthy of praise, so might he himself. Accordingly, on the next Saturday night, when the boy goes to deposit his threepence at the Penny Bank, the father sends his shilling. Thus a good beginning is often made, and a habit initiated, which, if persevered in, very shortly exercises a most salutary influence on the entire domestic condition of the family. The observant mother is quick to discern the effects of this new practice upon the happiness of the home, and in course of time, as the younger children grow up and earn money, she encourages them to follow the elder boy's example. She herself takes them by the hand, leads them to the Penny Bank, and accustoms them to invest their savings there. Women have even more influence in such matters than men have, and where they do exercise it the beneficial effects are lasting. One evening a strong muscular mechanic appeared at the Bradford savings-bank in his working dress, bringing with him three children, one of them in his arms. He placed on the counter their deposit-books, which his wife had previously been accustomed to present, together with 10s., to be equally apportioned amongst the three. Pressing to his bosom the child in his arms, the man said, 'Poor things! they have lost their mother since they were here last ; but I must do the best I can for them.' And he has continued the good lesson to his children which his wife began, bringing them with him *each* time to see their little deposits made. There is an old English proverb which says, 'He that would thrive must first ask his wife ;' but the wife must not only let her husband thrive but help him, otherwise she is not that 'help meet' which is as needful for the domestic comfort and satisfaction of the working man as of every other man who undertakes the responsibility of a family. Women form the moral atmosphere in which we grow when children ; and they have a great deal to do with the life we lead when we become men. It is true the men may hold the reins ; but it is generally the women who tell them which way to drive. What Rousseau said is very near the truth—'Men will always be what women make them.'

It will be obvious, from what we have stated, that the practice of economy and saving very greatly depends upon the facilities which are provided for the purpose. Where a convenient savings-bank is established, deposits gradually flow into it ;  
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where regimental savings-banks are provided, the private soldiers contrive to lay by something in them out of their small pay; and where Penny Banks are opened, a crowd of depositors immediately present themselves, even the boys of the Ragged Schools being able to put into them considerable sums of money. It becomes of importance, then, to ascertain whether means cannot be adopted to increase and extend the facilities for depositing small sums of money in safe hands. There are many large towns and districts in Great Britain as yet unprovided with savings-banks. Lancashire, for instance, has only thirty for upwards of two millions of people; the East Riding of York has only four, though, it is true, the clergy in many districts act as agents in collecting deposits for the savings-banks in the large towns. There are fifteen counties in the United Kingdom which have not a savings-bank at all. Of the total number throughout the kingdom—606 to upwards of 28,000,000 of population—there are 50 that are open only four hours in the month, 120 open for only one hour in the week, and the greater number of the remainder are open for only two or three hours in the week. The working man has accordingly in many cases to carry his spare shilling in his pocket a week before he can lay it by, during which time he may be exposed to constant temptation to spend it. To keep it safe he must have acquired the habit of saving, which it is the object to train and establish. The effect of more ready access to the savings-bank has been strikingly proved at Edinburgh, where it is open daily, as well as three evenings in the week. The result has been, that, notwithstanding the facilities for depositing comparatively small sums presented by the Scotch joint-stock banks, the proportion of depositors to the population has increased to 1 in 6½, whereas for the whole of the United Kingdom the proportion is under 1 in 20.

Early in November, 1856, Mr. John Bullar, the eminent counsel—whose attention had been directed to the subject by the working of the Putney Penny Bank—suggested the employment of the money-order department of the Post-office as an additional savings-bank agency; and the subject was brought under the notice of the Post-office authorities, but the suggestion did not meet with approval at the time, and nothing came of it. The subject has, however, been revived by Mr. C. W. Sikes, of Huddersfield, who, unconscious that the idea had occurred to others, was struck by the facilities which the money-order offices presented for the purpose, and has sketched out a plan in an able letter addressed to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. One of the principal advantages of this scheme is, that the organization of the money-order department of the Post-office is  
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in full working efficiency, and is already extended to every city and town and to many villages of the United Kingdom. Wherever the local inspector of the Post-office has evidence that as many as five money-orders will be required in the week, the practice is to make that branch of the Post-office a money-order office. It is estimated that already such an office is established on an average within three miles of every working man's door in the kingdom. These offices are open daily; they receive money from all comers, and give vouchers for the amounts transmitted through them; they hold the money until it is drawn, and pay it out on a proper voucher being presented. The Post-office is, in fact, a bank for the transmission of money, holding it from periods of from twenty-four hours to weeks and months. Enable it to receive more money from more comers and to increase the time of holding it, allowing the usual interest, and it would become to all intents and purposes a national bank of deposit, with its 2481 offices established in all parts of Great Britain and Ireland.

The extent to which the money-order office has been used, chiefly by the industrious classes, for the transmission of small sums of money, since the period of its establishment, is indeed surprising, and is mainly to be accounted for by the facilities which it has presented for the purpose, the ready access to the offices daily, and the admirable manner in which the business has been done. Thus the number of money-orders issued and paid in the United Kingdom has increased from 188,921 in 1839 to 6,969,108 in 1859, and the sums transmitted have increased from 313,124*l.* in the former year to 13,250,930*l.* in the latter, or nearly double the amount of the receipts of all the savings-banks in the kingdom during the same year. The annual increase averages five per cent., the number of orders issued being, in England, one to every three of the population; in Scotland, one to six; and in Ireland one to thirteen. The profit realised by the Post-office in 1859 in conducting the business was 29,115*l.* The Postmaster-General, in his last Report, announces the intention of increasing the facilities for transmitting money by means of the existing organization. In speaking of its probable extension to the British colonies, he states his conviction that it 'would be productive of much good, and save much money that now probably runs to waste;' and we would urge precisely the same reason for the employment of the money-order offices as agencies for the deposit of money by the same classes who now use them so extensively for its transmission.

There is one peculiar advantage in this plan, which may not be obvious at first sight, but which will at once commend itself to working-class depositors—we allude to the element of *secrecy*.

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Most working people do not like it be known to their employers that they are saving money, being under an impression that it might lead to attempts to lower their wages. A working man, in a town in Yorkshire, who had determined to make a deposit in the savings-bank, of which his master was a director, went repeatedly to watch at the door of the bank before he could ascertain that his master was absent; and he only paid in his money, after several weeks' waiting, when he had assured himself of this fact. We are informed that many of the household-troops stationed in London deposit their spare money in the savings-banks rather than in the regimental banks; and when the question was on a recent occasion asked as to the cause, the answer given was, 'I would not have my sergeant to know that I was saving money.' But in addition to this, the private soldier would rather that his comrades also did not know that he was saving money; for the thriftless soldier, like the thriftless workman, when he has spent everything of his own, is very apt to set up a kind of right to borrow from the fund of his more thrifty comrade. Hence, during the war in the Crimea, even after regimental facilities had been afforded for the remission of money by soldiers through the post-office to their friends at home, many were accustomed to go to Miss Nightingale with their little hoards, and request her to remit them, thinking their secret safer with her.

Mr. Sikes's plan is briefly this: that the money-order offices be constituted receivers for a chief savings-bank in London; that Commissioners of Savings-Banks be authorised by the legislature to issue through them savings-bank interest-notes, such notes or receipts to bear interest at the rate of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. per annum; and that the interest-notes should be for exact pounds, from one to thirty—the latter sum being the maximum allowed to be deposited in a savings-bank in one year. The proposed interest-notes would resemble the deposit-receipts, bearing interest, issued by joint-stock banks in England and Scotland, and would only be negotiable at the money-order office by which they are issued. The payment of 6*d.* on each transaction, in event of the success of the plan—of which we can scarcely entertain a doubt—would probably leave a considerable profit to the Post-office. Mr. Bullar suggests that the amount deposited should be invested by the Central Office in government-securities; and assuming, which is a moderate estimate, that thirty millions would be deposited, the difference between the dividends realised on Consols, at their present price, and the interest, at say 2*½* per cent., paid to the depositors, would produce about 200,000*l.* a-year, which would be amply sufficient to cover all expenses of management, besides leaving a considerable

considerable profit to the Post-office department. Mr. Sikes has carefully worked out his scheme in detail, and we trust that no long time will be allowed to elapse before a fair trial is given to it. We understand it has already received the favourable consideration of the Post-office authorities; and it only requires the action of the legislature to enable the measure to be carried into practical effect.

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ART. IV.—*Further Papers relating to the State of the Kaffir Tribes. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty, March 1857.*

2. *Further Papers relating to the State of the Kaffir Tribes. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty, August 1857.*
3. *The Cape and the Kaffirs: or Notes of Five Years' Residence in South Africa.* By Alfred W. Cole. London, 1852.
4. *Ten Weeks in Natal: a Journal of a First Tour among the Colonists and Zulu Kaffirs of Natal.* By John William Colenso, Lord Bishop of the Diocese. Cambridge, 1853.
5. *Correspondence of Lieutenant-General the Hon. Sir George Cathcart, K.C.B., relative to the Military Operations in Kaffraria.* London, 1857.
6. *Treaties between the British Government and the Kaffir Tribes. Published by Order of the Legislative Assembly.* Cape of Good Hope, 1859.
7. *A Compendium of Kaffir Laws and Customs: Compiled by direction of Colonel Maclean, C.B., Chief Commissioner in British Kaffraria. Printed for the Government of British Kaffraria.* Mount Coke, 1858.
8. *Manual of South African Geography.* By Henry Hall, R.E.D. Cape Town, 1859.
9. *Statistics of the Cape of Good Hope for the Year 1858. Published by the Local Parliament.*
10. *The Cape and Natal News: a Monthly Record of the Progress of the South African Colonies.* London, 1860.

OF all the dependencies of Great Britain it would be difficult to name one that has been the source of more anxiety, and, at times, of greater vexation, than the now flourishing colony of the Cape of Good Hope. All remember the time when the period for the arrival of the South African mail brought with it dismal anticipations either of a rebellious outbreak on the part of our own people, or of the announcement of another Kaffir war. The Chancellors of the Exchequer of those days must have looked forward to the Cape despatches

despatches with a nervous anxiety; for their arrangements depended very much on the attitude of some troublesome barbarians who had before deranged their most skilfully-constructed budgets and blighted the fairest hopes of the financial year. A supplementary vote of two millions for a war with the ir reclaimable savages of South Africa has more than once swelled the estimates, and tried the temper of the nation; and it is not improbable that even a proposition for getting quit of the Cape altogether, absolving Her Majesty's subjects there from their sulky allegiance, and leaving them to fight out their quarrels in their own way, and at their own cost, would have met at one period with no inconsiderable support. In truth, we had lost both prestige and money—two matters on which we are peculiarly sensitive—by our ignoble conflicts on the Cape frontier. The last of our victories over a Kaffir army, in the year 1852, so much resembled a defeat that it was plainly termed one in the colony. It is certain that the chief who on that occasion measured his strength with the British forces bore from the field some remarkable trophies, for he was shortly afterwards seen attended by a body-guard that carried the lances, wore the uniforms, and probably rode the horses of our gallant troopers, thirty-five of whom fell in the battle of Berea.\* Independently of our continual collisions with the frontier-tribes, our relations with the colonists were of a very disagreeable character; and we had, in fact, for some time a civil war on our hands.

The continent of Africa has hitherto been singularly unimpressible by the influences of civilization. It has remained for ages, throughout the whole of its vast extent, impervious to the ambition of conquerors, to commercial enterprise, and to the curiosity of travellers. Its physical configuration has been to a great extent the cause of this social isolation. A peninsula 5000 miles in length, and in its broadest part nearly 4000 miles across, it presents in an area of nearly 13,430,000 square miles but few long and easily-navigated rivers. Its harbours and roadsteads afford only an imperfect shelter for ships, and no great gulf or inland sea opens the way into the interior. The coast washed by the Indian Ocean lies low, like the corresponding shores of Guinea; and, at an inconsiderable distance from the sea, a formidable terrace of arid mountains forms the eastern side of the continent. On the coasts of the Mediterranean, forming its northern boundary, civilization planted itself in ages of great remoteness. The theocracies of

\* The losses on this occasion were not the result of any want of skill on the part of the general commanding, the lamented Sir George Cathcart. His dispositions were admirable, but some of his orders were misunderstood.

Meroe and Thebes were for a time centres of arts and commerce, and their people, awed by a mysterious superstition, bowed down before the images of gods of portentous forms, formed almost impenetrable granite into stately columns, engraved hieroglyphics on adamantine porphyry, and erected those majestic temples on the banks of the Upper Nile, even the ruins of which excite our astonishment and admiration. These theocratical dynasties yielded to military revolutions, and were succeeded by the regime of a warrior-caste. The splendid court of the Pharaohs was the seat of a great and flourishing empire, the duration of which no historical inquirer has yet been able accurately to determine, but it was almost wholly destitute of any permanent influence on Africa. Carthage founded another empire in the west, and her enterprising merchants and hardy sailors (although the story of their having sailed round the southern promontory of Africa by way of the Red Sea and Indian Ocean, and arrived at the Mediterranean by returning through the Pillars of Hercules, may be dismissed as fabulous) certainly ventured into the Atlantic Ocean, and proceeded for some distance along the western coast of Africa. But Carthage was essentially a military state, like her great rival, and her influence extended but little beyond her garrisons. Politically connected with Barbary and with the Moorish people, whom she used as auxiliaries and partially civilized, she communicated to them that passion for war that enabled them at a later period to gain a temporary footing in Europe, and to acquire a very brilliant reputation. Rome had scarcely any relations in Africa beyond the limits of the empire, except a slight one with the inhabitants of Nubia and Abyssinia. Christianity shed its light for a season over the north of Africa, but it disappeared. Mahometanism supplanted it. The Arab, mounted on his fleet horse, or fleet dromedary, was driven by the spirit of fanaticism into the wilderness, and planted the standard of his Prophet in regions before supposed to be inaccessible to civilized man. Africa furnished the new religion with some of its most zealous and enthusiastic converts. But Mahometanism had a limit to its triumphs and influence. The piratical states of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, long formed a barrier, more effective even than Mahometanism, in separating Africa from the Christian world; and although a portion of this barbarous territory has been conquered, and, in a certain sense, colonized, by a Christian power, there is little reason for believing that French influence will ever extend far beyond its military outposts. What was the social condition of Southern Africa during the remote and prolonged period in which the northern portion of the continent was the seat of an active

active commerce, and, in many respects, of a splendid civilization, it is impossible even to conjecture. It was probably altogether unpeopled, as the migration of families or tribes from Eastern Africa could then scarcely have commenced, or have extended far beyond the place of their original settlement.

The temporary maritime supremacy acquired by a state so geographically insignificant as Portugal, constitutes one of the most remarkable phases of modern history. To the country whose influence on the great European continental system was almost inappreciable, civilization is indebted for the grandest discovery, after that of America by Columbus, which is recorded in the history of the world—the discovery of the true configuration of the great African continent, and of a route to the East Indies by sailing round its southern extremity. The wars and revolutions of the maritime states of Europe had accidentally given to this small territorial power an opportunity of naval aggrandisement of which it was not slow to avail itself. In the early part of the fifteenth century, John I., King of Portugal, obtained some important advantages over the Moors in the north of Africa, and, with the assistance of some English merchants, took the city of Ceuta. While there, in company with his father, Prince Henry is said to have received some important information respecting the coast of Guinea, which induced him to turn his attention to the circumnavigation of Africa. The great object proposed, and afterwards fully attained, was to wrest the rich trade of India from the Venetians, and to monopolise the commerce of the East. The line was reached in 1471, and in 1484 the Portuguese had extended their discoveries 1500 miles further south. Soon afterwards the Cape was doubled, at first unknowingly, by Diaz, and afterwards by Vasco de Gama, who entered the Indian Ocean on the evening of the 11th November, 1497.

After the discovery of the Cape, the Portuguese fleets continued for several years to resort to the various bays in its vicinity for provisions and refreshment. They do not, however, appear to have taken formal possession of any part of the territory for the purpose of a settlement. The trade of India was their object, not colonization. Their ships frequented every port in the East where valuable commodities were to be purchased, from the Cape of Good Hope to the river of Canton; and along this immense line of coast, extending for upwards of 4000 leagues, they established a chain of forts and factories. But there were plain indications that Portugal considered that she had a right to the whole of Africa included within the line of her coast-discoveries. On several of the promontories and headlands, both of the western and eastern shores, she ordered pillars of white marble



marble to be erected on which were engraved the royal arms. These symbols of sovereignty may even now exist, beaten and defaced by the storms of centuries, the memorials of a dominion irrevocably passed away, and of a glory long prostrate in the dust.

Portugal was permitted to remain in the undisturbed and exclusive possession of her Indian trade for nearly a century. It was a monopoly acquired by her own exertions and sacrifices, and was held by the best of titles—that of being able to furnish the nations of Europe with the valuable productions of the East in far greater abundance and at a much lower price than they had ever before been procurable. But this profitable monopoly she was not destined permanently to enjoy. Political ambition, not less than mercantile cupidity, actuated the Dutch when they resolved to appear in the Indian Ocean as competitors of the Portuguese. The English soon followed the example of the Dutch, and at first by individual enterprise, and afterwards by public companies patronised by their respective governments, the two nations prosecuted their trade and their conquests with so much success that under their combined encroachments the fabric of Portuguese power in the East fell almost without an effort for its preservation. The merchants were driven from their trade, the government was expelled from the larger portion of its possessions, and the two great maritime states of Europe were left to harass each other with their rival pretensions, and to dye every sea that was accessible to their fleets with the blood of their people.

In 1614 England attempted to form a settlement at the Cape, in order to facilitate her Eastern commerce. For this purpose a few convicts were landed on an island in Table Bay, but these either soon made their escape or were killed in affrays with the natives. In 1620 a fleet from Holland was despatched for the purpose of establishing a settlement, but the intention, for some unknown reason, was not then carried out, and it was not until 1652 that the effective colonization of the Cape commenced. In that year Van Riebeck appeared with three ships freighted with settlers carrying with them the seeds of African civilization. A treaty with the natives gave the strangers a small addition of territory beyond the original fort. In ten years the whole of the peninsula of the Cape was acquired, including the neighbouring islands. These purchases of territory were effected with the chiefs of the district by fair and open agreement, and the price stipulated for was duly paid.

The Dutch retained peaceable possession of their colony for 143 years. They were deprived of it in 1795, when a British fleet

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fleet arrived in Simon's Bay, bringing letters from the Prince of Orange, directing the Cape authorities to place the colony under English protection. The French party being in possession of the government declined to comply. The orders of the Prince were executed by force, and the colony was retained but for seven years. At the peace of Amiens it was restored nominally to the Dutch, but in reality to the French. On the renewal of the war with France, its recapture was one of the first measures planned by our government, and it has since remained in our hands. The British title was recognised and confirmed in the general territorial arrangements of 1815.

Under the Dutch, the colony was in extent about 600 miles in length and 320 in breadth, and its inhabitants were computed at about 60,000, of whom 22,000 were Europeans and the rest natives. It may be interesting to know something of the old Dutch colony as it appeared to an intelligent traveller so far back as the year 1773. A Swedish physician, commissioned by his government to make scientific inquiries and to form botanical collections, visited the Cape and parts of the adjacent territory; and he thus enumerates its material and social deficiencies:—'This country has no lakes; no navigable rivers; no other fisheries than those near the shores of the ocean or the mouths of rivers; no woods of any consequence or real utility—not even one pleasant grove; no verdant nor flowery meadows; no chalk hills; no metals worth the labour of extracting from the ore; no looms; no manufactures; no universities; no schools; no post; no post-horses; no inns;—nay, in so extensive a country as this there are still in many places wanting both judge and courts of judicature, both clergy and churches, both rain from heaven and springs from the earth, together with many other useful and indispensably necessary institutions which both now and hereafter may merit the consideration and care of a well-informed and prudent government.\* A vast improvement however, took place afterwards during the Dutch occupation, and, in consequence of the revocation of the edict of Nantes and the persecution of Protestants in Europe, many French and some German refugees emigrated to the Cape, and commenced the cultivation of the vine, which has proved one of the greatest resources of the colony.

The Dutch colonists are free from any charge of wanton oppression of the native races, nor is there any reason for supposing that they carried on aggressive wars for the purpose

\* 'Travels in Europe, Africa, and Asia, made between the years 1770 and 1779,' by Charles Peter Thunberg, M.D.

of dispossessing them of their land. They were themselves repeatedly attacked, as British colonists subsequently were, by bands of depredators tempted across the frontier by the rich herds of cattle which wandered over unenclosed plains. These freebooters at first only received merited castigation; but a practice afterwards prevailed of reducing to slavery all who were captured, and of confiscating the lands of the tribe to which the marauders belonged. The number of Hottentot slaves thus acquired by the Dutch settlers was considerable. It is to the act of the British legislature for the abolition of slavery that many of the Dutch settlers ascribe the ruin that overtook them after their submission to the British Crown. The value of a slave at the Cape varied from 400*l.* to 600*l.* The amount of compensation money voted by Parliament was 20,000,000*l.*, of which only 1,200,000*l.* was allotted to the Cape. This allowed only 48*l.* as the equivalent for each slave. Large numbers of boers, or farmers, dissatisfied with the treatment they had received, crossed the frontier with their flocks and herds, and sought a rude independence, which they valued more than their comfortable homesteads and farms. A large body with 1000 wagons *trekked*, or migrated, in several successive divisions, and, crossing the Drackenberrg Mountains, took possession of the fertile and then unoccupied district of Natal, where they set up an independent government, which the Cape authorities refused to recognise. On being discovered intriguing with the tribes in their vicinity, and urging them to assail the old settlers, they were attacked by a British force, and, after a stubborn conflict, defeated and dispersed. The few that remained in Natal acknowledged the British sovereignty; but 25,000 again 'trekked,' and formed a republic to the north beyond the Vaal River, in a country to which Great Britain laid no claim. They have carried with them, it is to be feared, a strong anti-British feeling and a keen sense of what they denominate their wrongs. A Trans-Vaal boer is said always to name the worst horse in his team 'England,' and to bestow upon him a more than ordinary share of abuse and beating.

The Dutch boers that remain are in person the finest men in the colony, and entertain a considerable degree of contempt for the comparatively diminutive 'Englander.' The fertility of the women is extraordinary, families of twelve being very general. The Cape Dutchmen are the same frugal, industrious, and sober people as those of the parent-stock in Holland. They are not, however, a progressive race. They use generally the same plough that their ancestors did eighty years ago—an unwieldy machine, which it requires twelve strong oxen to draw.

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They abhor the sound of a steam-mill, and adhere to some antediluvian contrivance for pounding, instead of grinding, their corn. The grain is trodden out by horses and oxen, as described in Scripture. Their virtues are considerable. Their family affection is perhaps unequalled in any part of the world. They are honest, brave, and independent, and, although as a body they undoubtedly long entertained a strong aversion to the British government, their prejudices have diminished from year to year, and there is every reason to hope that the two races which constitute the colonial population will before many years elapse form one united people. The religious element is very prominent in the boërs. It is not one of the least pleasurable sights in the colony, according to an intelligent traveller, to behold assembled, in the large room of the principal dwelling in a Dutch homestead, 'a whole family listening with devout attention to the hallowed words of the Sacred Book, and joining in prayer and praise to the great Father of the whole human family.' Four times a year the sacrament is administered, and then from far and wide the wagons pour into the towns, bringing households who have travelled even 150 miles to partake of the Lord's Supper. New Year's Day is always one of these occasions; it is a general holiday throughout the land, and is, indeed, the most sacred day in the Dutch calendar. A stranger would imagine that some *fête* or great entertainment had drawn together the crowds of young and old. Little would he imagine that they had been summoned there only by the recollection of the Divine words—'This do in remembrance of me.'\*

Confined within very narrow limits in the southern extremity of the African continent, was found, and still exists in a state only partially modified by civilization, a race different from any other tribe of people on that continent, and, in some respects, from any known people in any other part of the globe. Where they came from, and how it happens that they are peculiar to this remote corner of the earth, are problems that are not likely to be ever satisfactorily solved. The only people to whom the Hottentots have been thought to bear any resemblance are the Chinese and Malays, or their original stock, the Mongols. They are, without doubt, totally distinct both from the Negro and the Kaffir. They are divided into several tribes, some of which have received, with more or less success, the rudiments of European civilization, and their character has been in some degree modified by intercourse with the

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\* 'The Cape and the Kaffirs,' by Alfred W. Cole.

colonial population. To the north of the Orange River they exist in nearly a primitive state. As a race they are represented as lively, cheerful, and good-humoured, and not deficient in natural talent. When first observed, they possessed a republican form of polity, and chiefs who led them to war, which they sometimes carried on with extreme fury. When not in open hostility, they are said to have lived together with the greatest harmony and affection, and displayed the same passion for the dance and song which is common throughout Africa. The unconverted Hottentot, although he believes in a beneficent deity, and recognises a malignant spirit as the source of evil, has neither temples nor priests, but he hails the new and full moon with festive dances. In singular contrast to some of his higher theological conceptions, he holds a little shining beetle in the most superstitious reverence, and exalts it almost to the dignity of a god. In their early intercourse with Europeans they were exposed to the rapacity of unscrupulous burgher lords; and there is no doubt that they were for a lengthened period victims of the most cruel wrongs. Under the British Government they have received protection, freedom, and justice. Many of them have been taken into the employment of the State, and they have, on the whole, shown themselves not unworthy of the confidence with which they have been treated.

The frontier Hottentot tribes frequent chiefly the banks of the Orange River, and are, except when excited or misled, a quiet inoffensive race, leading a pastoral and migratory life. The Hottentot villages resemble clusters of gigantic bee-hives, and the food of the people consists chiefly of roots, berries, curds, and 'locusts and wild honey.' The honey they gather periodically, being guided to the deposits of the wild bee by the diminutive honey-bird, and the locusts are killed and stored in large quantities in the autumn. A dreamy voluptuous indolence seems to constitute the happiness of this mild and harmless people, who are seldom roused to war except under great provocation, and who frequently offer no resistance even to those who attack them. A Cape poet thus describes their character—

'In all his wanderings, hating toil,  
He never tills the stubborn soil;  
But on the milky dame relies,  
And what spontaneous earth supplies.  
Or should long parching droughts prevail,  
And milk, and bulbs, and locusts fail,  
He lays him down to sleep away,  
In languid trance, the weary day,  
Lulled by the sound of the Gareep  
Beneath the willows murmuring deep,

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Till thunder-clouds, surcharged with rain,  
Pour verdure o'er the panting plain,  
And call the dreamer from his trance,  
To feast on milk and game, and wake the moonlight dance.\*

This, the elder branch of the South-African family, is probably but the debilitated remnant of some higher race, which by a process of gradual deterioration has reached the low condition in which the Hottentots are now found—idlers who are debased rather than elevated by their contact with civilization, though undoubtedly capable of improvement by systematic and well-combined Christian exertions.

On the flanks and in the valleys of the Snewberg or Snowy Mountains, which form the northern boundary of the Cape, humanity is found in the very lowest state of degradation in which it has ever been exhibited. The Bosjesmans or Bushmen, two or three specimens of which race were brought to this country a few years ago, present an exaggeration even of the hideous form which characterises the Hottentot. Hunger, and cold, and nakedness, and every description of privation and distress, have so dwarfed their forms and depraved their minds, that they present a spectacle painful to look upon. The stature of these pigmy inhabitants of the desert rarely exceeds four feet, or four feet two inches. Thieves by profession, cruel and treacherous, without a fixed habitation, without society, without any sort of common interest or government, and living only from day to day, and from hand to mouth, they were objects of loathing to neighbouring tribes even before Europeans had approached their country. The most civilized of the Hottentots, and the Kaffirs more especially, waged a deadly war against them; and the sight of one of these diminutive savages is said to rouse the passions of that race to uncontrollable fury. Many years since, a Kaffir saw, in the Government House at Cape Town, among the other domestics, a Bushman eleven years of age. With the impulse of a beast of prey he darted upon him, and transfixed him with his aggesai.

The little intelligence which the Bushmen possess is displayed chiefly in robbery and the chase. Rivalling the antelope in fleetness, and the monkey in agility, they accompany their wild, half-famished, savage dogs until they come within bowshot of their game, or run down the objects of their pursuit. Arrayed generally with a bow, a quiver full of arrows, a hat and a belt, leather sandals, a sheep's fleece, a gourd, or the shell of an ostrich's egg, to carry water, these puny creatures wander over their parched

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\* 'African Poems,' by T. Pringle, Esq.



and desolate plains, supported by a food which, unless when occasionally varied by the luxuries of the chase, consists entirely of roots, berries, ant-eggs, grasshoppers, mice, toads, lizards, and snakes. They smear the arrows which they use for hunting and in war with a poison which, extracted from a bulb, and mingled with venom drawn from the jaws of the yellow serpent, forms a compound of the most noxious character, for no creature was ever pierced by a dart prepared with the deadly virus and lived. They have another poison more fearful in its effects, which is extracted from a caterpillar. The agony produced by it, Dr. Livingstone says, is so intense, that the person wounded cuts himself with knives, and flies from human habitations a raving maniac. Its effect on the lion is equally terrible. He is heard moaning in distress, becomes furious, and bites trees and the ground in his rage. They are said to be totally devoid of natural affection; 'and there are instances,' adds a missionary,\* who lived for some time in their neighbourhood, 'of parents throwing their tender offspring to the hungry lion who stood roaring before their cavern refusing to depart until some peace-offering was made to him.' They shun the face of strangers, concealing themselves amongst rocks and bushes, and even throwing themselves over precipices rather than fall into the hands of their enemies. But they have been known, when escape has been cut off, to fight with the most determined resolution. Religion they have none. They regard the thunder as the voice of an angry demon, and they reply to it with curses and imprecations. Their language is inarticulate to all but themselves; and there appears to be scarcely even a possibility of either civilizing or converting them. In the north-east of Natal, where the Bushmen appear in their lowest type, they reside in holes of the earth scraped out with their nails, or, rather, with their claws. 'They will not receive kindness,' says a close observer of their character; 'or if they do, they only make a return in treachery, robbery, and murder. No presents of cattle or corn, no inducements to locate and settle, can prevail upon them to relinquish their wild life, or to make any approach towards civilization.' The only satisfactory thought connected with them is the belief of their gradual extinction. They exist in the meantime an awful proof of the depth of degradation to which humanity, in its gradual deterioration, can fall, and an instance of physical and moral degeneracy probably unparalleled in the world.

It is a relief to turn from this pigmy but malignant race

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\* Mr. Kieherer.

to the one which contrasts with it in every particular. In most of the high attributes of savage nature the Kaffir tribes differ from all that we are acquainted with on the African continent. The wars in which we have been engaged with them have taught us at least to respect their prowess and to appreciate their barbaric courage.

Along the whole range of the eastern coast of Africa to within 500 miles of the Cape of Good Hope, there exists a race of people more or less black; generally of a deep bronze colour, large in stature, of a bold independent gait, with frames of fine proportions, well-knit, and strongly built. They make use of different dialects of a common language, in all of which may be distinguished a mixture of Arabic words. The affinities of this language have been lately much studied, and it is said to be distinguished for its minute accuracy, fullness of expression, and copiousness of form, and it is supposed that it was once the language of a race in a far higher state of civilization than the Kaffirs are at present. The Portuguese, when they first doubled the Cape of Good Hope and touched at the Arab settlement on the Eastern coast, learned from the Mahomedan settlers that these people were called Kaffirs, by which name it was only meant to designate them as infidels. There is little doubt that they came from some distant country, and obtained possession of their present territory by right of conquest, under a chief whose name is supposed to have been Kosa, as they call themselves Amakosa, the prefix Ama constituting the plural. It does not appear that they extend far into the interior, as of the multitude of slaves that have been taken from Africa by different nations, all have been negroes. The bold and warlike Kaffirs have successfully repelled every attempt to reduce them to slavery, and convert them into articles of merchandise. The traces of their early history are very indistinct, but tradition has taught them to point to the north-east as the direction of the country of their origin. Missionaries have attempted to refer their descent, on very plausible grounds, in common with that of many of the wandering tribes of Arabia, to Ishmael the son of Abraham, whose twelve sons were the princes or heads of as many different families, and who occupied a tract of country from Havilah on the Euphrates to the Wilderness of Shur, which forms a part of the Isthmus of Suez. In progress of time the several tribes of Ishmael's descendants would naturally so increase as to render an extension of territory unavoidable. The eastern tribes would pass into Arabia, while the others would gradually descend the opposite shore of the Red Sea, and spread themselves out to the west and

south. Further emigration would in time become necessary, until at length they would reach the several countries where they are now found, and the migratory progress would be arrested by the advance from the opposite direction of another and more powerful emigration—the various European settlers in South Africa.

‘Thus,’ in the words of an able Church missionary, ‘at length, travelling in a different direction around the globe, the children of the freewoman have again met those of the bondwoman. And, although the latter are found as they were left—cast out and forsaken, with “their hand against every man and every man’s hand against them,”—yet they have now come together again as brethren, the younger holding out the promise to the elder! And so may it be that through the Kaffir missions of the African church the two may become one, and Jacob and Ishmael, in their children, may yet rise up, and worship together the God of Abraham.’

Debased and degraded as the Kaffir religion is in many respects, it cannot be questioned that many of their opinions present remarkable traces of a Hebrew origin. They are proud of their race, which they consider superior to all others. They acknowledge a Supreme Being, and however they may have lost the full meaning of their own expressive words for the Deity, they are the very same ideas which are represented by the Hebrew words *Elohim* and *Jehovah*.

‘The true words for the Supreme Being in the Kaffir language,’ says the Bishop of Natal, ‘are *um-Kulunkula*, literally the Great One, and *um-Velingange*, literally the Self-Existent; and in every instance, whether in the heathen kraal amidst the wildest of savages, or in the missionary station, in the presence of the teacher who was himself surprised at the result, my enquiries led me invariably to the same point, namely, that these words have been familiar to them from their childhood as names for Him who created them and all things, and as traces of a religious knowledge, which, however originally derived, their ancestors possessed long before the arrival of missionaries, and have handed down to the present generation.’

They have a firm belief in the existence of a spiritual world, to the influence of which they are subjected, and which they can propitiate. They believe in and reverence prophets. They imagine that these are beings into whose bodies the spirits of their great departed chiefs have gone, and that they return to foretell forthcoming national events. The characteristic of a sacrifice is that it must be offered by a priest, except ordinary domestic sacrifices, which may be performed by the head of the family. The blood must be caught in some kind of vessel, and not spilled on the ground, and the bones must be burned. Many of the Kaffir customs are completely patriarchal in their nature.

nature. The strong reverence for their chiefs, their pastoral life, the purchase of a wife by dowry, their ornaments, consisting of armlets, anklets, frontlets, and a girdle; their strict observance of a 'feast of first-fruits,' the traditional use of a 'heap of stones,' are essentially Hebrew in their character. The great chief of one of their most important tribes is Moshesh (Moses), a name greatly revered among them. The name of Abram is not unknown, and they certainly observe many Jewish rites. All animals pronounced unclean by the Mosaic law are unclean to the Kaffirs. Swine's flesh is an abomination to them. The hare, the bat, the owl, all kinds of fish, and several other kinds of birds and animals, they will neither eat nor touch. The laws of uncleanness startlingly resemble those of Leviticus. Circumcision is universal and compulsory. These singular customs, prevailing among a race so exclusively national as the Kaffirs, have not failed to strike every traveller, and to inspire with the liveliest interest every missionary who has attempted to investigate their origin and history; and it is singularly confirmatory of the view of an Israelitish origin that Dr. Livingstone declares that the farther east and north he proceeded in his travels, and the more extended his intercourse with the native tribes, the purer he found their notions of the Divinity and the clearer their theological conceptions. Nor must we omit the testimony borne to the Kaffir character by a late Governor. 'It must,' says Sir George Cathcart, 'be admitted that this remarkable people have a strong sense of the moral obligation of good faith, and, if they enter into any engagement, are seldom found to promise one thing and do another.'\*

The Kaffirs, although presenting in their religious polity many traces of a pure faith, have been probably for ages the victims of an organised conspiracy between their rulers and the priesthood, and the political and religious elements of their system of government are so intimately combined that one cannot be destroyed without the other. 'In fact,' says Mr. Warren, one of the missionary agents to the frontier tribes, 'with the exception of their civil and criminal laws, the two departments may be considered but one vast system of paganism, and which must be entirely overthrown before any extensive good can be effected amongst them; for, what is the present state of those people? The gospel has been preached to them for the last fifty years, and some attempts have been made towards civilising them, but the Kaffirs, *nationally* considered, remain just as they ever were;

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\* 'Correspondence of Sir George Cathcart,' p. 56.

no visible difference can be discovered. They are as perfectly heathen now as they were in the days of Vander Kemp.

There is no greater treat to a group of South African savages than to get a missionary among them, no matter to what denomination he may belong, and their shrewdness has occasionally sorely perplexed the good men who so earnestly labour for their conversion. They delight to hear them discourse while they sit and smoke their pipes in the sun. They are not the men, however, to allow a missionary to have the argument all to himself. They do not necessarily doubt what he says, but they good-humouredly insist on a reason for all that he propounds. 'You tell us such and such things,' they say, 'but how do you know? *Why* are you sure? Who told you? How did *he* know? Who told him? Perhaps he spoke falsely!' The missionary passes through the ordeal triumphantly, but when the sun has set and the pipes are out, some sable warrior takes his benevolent instructor aside, and whispers secretly in his ear, 'How do you make gunpowder?'

The Church has undoubtedly a task of great difficulty, and requiring probably a lengthened period of exertion, before she can succeed in bringing within her fold these keen-witted barbarians; but if the zeal of the early missionaries who planted the Cross on the shores of Britain was able to overthrow the vast politico-religious structure of Pagan Druidism, it would ill become the Church of the nineteenth century to doubt her ultimate success in dissipating the superstitions of Southern Africa. The intellectual powers of the Kaffirs enable them fully to appreciate the force of reasoning, and in no region of the earth is it of greater importance that missionary labourers should be carefully and specially trained for their duties. The story of the Bible, if grafted on the traces of their Ishmaelitish origin, might doubtless be presented in such a manner as to captivate and impress them with its reality and truth. That the highest discretion has not always been exercised in the first attempts to indoctrinate them with Christian truth, may be collected from the following speech of a Kaffir chief:—'We are willing,' he said, 'to hear what you can report to us about your religion, but we have been told by your people that the world will be burned up—perhaps very soon—and that we shall all be destroyed. If that is the case, we would rather not hear anything more about it.'

The government of the Kaffir tribes is partly of a patriarchal, partly of a feudal character. The people, as a whole, are under the sovereignty of one hereditary chief, who issues on certain occasions his orders to the tribes. This chief resides out of the British territories, in Kaffraria Proper. The power of each chief is practically

practically controlled by a council in which all matters of importance are discussed. This council, the members of which are called *Amapakati* (literally Middle Ones), is composed of commoners who, by their courage in battle, or their skill in law, have acquired popular influence, and are thus enabled either to sustain, or, when requisite, even to oppose the power of the chiefs. They generally reside in different parts of the country, and have a species of civil jurisdiction over their respective neighbourhoods. A few are always to be found near the person of the chief, but on any occasion of importance all are summoned to the council, and no political movement of consequence is made until the matter has been thoroughly discussed in all its bearings. Each tribe inhabits a separate district called a location, and their kraals or villages are placed along the grassy ridges or slopes of the hills which bound the courses of the streams. In British Kaffraria, where the country is very rich in grass, and carries a large proportion of stock compared with its extent, the villages are placed at a short distance from each other, and the war-cry, when once raised, spreads on every side with wonderful rapidity, extending quickly to the extremity of Kaffirland, so that continuous streams of warriors, led by their proper chiefs, haste to the quarter in which the alarm was raised. These warriors are always ready to take the field at a moment's notice. For the greater part of the year they lounge idly about the kraals. Their pursuits are pastoral, varied by hunting-parties, dances, and other festivities. The population is not migratory, the pasturage around each kraal being in general amply sufficient for its wants. The farm-stock consists of horned cattle, horses, goats, and poultry. The location of each chief thus contains what may be termed a standing army duly officered and maintained in an effective state.

Such is a brief outline of the political system of this remarkable people. Like other governments, it is doubtless the offspring of circumstances, and accommodated to the national character. The principles of their civil code, together with many of their peculiar customs and domestic institutions, have been recently collected by direction of the Chief Commissioner in British Kaffraria, by the missionaries settled in the different provinces, and they are published in a series of most interesting Reports made by these gentlemen. The work was printed in British Kaffraria for the use of the local government, but we shall avail ourselves of its pages for throwing some further light upon the Kaffir polity and character.

The Kaffir 'Constitution' adopts the principle of hereditary succession, but the appointment of the paramount chief is frequently

quently an object of intrigue, arising from the practice of polygamy creating clashing family-claims. The legislative, judicial, and administrative departments are united. The laws originate with the decisions of the chief and his council, and this council forms the great law-court of the tribe, in which the chief sits as judge, and decrees the execution of his sentences. There is no letter of the law to appeal to, but a collection of precedents, consisting of the decisions of former days, not contained in voluminous 'Reports,' but fixed in the recollections, personal and traditional, of the 'lawyers' of the existing generation. These decisions constitute 'leading cases,' as it were, for the guidance of future judges. It is not therefore to the mere merits, or abstract justice, of the case that an appeal is ordinarily made in the Kaffir courts, but, as in our judicial system, rather to what has been decided in former days on some analogous question. The changing conditions of the tribes, and their increasing intercourse with a civilized people, have been the means of introducing more complicated questions than their traditionary system of law enables their magistrates to deal with. Ancient decisions are becoming less applicable day by day to a more modern state of society, and the chiefs or their counsellors not being always able to find a guide in antiquity, like our own judges, sometimes boldly 'make a precedent,' in order to prevent a total failure of justice.

They recognise a distinction, similar to that which exists in England, between criminal and civil law. In their criminal jurisprudence the sovereign, as the impersonation of the state, is held to be the party aggrieved, and the compensation is paid to the chief. 'No man can eat his own blood,' is the maxim which governs this procedure; and the fines levied for personal injuries are considered the 'price of blood.' The Kaffir 'criminal code' comprises all cases included under the general heads of treason, murder, assault, and witchcraft; the 'civil' all that have relation to property, including as such a man's wife as his principal 'chattel.' Reputation is jealously guarded by the Kaffir law; and the 'action for slander,' whenever resorted to on sufficient grounds, is always sure to result in heavy damages to the person aggrieved. The course of criminal law, however, in Kaffirland, proceeds on one principle, the very reverse of that which ought to regulate the administration of justice. An accused person is held guilty until he has demonstrated his innocence, and as with our neighbours across the Channel (who have at least the sanction of a South-African code for their procedure) is himself subjected to a most severe cross-examination, varied and repeated at the pleasure of his interrogators. Every advantage is taken of his confusion, unavoidable mistakes, and contradictions.

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The law is held in much honour in Kaffraria, and from its traditional character, and therefore 'glorious uncertainty,' gives ample employment to a learned profession; and few of our Nisi Prius lawyers can surpass these advocates in the keenness of their intellect and in the ingenuity of their cross-examinations.\*

A system of appeals forms part of the administration of justice. They proceed in regular gradations, and the final one is made to the paramount chief, assisted by his 'judicial committee,' where the old Kaffir lawyers practise, whose profound knowledge of precedents has raised them to the highest dignity of their profession. The chief forms his decision upon the result of the investigation conducted by his counsellors, but takes no part in the case except to pronounce judgment. A party from the 'great place' is sent to enforce the decree, and, as the most important part of the process, to bring back the chief's share of the fine.

The most heinous crime known to the Kaffir law is witchcraft, and invariably leads to the ruin or death of the suspected individual. Forfeiture of goods is the lowest penalty; therefore, no sooner does a subject grow rich than he is accused. A dangerous political eminence or personal ill-will is equally certain to provoke the charge. It is the office of a priest or 'witch-doctor' to discover the offender, who has of course been previously indicated by the chief; and in an assembly of the tribe, called for the special occasion, and with many solemn formalities, the unlucky victim is 'smelt out' by the priest, and led off to immediate imprisonment or execution.

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\* We give the following curious law-case, which came under the personal observation of an English resident. It will serve to elucidate the shrewdness of the *amapakati*, or Kaffir lawyers:—

'A verdict was required in the case of a Kaffir, who, as plaintiff, brought on the trial, asserting that an ox of his had been stabbed, and a portion eaten by six Kaffirs, who were placed at the bar as prisoners. They pleaded not guilty, on the ground that the ox had been gored by another ox, and, having died from the wound, they had eaten it, thinking it no harm. The case caused great excitement in the tribe; and the shrewdest *amapakati* were "retained" for the trial. After a careful hearing, the senior prisoner made a very eloquent defence, and urged, that, from the length of the wound, it was quite impossible that a man could have inflicted it. He was heard throughout patiently; but when he finished an old *amapakati* cross-examined him thus:—Where did the goring ox's tail grow? On its rump.—How did it grow there, up or down? Down.—Where did its horns grow? On the head.—How did they grow there, up or down? Up.—If, then, that ox gored the other, to do so he would have to put his head down, and tear up, would he not? Yes.—He could not tear down, could he? No.—Now examine the wound, and see whether the first incision was made at the top or at the bottom? (With great reluctance) The wound is largest at the bottom. *Finding*: the ox was stabbed, not gored. The prisoners are guilty. *Sentence*: Each to be fined two cows. The judgment was received with great applause.'

Polygamy

Polygamy is universally permitted throughout all Kaffraria; nor is there any legal limit to the number of wives. But in Kaffirland a man is not entitled to choose his wife or wives; his wishes are in a great degree subordinate to the 'intentions' of those who have daughters to settle in life. The number of wives, therefore, is generally proportioned to the wealth of the husband. The refusal of a bride is considered an insult to the family, to be expiated only by the plunder of the offender's kraal, or by his blood. An old man, if wealthy, is therefore sure to be burthened with a 'large establishment;' and he is frequently obliged to accept a young wife when his feelings would rather lead him to decline the proffered happiness. The average number of wives to each married man among the common people is said to be about three; but the old Kaffir lawyers, who have amassed wealth in the pursuit of a lucrative profession, are known to have had as many as ten forced on them, and these ladies are not long in learning the art of dissipating a fortune, or of bringing their niggardly lord to his grave. A Kaffir, moreover, is obliged not only to take any wife that may be offered to him, but to pay for her; though the transaction is not regarded exactly in the light of a purchase. The original idea was, that the 'consideration' should be held as a deposit or security for the proper treatment of the woman, and as a token of the husband's regard; and accordingly a girl considers herself as slighted if the usual honorarium has not been given to her parent. A young bride has been known to run away from her husband when she discovered that she had not been paid for. If she was not worth paying for, she said, she was not worth having.

In the ordinary course of things, proposals of marriage come from the father of the bride; but there is no insuperable barrier to the advances being made by the bridegroom. It sometimes happens that two young men select as the object of their choice the same young woman, and they commence a course of bidding for the father's consent and the daughter's affections. The course of proceeding is thus described:—

'The cattle of the respective candidates are sent to the father of the object of their rivalry by one or two at a time, as may be necessary to advance a step beyond the opposite side. When the highest bidder has reached his maximum, the cattle of both are surveyed together, and the lady is called upon to declare her own choice of the candidates themselves. If this should happen to coincide with that of her parents, with respect to the cattle, so much the better. If not, a contest commences of persuasion *versus* authority. It sometimes occurs that the entreaties of the daughter prevail over the avarice of the father, but such cases, the Kaffirs admit, are rare. Kaffir fathers have for the

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the most part their full share of those principles of human nature which in more enlightened countries leads parents to sacrifice the "foolish" inclinations of their children at a golden shrine; and accordingly the highest bidder usually gains the prize. The cattle of the unsuccessful candidate are then driven *by the fair one herself*, decked in her best ornaments, to the home of their owner, and left in his kraal. This is the *coup de grace* of rejection, and is a piece of refinement in punishing a stingy suitor worthy the notice of the *undervalued* ladies of more civilized nations.\*

The wealth of the Kaffir people consists almost entirely of cattle. They have scarcely any other idea of realised property. They keep enormous quantities for no use whatever: they seldom kill any for food, they will rarely sell them, and they do not trade in their hides, but their pride is to possess a fine herd, which they count and dote upon as a miser does his hoarded treasure. Dr. Livingstone was asked by a Zulu Kaffir how many cows her Majesty Queen Victoria possessed. It was the only way in which he could acquire any idea of her dignity and importance. The Kaffirs take as much pride in the beauty of their cattle as an English gentleman does in the breed of his horses. But, in addition to its other good points, a Kaffir considers an animal the more valuable if it possesses a musical voice. At a sale in British Kaffraria the low of a heifer excited so much admiration that a sharp competition sprung up for her possession, and she realised a considerable price.

Individual Kaffirs have been converted to Christianity, but there has been no national movement. As a nation they long remained very much in the state in which we found them; and so they would probably have continued but for certain political events which have recently taken place, and to which we shall presently refer.

'The chief Kama,' says a highly intelligent missionary, 'formally embraced Christianity some thirty years ago, but he evidently started in his Christian career with mistaken notions. Instead of embracing Christianity as a *chief*, and setting resolutely to work in that capacity, to obtain a national abandonment of pagan superstition among his tribe, and a nominal profession of the faith which he himself had embraced, he evidently came to the conclusion that he would endeavour to serve the God of the *private individual merely*. And what is the consequence? His people, as a tribe, are perfectly heathen as ever they were. Nay, if I know anything about the matter, they are more hardened and confirmed in their superstition now than ever; and were Kama now to attempt any radical reformation amongst them as a *chief* they would probably forsake him to a man. If my views then are correct, and all who have studied the subject must come

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\* 'Kaffir Laws and Customs;' Paper by Rev. H. H. Dugmore.

to the same conclusion, the present pagan form of political government found amongst the Kaffir tribes is inimical to all improvement, and the sooner it is overthrown the better. How this will be accomplished it is not for me to say. As so many untoward events have, however, happened in connection with our intercourse with this people, and so many clashing interests now exist; and, as the Kaffir tribes have now become so thoroughly imbued with hatred to the "white man," and appear so resolutely determined on his destruction or to lose their political existence in the struggle; and above all, as they have so resolutely and so perseveringly refused to give the Gospel even an attentive hearing, it seems to me that the way on which they are obstinately bent is the one which God will make use of to bring about this desirable object; and that the sword must first—not *exterminate* them—but break them up as tribes, and *destroy their political existence*; after which, when thus set free from the shackles by which they are bound, civilization and Christianity will no doubt make rapid progress among them; for they are a noble race, nowise deficient in mental capacity, and well worthy of all the labour and expense which the imperial government is bestowing upon them.\*

We have now to describe one of the most remarkable political movements originating in ambition and priestcraft, and working on ignorance and fanaticism, that is to be found in the history of any people. The paramount sovereign of the Kaffir race, encouraged by the doubtful result of some of the conflicts of the last war, and alarmed probably at the gradual consolidation of British power, resolved in 1857 to strike another blow for supremacy, the success of which he hoped, by working upon the superstition of his people, to make decisive and complete. For this purpose he availed himself of a traditionary belief that a species of millenium would some day dawn on the Kaffir race. He employed in carrying out his designs a prophet who possessed much influence in the country. This man boldly predicted, that, on a stated day, when the sun rose in the morning it would wander for a time in the heavens, and then set in the east, when a hurricane immediately coming on would sweep all who had not believed in him and obeyed his mandates, whether Europeans or Kaffirs, from the earth; or, as the prophecy was sometimes varied, that *two* suns would rise at the time the great event was to happen, when the English were to walk into the sea, which was to open a road for them until they arrived at 'Illongo,' where Satan was to dispose of them all; that the ancestors of the Kaffirs were then to rise from the dead, with countless herds of cattle of an improved breed, to be distributed amongst his followers, who thenceforth, restored to youth and endowed with immortal beauty, were to

\* 'Kaffir Laws and Customs.' Mr. Warner's notes.

reside for countless ages in a Kaffir paradise. The fulfilment of these predictions was, however, contingent upon the Kaffirs having first destroyed all their cattle and corn, and having refrained from cultivating the ground, so as to leave themselves wholly without the means of subsistence. This extraordinary belief spread rapidly through the country, and the singular spectacle was presented of a people exerting themselves energetically to destroy their whole property, and reduce themselves to a state of absolute want.

For a considerable time before, and up to the very day appointed for the fulfilment of the prophecy, the followers of the prophet (and they composed the greater part of the nation) slaughtered the whole of their cattle and destroyed whatever of their subsistence was left. They re-thatched their huts in the strongest manner, that they might be able to resist the expected hurricane; and, finally, on the appointed day, they shut themselves up in their habitations, waiting in terror and hope the wonderful events that were to take place. There were three things, however, that were significantly exempted from the command of universal destruction which had gone forth from the prophet, namely—horses, arms, and ammunition, which were not even to be disposed of, but sedulously increased by purchase, theft, or any other means. The object of this cruel deception, planned by the paramount sovereign of the Kaffir tribes and generally fostered by his subordinate chiefs, was to create such an amount of distress that the Kaffirs, desperate from want and frantic with disappointment and despair, might immediately engage in another British war, and sweep the white intruders from the land. A plan had accordingly been organised for invading the eastern frontier, at several points simultaneously, along a line of one hundred miles in length.

On the afternoon of the day fixed for the great miracle, no signs or wonders having been observed, tens of thousands of poor and ignorant victims of this atrocious political conspiracy emerged from their huts downcast, ruined, and destitute. Only one-third of the people had refused to obey the mandates of the prophet, preserved their cattle and corn, and cultivated their land. The country had been divided into believers and unbelievers, and fierce dissensions raged between them. The now destitute believers formed themselves into bands of robbers, and pillaged their unbelieving countrymen and the Europeans. The country was covered by crowds of women and children digging for wild roots, as the only subsistence they could procure. In the district of Kaffraria Proper, where the movement commenced, several influential chiefs committed suicide, from despair at the state of destitution

destitution to which their families were reduced, and one of the leading chiefs begged to be allowed to work for wages upon the roads.

The movement, so far from having fulfilled the expectations of its originators, had a completely opposite result. The power of the chiefs who had fostered the delusion was completely broken. The people, in thousands and tens of thousands, renounced their allegiance, crowded in multitudes to beg employment on the British public works, or migrated with their wives and children into the colonial territories, in search of employment. In an official report for the year 1857, it is stated, that of the Kaffir population 30,000 had become hired servants in the colony, that many thousands had fled beyond the borders, probably only to perish, that vast numbers were supported by charitable aid, and that 68,034 souls had disappeared from British Kaffraria alone, in the first seven months of that year. A similar disappearance of the population took place in Kaffraria Proper, but at least to double the extent. The colony of the Cape and the other British possessions in South Africa sustained no injury. The crisis passed, leaving the country infinitely more prosperous and secure than it had ever been before. A restless nation, that for years had harassed the frontier, was suddenly converted into useful labourers. Those who had formerly done their best to destroy the resources of the colony are now by their industry giving them yearly a greater development; and so satisfied is the capitalist and landed proprietor with the quality of the labour supplied that the Government has found it difficult to meet the increasing demand.

The 'difficulty' of the Cape government may be said to have been thus solved; and, considering the manner in which the solution has been brought about, it is impossible not to be struck with the solemn fact that presents itself. A people presenting a formidable obstacle to the advance of civilization and the spread of Christianity in South Africa, may be said to have committed political suicide under the influence of its religious delusions. No exterminating sword was needed by the great Disposer of events to put an end to a confederacy of barbarians, but it was suddenly broken up and scattered by the effect of the gross infatuations which they had themselves encouraged.

'The influence hitherto possessed by the chiefs,' wrote the Governor of the Cape, in 1858, 'continues in the present state of general destitution rapidly to decline, and I hope that this will be so effectually the case, that they can never hereafter exercise an influence over their race which they have hitherto almost always employed for evil; and it is impossible

impossible to reflect on the sufferings of the aged, the females, and the children, without feeling the utmost indignation against those chiefs who, for their own selfish and ambitious projects, have brought such severe distress on their nation; and I feel quite satisfied that their late conduct has irretrievably destroyed that portion of their influence which was still left to them, and that henceforth we may govern the country ourselves, the chiefs being mere dependants upon us.\*

The crisis through which the Kaffir nation has recently passed involves changes far more important than the destruction of the power of the chiefs. It necessitates, and is leading to, a complete alteration in the habits of the entire race. After exterminating their horned stock, the milk of which had from time immemorial formed their chief support, they are necessarily compelled to become cultivators of the soil. Voluntarily to destroy their cattle was voluntarily to destroy their entire polity, and to abolish all their national habits and customs. In the impressive words of Sir George Grey, when addressing the Colonial Legislature, 'These events are likely to secure for us the blessings of a lasting peace, and of a prosperity surpassing any expectations which could, a short time since, have been reasonably formed, and having been brought about by means so novel and unexpected, and so entirely beyond man's control, they teach us to turn with thankful gratitude to that overruling Providence which has so wonderfully worked out its own designs.'

The following abstract of the population-returns of British Kaffraria on the 1st of June, 1858, shows the immense decrease of the population, consequent on the destruction of food.

	Number of Kraals.	Adults.	Children.	Total.
Kaffir population, 1st June, 1857	3,942	50,045	54,676	104,721
„ 1st June, 1858	1,291	27,320	24,866	52,186
Decrease in 1 Year .. ..	2,651	22,725	29,810	52,535

The colony of the Cape of Good Hope is 217,700 square miles in extent, and contains, according to the latest population-returns, 269,000 inhabitants, scattered over a country seventy-one times larger than British Kaffraria, and in the proportion only of about one-third of a person to a square mile. In order that the population of the colony of the Cape, regard being had to its extent of territory, should be placed on a numerical equality with British Kaffraria, it must be increased to  $6\frac{1}{2}$  millions of souls. British

\* 'Further Papers relative to the State of the Kaffir Tribes,' p. 84.



Kaffraria was not annexed to the colony of the Cape; but although in the conclusion of the last Kaffir war the British frontier was extended to the River Kei, the new territory was declared a dependency of the Crown, distinct from the old colony, and it possessed, in fact, scarcely any European population but troops.

There is a territory contiguous to the British frontier on the north inhabited by a race of mixed Hottentot and European blood, descendants of the Dutch Boers and their Hottentot slaves. They are called Griquas, and are described as a tall, athletic, good-looking race, of a light olive colour, indolent and careless of the future, but good-tempered and hospitable, and occasionally somewhat predatory in their habits. They speak a debased patois of the Dutch language, and are ruled by hereditary chiefs.

Before we enumerate the resources of the British dependencies of South Africa, we will glance at the independent states which the policy of England has allowed to be established on the colonial frontier, and which must exercise a considerable influence upon the Cape of Good Hope, whether as independent states or as members of some future South-African confederation.

The Trans-Vaal country, the seat of an independent republic, has been long celebrated for an abundance of game; but here, as in other parts of Africa, it is said to be rapidly disappearing. In no part of the world did the larger mammalia abound in greater number and variety than in the southern extremity of Africa, even at a comparatively recent date. In the beginning of the eighteenth century the elephant and rhinoceros browsed on the proteas and heaths which clothed the skirts of the Table Mountain; the lion crouched in the reeds of the Leisbeck, the hippopotamus gamboled in the waters of the Salt River, and the giraffe, at no very distant period, was well known to the native inhabitants of a district that is now one of the most cultivated in the colony. All the larger wild quadrupeds have rapidly retreated before the march of civilization. It is supposed that a lion does not exist at the present day within the limits of the Cape Colony, but they are still numerous in the thinly-settled parts of Natal, the Trans-Vaal Republic, Great Namaqualand, and Betjounaland. The Trans-Vaal government endeavours to check the indiscriminate slaughter carried on for the skins of animals. The elephant is found in abundance. An Englishman has the reputation of being the most fearless and successful hunter in that district, having remained in the veldt without cover for three months, during which time he was said to have killed seventy elephants, the tusks of which weighed 3000 lbs. In the Trans-Vaal, wheat and other cereals thrive well, tobacco is produced in large quantities, and all the fruits

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of the temperate zone are said to be abundant. Sugar-cane has been grown successfully, and the country is well watered. The rocks of the country are primary, and are rich in minerals, and the Republic already supplies the Orange Free State and Natal with grain. The ivory obtained by the Boers in one district of the country alone, in the course of three months, was computed at 60,000 pounds' weight Dutch, or nearly 30 tons. Of the territory now constituting the Orange Free State we possess little authentic information. It continues involved in boundary-disputes with native tribes, and is of little interest except in a political sense.

The leading features of the physical geography of the colony of the Cape, and which chiefly determine its climate and natural productions, are three ranges of mountains, running parallel to each other and to the southern coast. The first range runs at a distance of from 20 to 60 miles, widening towards the west. The second, or Black Mountains, is considerably higher and more rugged than the first, and consists of double and triple ranges. Beyond, at an interval of 80 or 100 miles, rise the Snowy Mountains, the highest range of Southern Africa, the summits of which are generally covered with snow. They are supposed not to fall short of 10,000 feet at their greatest height. The belt or plain interposed between these two last chains is considerably more elevated than either of the others, so that Southern Africa forms, as it were, a succession of terraces rising one above another. The plain next the sea is covered with a deep and fertile soil, watered by numerous rivulets, well clothed with grass and with a variety of beautiful trees and shrubs. The second terrace contains a considerable portion of well-watered and fertile land, but interspersed with large tracts of arid desert called Karroo. The third belt, called the Great Karroo, is composed of one vast plain, 300 miles in length, and nearly 100 in breadth; occupying, therefore, a space nearly equal to the whole of Ireland, the soil of which is of a hard impenetrable texture, destitute throughout the greatest part of the year of almost any trace of vegetation. These gloomy regions, although far from attractive in their features, possess a sort of picturesque grandeur, arising from their very sterility and desolation. For the larger portion of the year the smallest bird could not find either water or food in these scorched and lifeless plains, where not even the hum of an insect breaks the deathlike silence which prevails. The salt-impregnation of the soil, so common all over the colony, is accounted for by the supposition that the sea was once present where it occurs; and as the fall of rain in many places is small and the drought protracted, the earth has never been thoroughly

washed and cleansed of its saline particles. But these wild regions, devoid of springs and running streams, are not always barren deserts and desolate plains. In the dry season, the soil, composed of a yellow ferruginous clay, is baked as by the fire of a furnace to the hardness of brick, but the roots and bulbs, defended by a ligneous covering, survive the scorching heat. They are restored to vitality by the first rains, put forth their shoots with astonishing rapidity, burst into bloom, and the district which a day or two before presented to the eye only a parched and dreary wilderness, is, as by the wand of an enchanter, suddenly transformed into a wilderness of sweets. Flocks are driven from afar, to revel for a season in luxuriant pastures. This period of bright verdure, rich perfume, and gorgeous colour, lasts only for a month; the tender plants once more wither under the rays of a burning sun, the soil resumes its hardness, and men and animals that have tasted for a brief interval the joys of an Arcadian life return to their distant homes. The rivers in that portion of South Africa which constitutes the Colony of the Cape are swollen by periodical rains, and fertilise, by their inundations, the neighbouring land; but for the greater portion of the year they are only dry channels like the 'nullahs' of India. A tourist informs his readers that he took the trouble to ride one hundred and fifty miles when at the Cape to see a river which contained water, and was amply compensated by the view of the Orange River, with its clustering islands, shady willows, and the distant mountain-tops reflected in its placid stream. On his return over the karroos, he had an opportunity of observing the rapidity with which the dry river-beds are filled. One day the clouds began to gather, the wind fell, the air became oppressively sultry, the horses restless, and he himself faint and weary to excess. Suddenly the heavens were covered with deep impenetrable masses of clouds:—

'In one moment the country around was as black as ink, the next it was a sheet of living flame, whiter than the white heat of a furnace. The rain-spouts burst forth, and although we had entered a cave from the road without passing any stream, or apparently even the bed of one, when three hours later we again ventured forth from our place of shelter, a broad and impassable torrent flowed between ourselves and the road, and we had to crawl along the mountain-sides on foot with great difficulty, and in the momentary danger of losing our footing on its slippery surface and being dashed into the roaring torrent, for about two miles before we could find a fordable spot.\*'

In many districts north of the Cape Colony whole years some-

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\* Cole's 'Cape and the Kaffirs.'

times elapse without the appearance of a running stream, and yet the magnitude of the dry watercourses shows how immense must be the torrents that occasionally sweep along them. The writer of the little geographical manual—the title of which we have prefixed at the head of this paper—states that he has seen the bed of the Great Fish River perfectly dry, and within twenty-four hours a torrent thirty feet deep, and several hundred feet wide, was roaring through it. In February, 1848, the Kat River suddenly rose upwards of fifty feet in the course of a few hours, sweeping seventeen feet above the roadway of a stone bridge at Fort Beaufort, supposed to have been built high enough to leave a clear water-way for the highest flood ever remembered. Notwithstanding these periodical floods, South Africa is, except in parts of its eastern coast, unfortunately circumstanced as regards the first great necessity of animal and vegetable life. Situated at the southern extremity of a large continent, the prevailing winds necessarily blow towards the great heated interior, and coming over a cold sea, or, in early summer, over fields of ice, bring little rain. If the winds came from the north-west, they would be loaded with the moisture of tropical seas, but the north-west winds appear not to extend far to the northward, and their influence is hardly felt one hundred miles in the interior.

The Cape and its adjoining provinces have been described as the most richly adorned site that Flora ever selected for her habitation. To the botanist these regions supply a source of inexhaustible interest and enjoyment. Many beautiful plants from that quarter adorn our conservatories. The delicate heaths and orchids tint the districts where they grow wild with the brightest hues of the rainbow. Even in the midst of stony deserts are seen those singular fleshy plants, the stapelia, the mesembryanthemum, the euphorbia, and the cotyledon. The hedge-rows are generally formed of fruit-trees, and the jasmine and the clematis everywhere fill the places that in England are occupied by the woodbine, the sweet-briar, and the dog-rose. In the more timbered districts towards the east numberless climbing-plants weave their tendrils together, and form a gorgeous canopy from the rays of a South African sun; and, emerging from deep umbrageous woods, the traveller ‘crushes out a livelier fragrance from the flowers,’ and luxuriates in geranium-scented glades. Towards the north-east the forests are more extensive, and the varieties of plants and flowers even more numerous. In British Kaffraria, more especially, the flora is unsurpassed in any portion of the world. It is the botanic garden of nature, ‘and if,’ said one of the early missionaries, ‘the indigenous tribes of South Africa be among the most degraded and mis-shapen of our fallen race, yet surely did the Almighty

Disposer of worlds grant to them the most perfect earthly habitation—the most enchanting and romantic landscape to dwell upon.’ To give some idea of the botanical riches of this country a scientific explorer stated that in the short distance of an English mile, although the most favourable season had passed, and many of the bulbous and herbaceous plants had disappeared under the influence of drought, he had collected, in four hours and a half, one hundred and fifty distinct species. More than double that number might be found by searching at an auspicious season. Even when winter robs the earth of its sweets, many of the trees put forth the most brilliantly-tinted blossoms, while the turf throws out its numberless varieties of everlasting flowers.

The climate of the Cape is too well known and appreciated to require many remarks. It confers upon the population an almost total exemption from those diseases which spring from putrid exhalations. Cholera, typhus, bilious and yellow fevers, are unknown. The explanation is found in the frequent refreshing winds which carry off deleterious matter and diminish the depressing effects of the summer heat. But this favourable sanitary condition is probably connected with another atmospheric peculiarity. The hot or desert wind of Southern Africa is the expanded force of the sirocco of the Zahara desert. It possesses somewhat the character of the simoon, creeps silently over the country, and is charged with a dry scorching heat in which vegetation perishes. As it inflicts great discomfort and even misery on the whole animal creation, it was long regarded as a scourge. Unlike the simoon, however, it possesses no injurious properties, and, in a country which frost seldom visits, it serves the purpose of frost. There is a manifest difference in the climate of the eastern and western portions of the Colony. The winter of the west is wet, inclement, and disagreeable, while on the eastern frontier it is cold, dry, bracing, and delightful. The result of a series of observations kept during the last fourteen years by the Astronomer Royal at the observatory of Cape Town, shows that the average temperature is even a trifle below that of England, which is  $62^{\circ}$ , while that of the Cape is  $61.71^{\circ}$ , and there are not the extreme variations which are found in this country; the average temperature of winter being but  $14.42^{\circ}$  below that of summer.

The best test of the progress of a colony is an improving revenue. From 1834 to 1844 that of the Cape rose from 119,583*l.* to 221,721*l.*, and from 1845 to 1859 from 247,369*l.* to 469,075*l.* The value of British exports to the colony, according to the latest returns in 1859, was 1,818,080*l.*, or rather more than 6*l.* per head for the whole population; or if the white population is alone considered above 10*l.* per head. Few other colonies stand

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in so favourable a commercial relation to the mother-country, as will be seen in the following Table:—

	Population.	Value of our Exports.	Per Head.
		£.	£.
New South Wales .. .. .	360,000	2,919,325	8·34
Victoria .. .. .	500,000	5,419,364	10·83
British North American Colonies .. ..	3,000,000	3,159,055	1·015
Mauritius .. .. .	266,000	601,399	2·66
West Indies .. .. .	850,000	1,791,931	2·11
United States .. .. .	24,000,000	14,013,983	0·59
France .. .. .	36,000,000	4,861,548	0·13

With the exception, therefore, of Victoria, there is no colony which consumes so large a quantity of English manufactures, and there is every reason to believe that this proportion will increase as population increases; for, since the climate, soil, and physical features of a country determine its productions, farming must necessarily be the most profitable business of the Cape, and the wool, wine, hides, horses, corn, which it has the means of producing in almost unlimited quantities, will be paid for in British manufactures. Agriculture is extending with great rapidity, and large tracts are annually laid down in cereals. The total number of acres under cultivation, in 1858, was 198,135. The average price of wheat for the Cape Town district, in 1858, was 10s. per bushel. The rapid increase in the quantity of wool from 113,000 lbs. in 1833, to 7,700,000 lbs. in 1853, and to 19,490,194 lbs. in 1859, proves that the climate is admirably adapted to the breeding of sheep. The Cape, which was regarded, almost down to the year 1830, as a mere wine-growing and hide and tallow exporting country, is now considered one of the first of our wool-growing colonies; and sheep-farming is probably as safe an investment for his capital as an emigrant could select.

One of the most remarkable developments of colonial industry has been caused by the demand which, within the last few years, has sprung up for the Cape wines. Their importation has increased from 106,067 gallons, in 1854, to 1,099,092 gallons in 1859, and yet it is stated that this is the produce of a mere speck of land compared with that which is adapted to the growth of the vine. One of the finest of the wine districts has only just been made accessible to the dealer, and every new road and pass that may be opened will increase the quantity available for exportation. Great attention has of late been directed to the best modes of wine-making, as well as to the careful cultivation of the grape. The cheapness of the Cape produce now in the market has secured it

it a ready sale, but a competent authority assures us that we have at present scarcely any acquaintance with the best Cape wines. These are improving from year to year, and, if fairly treated, no doubt can be entertained that the produce of South Africa will, at no distant day, enter largely into consumption. At a recent horticultural show at Cape Town no less than 210 samples of wine were exhibited, many of which were declared to be of a most superior quality. The growers and dealers are alike represented as greatly alarmed at the recent French treaty, as they will now be compelled to enter into direct competition with the wine-growers of France. Although this may operate as a present discouragement, we entertain little doubt that the Cape cultivators will ultimately be able to compete successfully with any country in the world. With an admirable climate, a congenial soil, and increased care in the growth of the grape and the manufacture of the wine, the only real disadvantage which the South African producers can permanently feel is the unavoidable one of distance from their best market. The wines that are sold as South African are not always, it may be superfluous to state, the unadulterated produce of the Cape. The genuine wines not uncommonly undergo, in the words of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 'a course of promotion and preferment' on their arrival in England. Complaints are not unreasonably made that the alcoholic test is unfair, for they must necessarily be of a certain strength to bear the voyage through the tropics.

Since the outbreak of the Indian mutiny, 5482 horses have been shipped from the Cape to Calcutta and Bombay, and the following sums of money have been disbursed amongst the farmers of the colony:—for horses, 156,853*l.*; for mules, 2445*l.*; for forage, 47,265*l.*; for the keep of horses in farms, 9082*l.*; making in all the large amount of 215,645*l.*

From the year 1806, until the year 1850, the colony of the Cape had been ruled by a Governor, or a Lieutenant-Governor, and a few executive officers nominated by the Crown, and irresponsible to the Colony. In 1850 the Governor and Council were empowered to enact two ordinances for the establishment of a representative government, which ordinances were afterwards amended and confirmed by the Queen in Council. The constitution thus established consists of two elective chambers—a Legislative Council and a House of Assembly. The Council is composed of fifteen members and the Chief Justice for the time being. The House of Assembly consists of forty-six members. The qualification for members of the Legislative Council is the possession of unencumbered property of the value

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of 2000*l.*; of the members of the House of Assembly no property-qualification is required, and they have an allowance during the sitting of Parliament and for travelling expenses. The electoral qualification is the possession of a house or land of the annual value of 25*l.*, or the receipt of a salary of 50*l.* per annum. The first Parliament has just expired, and there are strong grounds for congratulation in the results. The country has had the good fortune to be presided over for the first years of its constitutional career by a Governor whose ability is well known. There has not, we understand, been the slightest jar or friction in the working of the administrative machinery, and the Colony has been remarkably free from faction. It has presented the unusual spectacle of the earliest elected legislature in a new country continuing to sit during the whole of its legal existence, undisturbed within itself by party passions, while it continued to pursue its career of usefulness until the full period for its dissolution arrived, on which occasion Sir George Grey bestowed upon it the following well-merited eulogy:—‘The wisdom and moderation evinced by the members of this Parliament have conclusively shown that the people of this colony were in every way fitted to use well and wisely the liberal constitution which Her Majesty in Her gracious care for the welfare and advancement of themselves and their descendants was pleased to bestow on them.’\* The attention given by Parliament to local affairs is proved by the great variety of public works now in progress, among which are the railway to Wellington, 100 miles in length, docks, a harbour of refuge, long required, in Table Bay, together with other important improvements in other portions of the colony. It would be unjust to the Cape population not to refer to their patriotic feeling and conduct on the occasion of the Indian mutiny. From one end of the colony to the other a cry was raised that every available man should be sent to India. Nor did they confine themselves to an expression of opinion: they came forward and took the garrison-duties of Cape Town upon themselves, to enable the Governor to spare more troops, and the Colonial Parliament cheerfully voted 20,000*l.* to increase the local border force. Sir George Grey was thus enabled to send upwards of 5000 soldiers to India at the most awful crisis the Empire has ever passed through. Whatever opinions may be formed of the policy of granting representative institutions and ministerial responsibility indiscriminately to our colonies, there can be no doubt that, in material progress at least, they have advanced since the change of system with extraordinary rapidity.

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\* ‘Speech on Proroguing the first Parliament,’ by Sir George Grey.

This is partly to be accounted for by the effect of a free government in attaching permanently to the colonies a class of active, intelligent, and cultivated men, who, in former times, looked upon their residence there only as a temporary and disagreeable necessity. No Englishman likes to be condemned to political isolation; and the stimulus of politics, with their generous cares and healthy excitements, is too highly appreciated ever to be contentedly resigned. Even the humble fame acquired in vestry debates we know to be far from undervalued in England; but, in a colony, a gentleman of very moderate fortune and of fair ability and education, who, with us, would probably only be able to command the applause of some listening parochial senate, may now fairly look to the attainment of considerable personal importance; and when the colonial parliaments are more numerous attended, there will doubtless be opened a large field for the display of political ability.

British Kaffraria is the region from which issued, until subjected to British rule, those hordes of marauders who devastated the colonial frontier in the various wars from 1806 to 1853. After the Kaffir outbreak of 1846-7 it was formed into a British province. A chain of military posts is established in the northern and eastern districts to hold the neighbouring province of Kaffraria Proper in check. It is a well-watered, picturesque, and highly fertile country, and the residence of many English and German settlers. The mass of the inhabitants are of the Kaffir race, living under the immediate rule of their chiefs, but under the general control of the High Commissioner, the Governor of the Cape. The famine which followed the belief in the predictions of their prophet has almost destroyed the power of their chiefs for evil, and some of them are now in confinement at Cape Town for various offences against the law. Those that remain in the country may be regarded rather as officers of the government than as independent rulers. By a dexterous policy, the Governor of the Cape has attached them to the State by the strongest tie of which they are at present capable, namely, their pecuniary interests; and instead of a revenue derived from fines imposed for offences, they now receive monthly stipends from the government. All fines for public offences and fees in the administration of justice become, by this arrangement, the property of the State. The chiefs and their counsellors still sit and hear causes, but they are assisted by a British magistrate.

‘Under this plan,’ writes Sir George Grey, ‘all the worst part of the Kaffir polity is broken down. Every chief of importance will receive a regular income, for which he will be dependent upon the government of the country, and will therefore have the strongest interest

interest in its maintenance and success. European laws will by imperceptible degrees take the place of their own barbarous customs, and any Kaffir chief of importance will be daily brought into contact with a talented and honourable gentleman, who will hourly interest himself in the advance and improvement of the entire tribe, and must, in process of time, gain an influence over the native races which will produce very beneficial effects.'

The experiment of employing the Kaffir people upon public works has been attended with much success. The country has thus been preserved in a state of profound peace; its resources are being gradually developed; the Kaffirs themselves are civilizing their own district by opening up, through their fastnesses, available roads, which will be of equal use either in peace or war. Formerly these people never worked; they are now acquiring habits of industry and a taste for the conveniences of civilized life, and their character has, in most particulars, manifestly and greatly improved. Their conversion from a pastoral into an agricultural people is being gradually effected. They are allowed to purchase land at a fixed price of 1*l.* per acre, and are eagerly availing themselves of the privilege, for in a single day as much as 300*l.* was received in one district by the Commissioner. This improvement in their social state has extended to the female portion of the community, even to the adoption of European costume and fashions. 'The rage for crinoline,' says *The Weekly Mercury*, a colonial newspaper, 'has extended to the Kaffir women! Within a fortnight an iron-monger of Graham's Town sold upwards of a cwt. of wire to them in sixpenny lots.' Recently the great chief, Sandilli, came to Sir George Grey, then on a visit to the frontier, for the purpose of making a pressing request. He was, he said, in great need. He was in want of money, blankets, and buttons, for four of his wives: they had just got new cloaks, but had no buttons to put on them!

Kaffraria Proper, the country of the independent Kaffir tribes, has a British province for its boundary at both its extremities. The population is exclusively Kaffir, and is estimated as not now exceeding 100,000. Here the predatory character of the people remains, with but little modification. Missionary stations are numerous, but the roads are merely beaten tracks. It is a country of great promise, and, situated between two British colonies, it cannot remain for any length of time in its present barbarous condition. It must inevitably be gradually pervaded by the civilization of the contiguous states, and will doubtless, in the natural course of events, eventually form part of our South African possessions. Indeed, Sir George Grey, with  
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his characteristic sagacity, appears to be extending the benefits of education beyond the limits of the countries which he governs. This is a generous, enlightened, and beneficent policy, and affords the surest guarantee for peace and is the best security of the extensive possessions under his command. He has established industrial schools in some of the independent Kaffir states, and it has been found that the natives eagerly embrace the advantages offered to them, and send their children for instruction faster than accommodation can be provided for them. These moral defences outposts of an advanced society are the cheapest and best that a country could devise.

Many parts of the country along the line of coast are said to be truly picturesque, and all really beautiful. The land is indifferently wooded, except in a few places where magnificent timber-trees are to be found. But at the St. John's River a marked change takes place in the aspect of the country. There the land is, as described by Mr. McLeod, Her Majesty's late Consul for Mozambique, 'a succession of terraces rising from the ocean, and offering the most beautiful spots, already cleared by the hand of nature, for the erection of residences, having for their background magnificent forests, while the sea-view unfolds the boundless expanse of the Southern Ocean, through storm and calm bearing on its bosom the argosies richly laden with the commerce of the east and the west.' The value of this country can hardly be over-estimated; it is exceedingly healthy, and possesses a climate in which the vegetable productions of the temperate and torrid zones may be raised side by side. The fact of there being 122 rivers discharging themselves into the ocean in a coast line of 132 miles shows how beautifully the country is irrigated by nature. Energy and capital are alone required to turn the virgin soil of this region into a land of plenty.

The civilizing influence of British intercourse has scarcely yet done much for Kaffraria Proper. Some trade is carried on with the natives in ivory, skins, and various natural productions, for which fire-arms, gunpowder, and beads, are the most approved equivalents. The natives are as capricious in their taste for beads as any English lady can be in the choice of her bonnet; the same pattern is in fashion only for a season or two, and they are at all times difficult to please. They are very fastidious in their purchases. 'One fine bead,' says the Bishop of Natal, after observing a European trader transacting business with them, 'was oval, not round as it ought to have been, another black round one was a little too large. The choicest kinds were a small red bead, of blood colour; the next were of a bone colour, as if bleached; then a round blue bead.' A new sort had just then come out, likely to have

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have a large 'run;' but King Panda would not permit his people to buy any until he had seen and approved of the pattern, and the traders had therefore to take them up the country to his black majesty. There was one large bead, like a pigeon's egg, which the sovereign alone and his great captains were allowed to buy. Traders have been known to sell 150*l.* worth of beads in a month, and even 40*l.* worth in one day. European utensils and furniture are gradually making their way into the country. The Bishop of Natal, and two missionaries, Mr. Shepstone and Dr. Blaine, were accommodated on one occasion at a chief's kraal with a well-made wooden bench with arms handsomely carved. Some of the Kaffir chiefs have a carpenter or chair-maker attached to their court, but an old chief, of the Amampondo Kaffirs, representing, we suppose, the strong conservative element in his dominions, when lately visited by Mr. Shepstone, granted him all his requests but one, and that was the convenience of a chair; he said that he did not patronise them—that he thought the ground was surer and safer—and that only Englishmen and chickens wanted perches.

The British colony of Natal has an area of 18,000 square miles, or about one-third of that of England and Wales and it is capable of producing sugar, coffee, indigo, arrowroot, pine-apples, bananas, the cocoa-nut, and oil-palms, over an area of 3000 square miles. The variety of soil and climate in this valuable and beautiful possession of Great Britain is caused by the country rising rapidly from the Indian Ocean in a series of four terraces, each having an average width of twenty miles with its peculiar soil and climate. The coast-line, extending from high-water mark five or ten miles inland, is said to be peculiarly adapted for the growth of sea-island cotton; and it is estimated that 1000 square miles of this district are capable of producing the most valuable of the cottons of America without the accompanying drawback of a climate unsuited to the English constitution. The second terrace of the colony is well adapted for grazing purposes; the third contains forest-timber, of considerable size and superior quality; and the fourth is well adapted for growing wheat and most other European productions. The country is well watered. A recent visitor to the colony\* gives the following highly-encouraging statement of its cotton-producing capabilities:—

'The yield of one acre,' he says, 'having 6000 plants on it, averaged two and a half pounds of seed-cotton per plant, which, when reduced by the cotton-cleaning gin, gave one pound and one quarter of clean cotton per plant. At 6*d.* per pound, this would give the enormous return of 187*l.* 10*s.* sterling per acre. There are at the lowest com-

\* Mr. M'Leod, 'Travels in Eastern Africa.'

putation 640,000 acres on the lower or coast-line terrace of the colony which will produce cotton of this quality, so that our Liverpool merchants may look forward to a supply of no less than 4,800,000,000 lbs. of cotton from one of the smallest and latest acquired of our colonies.'

There are already in the colony seven sugar-mills, some of considerable power. Large portions of the country are being planted with the cane, and it is said that the virgin soil yields from three to four tons of sugar per acre. There are 1,280,000 acres of the soil, irrespective of what may be more appropriately devoted to cotton, capable of producing sugar; and its saccharine qualities have been proved to be stronger than the Mauritius sugar, and not surpassed by the best Trinidad. When adequate labour is obtained, it is confidently believed that this necessary of life will be supplied to our population from Natal at a much reduced price, and completely drive slave-grown sugar out of the market.

The population of the country consists of Dutch farmers, English emigrants, and large numbers of the Kaffir race who have from time to time taken refuge within the colony from the tyranny of their chiefs. According to the 'Cape Almanac' for 1858 the total population is 6550 white, and 102,105 coloured inhabitants. Of the white 3600 are British and 2950 of Dutch descent. The colony has lately received a constitution somewhat similar to that possessed by the Cape, and municipal institutions have been granted to the principal towns. It is surrounded on all sides but the one facing the ocean by thickly-populated countries. The Zulus, who have settled extensively in the district, are a pastoral people, and have yet shown little aptitude for agriculture—an occupation contrary to their nature and opposed to the customs of their ancestors—but, as a strong love of money prevails among them, there cannot be much doubt that the colony contains within itself a supply of labour, which, if judiciously managed, will eventually prove amply sufficient for the development of its resources. The Zulus of Natal belong to the same family as the Kaffirs; but they are as famed for their honesty as their brethren who live adjacent to our colonial frontier have been for their cattle-stealing propensities. The Recorder of Natal asserts that history does not present another instance in which so much security for life and property has been enjoyed as has been experienced during the whole period of English occupation by 10,000 colonists in the midst of 100,000 Zulus.

In the year 1848 colonial produce to the value of 10,000*l.* was exported from Natal. In 1850 the value of the exports increased to 15,000*l.*; in 1852 to 20,000*l.*; in 1855 to 45,000*l.*; in 1857

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to 78,000*l.*; in 1858 to 91,000*l.*; and in 1859 to 100,000*l.* It augurs favourably of the future career of this new and rising colony that a Superintendent of Education has been appointed, and a sum of 2022*l.* voted for educational purposes for the year 1860. The colony cannot be said to offer at present a suitable field of emigration for European agricultural labourers bringing their labour into competition with that of a coloured race wearing scarcely any clothes, and whose wants are few; but skilled European mechanics, in due proportion to the present population, would be sure of success.. In Natal, doubtless the European must stand to the native in the relation of master and employer; consequently, emigrants who select this colony as a field for enterprise should be persons possessing a small capital, with some knowledge of agriculture. The present difficulty of the colony is want of labour, the temptation of good wages not having yet been found sufficiently powerful to overcome the repugnance of the Kaffirs to steady and systematic toil. The remedy, if the state of the labour-market should continue unfavourable for the colonists, will doubtless be found in a Coolie immigration.

In 1820 the first grant of 50,000*l.* was made by the British Parliament to encourage emigration to the Cape. Accordingly, five thousand families, chiefly of Scotch extraction, were sent out to the colony. These, having been landed at Algoa Bay, were located on the eastern border, along the south-west banks of the Fish River. To these British settlers grants of land were made. At first they prospered beyond their most sanguine expectations; they farmed the land with success, built substantial houses, and reared large quantities of stock. But, in a few years, these unfortunate frontier-farmers were pillaged of their flocks and herds, and the assegai and the torch were busy at their deadly work along the whole eastern border of the colony. Their homesteads were burned over their heads, and their total loss was estimated at not less than 300,000*l.* The frequently-recurring Kaffir wars long deprived the Cape of those attractions for the emigrant that it once possessed. But a happier period has now arrived. The constant disturbances on the frontiers have been succeeded by a settled state of society; and if Kaffir thefts still occasionally occur, there is no present sign of any hostile political combination, nor immediate apprehension of any. The stream of emigration therefore again flows in its old channels; for during the year 1858 nearly five thousand settlers were disembarked at different ports in the Cape Colony, and it is very satisfactory to find the Governor of the Cape thus addressing the landed proprietors:—

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'The rapid progress which the colony has recently made; the prospect of future immunity from the constantly recurring alarms of Kaffir outbreaks; the extraordinary development of the productive powers of the colony, notwithstanding the paucity of its population; the demonstration of its fitness for yielding the principal sources of agricultural wealth, grain, wine, and wool; and its capabilities of consuming the productions of other countries in large and increasing quantities, as indicated by the returns of importations, and by the rank which it now holds in this respect among the colonies of Great Britain; all hold out great inducements to persons contemplating emigration from Great Britain to turn their attention to this country, and the strongest incentives to the government and people of the colony to avail themselves of such an opportunity of offering every encouragement to the best classes of emigrants to select it for their future home.'

It might have been thought, from its slow rate of progress compared with the Australian colonies, although it lies so much nearer Europe, that South Africa did not hold out to immigrants the same favourable prospects; but Sir George Grey, after an extended acquaintance with Australia, and after having visited the larger portion of South Africa, unhesitatingly gives it as his opinion that the latter country affords at least equal advantages to European immigrants, and that it presents a field for colonization which promises to those who enter it a certainty that themselves and their descendants may, with industry, attain to as great a competence and comfort as in any other country in the world.\* It is natural that every fresh arrival of immigrants should be hailed at the Cape with delight. It requires—as the settlers in that distant land doubtless feel—a strong tide of civilization to stem the torrent of barbarism which long threatened to overwhelm them and sweep all that they cherished from the land. The emigrant, on the other hand, if there is no gold to allure him by hopes of sudden wealth, finds at the Cape nothing to disturb the relations between the labourer and his employer, or to infect society with an unhealthy excitement. He makes his home in a country in many respects beautiful, with a climate renowned for its salubrity, a productive soil, a settled, firm, and liberal government, and many moral and social advantages which can only be found in a colony which has been for some time occupied by a considerable European society.

Satisfactory as the condition and prospects of our possessions in South Africa may be generally considered, there is yet some cause for anxiety, independently of the Kaffir tribes that have hitherto formed the chief element of insecurity. On the northern frontier

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\* Speech to the Colonial Parliament, Session 1856.

are two independent states, one of which was brought into existence by the British Government; the other a community composed of discontented emigrants, chiefly Dutch boers, from the old colony, who formed a sort of Alsatia, or country of refuge for malcontents, and now constitute an independent Republic. The first of these states is that in the fortune of which the British Government is more directly interested. It originated in the policy which for some time found favour with the Home Government of encouraging the formation of independent states on the frontiers of the British possessions by emigrant British subjects, and thus raising, as was hoped, an effectual barrier to a system of continued enlargement of those frontiers towards the interior; but what security could be afforded by a country comprising a population of only 12,859 white and 5000 coloured inhabitants, with a revenue of about 20,000*l.*, without a port, and with a territory of 50,000 square miles and an extended and exposed frontier to protect, it is certainly somewhat difficult to discover. This province, moreover, was cut off from the British dominions by no act or wish of its own, but in spite of the earnest entreaties of the most respectable of its inhabitants, all of whom were animated by the best spirit, had freely staked their lives and fortunes in defence of the frontier, and were eminently loyal, devoted, and patriotic. The relinquishment of this people, on whatever specious pretexts, amounts almost to a political crime, and can only be compared to the desertion by a parent of a child whom it was found burdensome to support, but whose conduct had not been marked by any moral delinquency. The highest colonial authorities represent our retirement from that country, and the principles on which it was effected, as a very serious misfortune to South Africa. A small and powerless independent state is calculated rather to invite the aggression of turbulent neighbours than to deter them from attempting it. As the best palliative of evils that it may not be possible now altogether to remedy, a federal union of all our South African dependencies with the states that have been erected on their frontiers has been suggested, and the person most competent to form an opinion on the subject has unhesitatingly declared that it is by such a federal union alone that these South African colonies can be made so united in policy and action as to be able to support themselves against distant tribes, of which at present little may be known, but the power, number, and organization of which may at some future time assume a threatening aspect, and endanger the peace of our possessions. The Orange Free State, abandoning, we fear, the hope  
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of a British alliance, and impressed with a conviction of its own weakness, has recently virtually incorporated itself with the neighbouring Republic, by electing the president of that state as the head of its own. This is to be regretted on many grounds. The people of the Trans-Vaal state have rather retrograded than advanced in civilization since they formed their Republic, and no doubt exists that, following the footsteps of their forefathers, they have introduced into their country slavery in a modified form. They are certainly not pioneers of progress, nor are they likely to advance the cause of civilization in South Africa. If, as we confidently hope, the vast interior is to be gradually opened up to the advance of Christianity, it is desirable that the settlers on the confines of barbarism should not fall materially below the standard of civilization. It is now generally admitted, that the confidence of the coloured race must be gained by proving to them the superiority of the European in general knowledge, and more especially in the practice of morality and the love of justice, before any decided impression can be made on them by the teachers of divine truth. The form and degree of civilization which they first encounter must consequently have a most important bearing upon their future progress and destiny.

There are, moreover, boundary questions open which the British Government undertook to settle before it abandoned the country, but which may now have to be fought out between semi-civilised states and barbarous tribes, to the great peril of the peace of the British territories, and necessitating their occupation by a considerable military force, to be ready for any emergency. Any advantage gained by native tribes would probably incite them to fresh aggressions, and the British frontier might again be exposed to pillage and devastation from new enemies, and all the results of recent progress jeopardised by the renewal of an ignoble warfare with a savage race.

The existing frontier of the colony was fixed solely with a view to supposed Imperial interests, and certainly against the wishes of the British inhabitants of South Africa. Some revision of the policy pursued in reference to the frontier-districts will probably force itself, at no distant day, upon the attention of the Imperial Government. 'I cannot,' writes Sir George Grey, in a despatch to the Secretary of State in December, 1857, 'but think that the wealthy inhabitants of one part of a city who went upon the principle of leaving to themselves those poor people who inhabited another part of it, permitting them to grow up in vice and filth, collecting nuisances of all kinds about their wretched hovels, might, with quite as much reason, hope to escape with impunity

impunity from the pestilence which would ultimately rage, as we, when leaving upon our border barbarians and poor deserted European states to fight out among themselves quarrels which we originated, and to pillage, destroy, and expel each other, can hope to escape from the evils which will fall upon the whole country.'

The perils to which our South African possessions may be yet exposed are foreseen, and, so far as his resources permit, have been anticipated by the zealous and able representative of the Crown in South Africa, who has before shown himself equal to emergencies, however unexpected, and averted dangers which presented a very threatening aspect. In Sir George Grey the country possesses a public servant whose admirable qualities have been called forth and exercised in another and not less interesting land; and his peculiar tact in dealing with a savage race has been as fully displayed in South Africa as in New Zealand. Much of the success in civilizing and attaching the Kaffir tribes to our government has been owing to the bold exercise of an independent judgment and to a firm self-reliance. The last measure which was taken to reconcile the chiefs to the state—we refer to the appointment of English magistrates and their association with the chiefs in their courts of justice—was adopted by Sir George Grey, in opposition to the almost unanimous opinions of British officers resident among the tribes, who predicted its total failure. The result has proved that the Governor knew the Kaffir character better than his subordinates, for the arrangement has been crowned with the most complete success. We rejoice that the misunderstanding between this able functionary and the late government did not interpose any obstacle to his return to the scene of his important labours. In the present transition-state of South Africa, his services are invaluable, and the loss of his experience could not possibly be supplied.

The political and religious movement that has lately been visible in many portions of Africa seems destined to usher in a brighter era than any that has yet dawned on that long-benighted land; and the moral and intellectual darkness which has settled for ages on the great continent shows signs of a gradual dispersion. Geographical explorers are daily opening up regions rich in all the elements of future wealth, and British commerce is steadily and firmly advancing into the interior, scattering in its progress the seeds of European knowledge and refinement. It seems to have been ordained that Africa should receive the rudiments of its ultimate civilization from a people differing essentially in moral attributes from all that have hitherto obtained a temporary dominion on its shores. That which neither the religion of

Thebes, nor the civilization of Egypt, nor the military energy of Carthage, nor Roman ambition, nor Moorish fanaticism, nor Portuguese zeal,\* could have ever accomplished, may have been reserved for a nation not even in embryo at the most brilliant eras of the ancient world, but now one of the foremost on the earth. The occasional presence of an Englishman, in the interior of Africa, is regarded with the liveliest interest by its inhabitants, and he is hailed as the precursor of some mighty change that is about to affect the whole African race. From the southern extremity of the continent, we trust, a spirit will go forth which will rouse it from its torpor, and impart to it a moral and political existence and a new and invigorating life. Christianity, as yet a light only faintly shining in a dark place, will doubtless eventually illumine the land; and may the cross which glitters in solitary splendour in the southern midnight heavens be speedily the sign of peaceful conquests as extensive as any that have hitherto changed the religious aspect of the world, as it is the symbol of that universal sovereignty in which all the nations of the earth will be finally comprehended and blessed!†

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ART. V.—*Memoir of the Life of the late Ary Scheffer.* By Mrs. Grote. London, 1860.

MRS. GROTE has very admirably carried out in her *Life of Ary Scheffer* a double strand of narration, now entwined, now separate. His career as an artist, and his life as a citizen not seldom connected with the great events of the period, occupy

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\* The first Portuguese discoverers and settlers were actuated by a very noble spirit, and inspired by a true missionary zeal. They set up the cross as the symbol of their authority at all their stations. Their descendants must have grievously degenerated from their forefathers, for the government-officials of Mozambique are plainly accused of conniving at, and largely profiting by, the slave trade. We refer for proofs to Mr. M'Leod's 'Travels in Eastern Africa.'

† A remarkable instance of the feeling entertained towards England occurred very recently. A British officer, who has been entrusted by the Viceroy of Egypt with the command of an expedition for exploring the Upper Nile, penetrated some hundred miles farther than any previous discoverer, but was, in consequence of the fall of the water, obliged to return with his party of 500 men overland. In this hazardous journey he had to pass through numerous independent states which owed no allegiance to the Egyptian ruler. The native chiefs, and the people generally, evinced at first distrust, and even hostility, and the party was often in considerable peril, until it had been explained that it was commanded by an Englishman. The feeling then underwent an immediate change. Hospitality was at once proffered, assistance was pressed upon his acceptance, and provisions were abundantly supplied, for which the chiefs refused, in several cases, to receive any remuneration.

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a nearly equal portion of her narrative, and reflect a double interest on her work. Ary Scheffer was born during the first triumphs of the French Revolution, and became early involved in those political events which have since crowded with breathless rapidity on the career of the French people. Born an alien, and yet accepted as a Frenchman—a republican, and yet a close friend of royalty—an artist, and yet a politician and soldier—his life presents a combination of interests seldom formed in the present age; and its varied story resembles some of the lives of the old Italian painters rather than the sober biography of a modern artist.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when the great masters of art took part in the state-affairs of their day, the high roads of life lay through an open and unincumbered field of action, not as yet hedged about by the claims of vested interests or the laws and privileges of a profession. Men combined the most opposite careers, and bent their minds in divers directions, excelling by the law of mental superiority rather than through any special training. With us in England such a state of affairs has long passed away; it disappeared with the youth of Europe, and has given place to the more narrow but complete machinery of a matured civilisation. But in France, during the Revolution, society reverted for a time to those more inartificial conditions of action; and we find men starting from all ranks and professions to fill the most important offices of the state. This elasticity in the constitution of French society is visible even at the present day; and thus France offers a more varied field to a versatile mind than is to be found in our own country.

Shortly before Scheffer's birth—which took place at Dordrecht in the year 1795—Pichegru, at the head of the revolutionary army of France, had overrun Holland to the Rhine, and the country was reorganised and incorporated with the French nation under the title of the 'République Batave.' Through this act, Scheffer, in common with the rest of his Dutch contemporaries, might advance the claims of a Frenchman; and France, on the same plea, has claimed the honour of his birth. Be this as it may, Scheffer's father was a German by blood and breeding. He followed the career of a painter, and married a Dutch lady during his residence in Holland. Some years after their marriage they became the parents of three sons, of whom Ary was the eldest. He showed at a tender age a passion for his father's art, and passed hours of his childhood in acquainting himself with the weapons he was afterwards to wield with such consummate power and success. He had not however outgrown the age of childhood before death deprived him of a father's guidance. This calamity

was soon followed by the loss of a large portion of the family means, through the spoliation of the public creditor by Napoleon, then First Consul; and Madame Scheffer unexpectedly found herself in the most straitened circumstances, alone and unprotected in the world, and the sole guardian of her three boys.

The young widow faced her misfortunes with the quiet and womanly heroism, which struggles so silently and well. Her early youth had been devoted to an invalid father, and her strength had since been heavily taxed by her husband's last illness, who died of a lingering and painful disease; but the energy of her character now received a fresh impulse from the motherly love that dictated her new duties; and we find her accomplishing the education of her sons with an admirable tact, wisdom, and perseverance. Two of her boys, Ary and Henri, had given unmistakeable promise of their future career as artists; and Arnold, the second son, showed tokens of a fine understanding. In order therefore to advance their education she determined to abandon her country, and establish herself at Paris, where a wide field of instruction was open to all, well fitted to develop the genius and fortunes of her sons. During the preparations for removal she placed Ary at Lille, under professional teachers; he had already acquired a precocious reputation in the Salon of Amsterdam, where he had exhibited, at the age of twelve, a picture which attracted much attention. An early success is however a dangerous snare, against which Madame Scheffer hastened to protect her son. By her advice he composed no more pictures, but applied himself exclusively to the study of his art. Her confidence in his future success, and the lofty aims he already entertained, are reflected in a letter, full of tenderness, quoted by Mrs. Grote in the course of her narrative, and addressed to Ary during his residence at Lille:—

*'Si tu pouvais me voir embrassant ton portrait, le quittant pour le reprendre encore, et les larmes aux yeux t'appeler mon cher cœur! mon fils chéri! tu sentirais alors combien il m'en coûte de prendre quelquefois un ton de sévérité, et de te causer quelques instants de chagrin. Je nourris toujours l'espoir de te voir un jour un des premiers peintres de notre siècle, et même de tous les temps. Sois assidu au travail, sois modeste surtout, et lorsque tu pourras dire que tu surpasses les autres, compare alors tes travaux à la nature, et à l'idéal que tu t'es formé, et cette comparaison t'empêchera de te livrer à l'orgueil et à la présomption.'*

Madame Scheffer's settlement at Paris took place about the beginning of 1811, and Scheffer—as we shall henceforward call him—joined her shortly afterwards, being in his sixteenth year. He was placed at once in the atelier of Guerin, a painter of some eminence,



eminence, and—a noticeable fact—not of the school of David, then the head and tyrant of the French Academy.

Since the days of Poussin and his contemporaries, Philip de Champagne and Le Sueur, who flourished about the middle of the seventeenth century, the French school of painting had undergone a steady decline. Lebrun and his followers were mere decorators to royalty, and filled enormous spaces with forms and colours of which we are content to ignore even the subjects. Boucher, the court-painter of Louis XV., painted the portraits and embellished the salons of the King's favourites, and degraded his talents equally in both employments. Greuze, with a more original genius and nobler bent, made several efforts to elevate the taste of his day, but found such subjects only as the 'Cruche cassée' congenial to his employers. A revival under the influence of Raphael Mengs was but shortlived, and had little influence; and art remained in a state of servile debasement.

This state of debility was not destined long to continue. The coming revolution already murmured under the surface of society, and gave tokens of an approaching convulsion. The stagnant springs of art were stirred, and men sought in the study of ancient art an expression for the sentiments of the time.

David, after an apprenticeship at Rome, where he deeply imbued himself with the works of antiquity, and painted his first great work, the 'Plague of St. Roch,' returned to Paris, then the centre of the political tempest. His picture of the 'Serment des Horaces' at once placed him at the head of revolutionary art. There are many yet living who recollect the insane enthusiasm for the antique which then raged through all classes of French society. Infants were named after the worthies of antiquity—women metamorphosed themselves by a strange costume, and appeared in drapery damped with water, the better to adhere to their shivering forms—the homage due to household and national sympathies was paid only to the republicans of Rome and Athens—everything was 'à la Grecque,' and measured by a classic standard. The common sentiment stamped itself on art; the public halls and galleries were thronged with the effigies of naked heroes; acts perpetrated by the strong-minded of old for the vindication of republican liberty were depicted on every wall; and Virginia bled, and Brutus scowled on his sons, from one end of Paris to the other. Nor was the transformation complete till inanimate things trembled and obeyed the spell; chairs became stools, and tables tripods; and even the basest utensils were distorted into Greek forms.

The 'Serment des Horaces,' although cast on the antique type, possessed much truth of nature both in expression and drawing,  
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and was conceived in a simple and dignified spirit; but the exaggeration of the time overpowered David's better genius, and he declined more and more from the modesty of that really great work. He produced in his 'Rape of the Sabines' a picture entirely modelled on the bas-reliefs of antiquity, devoid of the best qualities of painting, and full of the extravagance of French sentiment. Nor was this all. In the 'Serment du Jeu de Paume,' 'La Mort de Barras,' and some others, he adapted Greek limbs to the French heads of the period; whilst in his classic subjects French minds gesticulate in Greek forms. Through a natural process of his mind, the two periods of society ceased to retain their distinctive characters, and his pictures have the absurd aspect of travesties, where either period struts up and down in the garments of the other. Let us not, however, underrate the character or influence of David. When we reflect on the immense distance his talent had traversed in a few years, and compare the true and noble drawing of 'Les Horaces' with the mean and lascivious forms of his predecessors—how he reigned supreme over a whole generation, and was followed at a marked distance by all his contemporaries—it is impossible not to acknowledge in David the artist of his age, and one worthy to rank among those who have set their stamp on the period in which they lived.

Of David's pupils, Gros, Gérard, and Girodet were the most distinguished. They continued in the path he had indicated, and gave their natural development to the principles he had inculcated. But events ripened towards a change—the Republic faded from the astonished eyes of men with the facility of a dissolving view, developing rapidly into the proportions of a military empire—the political change became reflected on the mirror of French art—and artists saw with dismay their pictures of republican virtue ready to become a very questionable commodity in the new market.

This misfortune could not long daunt the ardour of French invention. The wars of the Empire were worthy subjects of commemoration. Shakos and bear-skins very well replaced the antique helmet and the cap of liberty; and a Persian or Samnite was no less easily converted into an Austrian soldier. The addition of a pair of blue breeches and a musket seemed all that could be required, and nothing was injured by the transfer. In the meantime other men rose above the surface of mediocrity, not educated in the school of David, of whom Guérin, Scheffer's master, was one. He, like David, had opened his career with a subject from Roman history, and had gained by his picture of the 'Return of Marcus Sextus' a large share of the public approbation;

bation ; but the bent of his mind drew him rather towards the poetical fictions of antiquity, and diverted him from the beaten path of political allusion. His pictures possess a tenderness and passion very rarely to be seen at that period, and well deserving of our admiration.

At the foundation of the Empire David was selected to become court-painter to Napoleon ; but he found himself crippled and unmanned amid the ceremonials of a palace, for which his art was quite unfitted. He failed in his attempts to depict the members of an imperial court, whilst Gérard, a painter of a lower but more versatile genius, supplanted him in the eye of the public. Drolling, Langlois, Abel, Conder, and some other pupils of David's school, were distinguished for good drawing and agreeable colour, but were quite devoid of all originality ; and in their train followed a crowd of dreary imitators, who were content to bandy about the echoes of deceased ideas once pregnant with the life and fire of a generation.

Events rolled on, and the French Empire suddenly collapsed. The curtain fell on the imperial play ; the intoxication of its triumphs and the agony of its defeats throbbed no more in the hearts of men. The waters that had overflowed Europe were stayed, and the French nation, which had been hurried along for so many years on the crest of the tide, at last found a rest, and paused in their career.

A general exhibition which took place in 1816, where many of the most admired works of the previous period were assembled together, seemed to mark the conclusion of an epoch in art no less than in the political history of the time. Men looked with other eyes on the paintings before them. Like an author, frenzied with the excitement of his subject, who reads his lucubrations in the calm morning with a cool head and a sobered intellect, they were astonished at the extravagance they had once thought so admirable ; and the Classic school gradually withered under the restored judgment of the public.

The taste of a people does not, however, change so suddenly but that a partial reflux is felt for some time before the main current has ceased to flow ; and several pictures in the preceding exposition of 1814 had already given tokens of the new impulse. Géricault and Horace Vernet first drew the eye of the public in a new direction, and in 1816 and 1819 these painters produced works that entitled them to be considered as the reformers of the French school. Vernet from the first gained the hearts of the French people by his pictures representing the military glories of the Empire, in which he had taken a personal share. The vivid and natural aspect of reality breathed from his canvas,  
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and put to shame the stilted and absurd abstractions of his predecessors. Géricault in his 'Raft of the Medusa' produced a work so natural in its drawing, so modest in its expression, and so fine in its composition, that it at once stamped him as the desired leader of the reformation, the head of the Romantic school in France. But his career was too soon closed by an early death, and he left little to survive him save the half-digested ideas of several great works, and the high opinion of his genius cherished in the minds of his friends. His death was a severe check to the school of which he had become the acknowledged chief. But although crippled for a time, the progress of the Romantic school became evident in the Salon of 1822. Delacroix exhibited his picture of 'Dante and Virgil in the bark of Charon,' now in the Luxembourg, and Hersent his 'Ruth and Boaz.' An altar-piece by Scheffer also attracted attention,—the genius of history, only, seemed to have fallen on its old practices, and the multitude gazed with apathy on a crowd of canvases without meaning or vitality. The day of heartless pantomime and cold extravagance was, in fact, over. The school of David, during the years that it absorbed the genius of the nation, had discarded with a characteristic contempt all subjects unable to stride with the lengthened march of historical art. The household sympathies, the joys and sorrows of the hour, the tragedies of domestic life, were for the time expunged from the province of painting as matter unworthy of its vocation. But these now reappeared with the change of the times, and in the year above mentioned a large number of such subjects were exhibited. Prud'hon in his 'Famille Pauvre' showed great merit, and Scheffer produced his 'Veuve du Soldat,' a pathetic and beautiful composition which gained him general notice. This was one of a series of similar subjects which were to occupy his pencil for several years, and form the basis of his later reputation.

In this review of French art we have endeavoured to enumerate the several influences which surrounded Scheffer at the outset of his career. The master to whom he had attached himself, although removed from the reigning taste of the day, was but little fitted to educate a pupil of so original a turn of mind. Scheffer acquired little or nothing during his scholarship with Guérin, and early abandoned a state of pupilage where no advantage was to be gained. Had he fallen on a more systematic training there is little doubt but his progress to excellence would have been rapid and assured; he himself constantly recurred to the defects of his early education with a bitterness that proves the importance of the deprivation; but such an education

education was only to be found, at the time, under the sway of David and his school, and, along with the instruction, it may be doubted how far the immaturity of Scheffer's youth could have resisted the false taste that was allied to such talents and success. We are inclined to consider that the incompleteness of his education greatly fostered the originality that was struggling beneath, and that, by putting a rein on his early ambition, it gave time for the mature development of his intellect before he undertook the graver works that occupied his middle life. Be this as it may, the early pictures of Scheffer bear but slight marks of a classic influence; and, although deficient in the mechanism of art, give from the first the promise of an original and powerful genius.

Whilst the sons of Madame Scheffer were ripening towards manhood, she could maintain but a frugal household, often much straitened by the narrow limits of her income. She parted with her jewels, and even then her means were scarcely adequate to the task. Impelled by the necessities of his family, Scheffer early began to paint for the market; his talent contributed to the common stock, and with such good success as to replace his mother in the enjoyment of that comfort and quiet so needful for her health. Arnold, the second brother, occupied himself profitably in writing for the press; and Henri, the youngest, pursued as an artist the honourable course which has rendered his name distinguished and familiar alike in France and in England. At this period of his career, Scheffer seems to have passed some years in a quiet and obscure happiness, occupied in the silent work of self-instruction, whilst labouring to surround his mother with the comforts of an increasing prosperity. In the '*Veuve du Soldat*' he had opened a long-neglected vein of interest; and he produced a large number of pictures of the same class, very successful at the moment, but now forgotten in the reputation of his later works.

Scheffer formed during this period several friendships that cast an influence on his life, and one that gave a bias to the whole of his after-career. As early as in 1818 we find him employed on a portrait of General Lafayette, to complete which he accepted an invitation to the *Château de La Grange*. The familiarity which grew out of this visit soon ripened into a close friendship with Lafayette and his family, and associated him with a number of new acquaintances.

The government of Charles X. endeavoured to introduce a series of measures levelled against the constitution, as settled at the Restoration; and the opposition, headed by Lafayette, met constantly at *La Grange*

La Grange to discuss the affairs of their party. Scheffer, impelled by his own political convictions, entered ardently into the struggle; he mainly aided in an organised resistance carried on without the walls of the Legislative Assembly; his brothers were early drawn into the current along with him; and each of them laboured, in his vocation, to advance the views of the party. It was not long before the opposition, at first strictly constitutional, became exasperated by the stringent measures of the ministry, and adopted during the heat of the contest less legitimate means of resistance. We find the Scheffers and many others projecting, with the approbation of Lafayette, schemes for a rising in Alsace. The failure of this attempt—which took place in 1822—placed Scheffer and his brothers in peril of their lives; he avoided being arrested at Belfort by a lucky chance, and his brother Henri was equally fortunate. The anxiety of Madame Scheffer during this escapade of her sons may be well conceived: she was quite aware of the part they were to act in the drama of the day; and her conduct on the occasion is depicted in simple and touching language in the words of Arnold Scheffer, as quoted by Mrs. Grote, while describing the circumstances:—

‘ Nous étions de jeunes hommes, et nous étions devenus Français de cœur et de passion; et comme tels, nous étions entrés dans le mouvement politique de notre époque. La jeunesse en 1819 nourrissait contre la dynastie des Bourbons cette défiance et cette haine qui fit explosion générale en 1830. Elle voulait, dans son impatiente ardeur, dévancer le sentiment général, ou le faire éclater dès les premières années de la Restauration; et dans cet espoir, des conspirations, des sociétés secrètes, s’étaient formées, dont nous faisons parties, dans lesquelles même nous avons figuré au premier rang. Notre liberté, notre vie même, couraient des périls dans ces tentatives. Notre mère ne l’ignorait pas, mais elle respectait nos convictions, et ce que nous regardions comme des devoirs. Elle, qui n’aurait pas survécu à un de nous, ne nous empêcha pas de risquer notre vie; et il y eut un moment où elle nous permit, à tous trois, d’aller courir des dangers auxquels nous n’échappâmes que par miracle. C’était de la tendresse maternelle poussée au plus haut degré, car, je le répète, la mort d’un de nous eut été la sienne.’

The perils that Scheffer ran were all happily avoided, and he returned unscathed to his easel; but the political ferment in his mind continued to run high, and gave a new impulse to his works. The war in Greece soon furnished him with a fine inspiration in his picture of the ‘Defence of Missolonghi,’ where the Greeks ended the struggle by blowing the fortress, themselves, and their wives, into the air. Scheffer has seized the moment when Botzaris and his companions, be-  
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grimed with blood and pale with their resolve, throng upon the magazine of powder that is charged beneath. Women and children, mingled with the stern forms of their fathers, brothers, and husbands, gaze, as if fascinated, at the black grains which the unwilling fire as yet refuses to ignite. The shadow of death has passed over every face, and a hideous suspense seems to snatch away the breath they have still leave to draw. In this picture the chords of our sympathy are struck with a hand as cunning as it is strong; and the mind does not revolt against the horror of the subject, which would be unbearable or ridiculous in less skilful hands.

The production of this work marks an epoch in the progress of the painter, and revealed for the first time the extent and variety of his powers. There reigns a justness and moderation in the attitudes, and a truth in the varied expression of the heads, not surpassed in his greater works. '*La Bataille de Morat*' and '*La Retraite d'Alsace*' were both painted under the same impulse. In the latter he has represented a waggon laden with the young and helpless of a village, whilst a band of Cossacks plunder their distant home and fire the surrounding country.

Emboldened by these efforts, the horizon widened beneath Scheffer's gaze. His works had hitherto been of the size and quality of cabinet pictures, but such limited proportions were no longer adapted to his larger views; he resolved to paint a subject in which the figures should be the size of life, and at once sketched in his '*Femmes Souliotes*.' The subject of this picture is the well known incident in the Greek war of independence, when the Suliote women leaped from their cliffs into the sea to escape the dishonour of a Turkish seraglio. The composition is on a grand scale, and very finely conceived. Fifteen or twenty women of all ages are huddled on the peak of a promontory—some shrink back and are forced forward by the more resolved—a mother couched on the rock seems insensible to everything but the sobbing form of her daughter, who has cast herself across her knees in an agony of despair—another stands balanced on the extreme verge of the abyss, and watches the massacre that is rolling towards them ere she takes the leap. To execute a conception of such magnitude appeared beyond the stretch of Scheffer's powers, and the enthusiasm which inspired a beautiful sketch seemed unable to sustain him throughout the conduct of the work. The extent of surface and the size of the forms were new to his hand, and difficulties presented themselves unknown to a painter in miniature proportions. The effort was severe, but



but the picture was completed with good success; and Scheffer seldom afterwards recurred to forms below the size of life.

But a long and painful battle was yet to be fought by Scheffer before he set his canvas to the steady breeze of an assured talent. A larger experience of his art revealed to him the great defects of his education; he had found himself obliged to elude the encounter of difficulties that a better knowledge might have overcome; and he was not of a temper to shrink from a foe without bitter self-reproach. At this crisis Ingres returned from Rome. He had there acquired a great mastery in his art, and was above all his contemporaries an accomplished draughtsman. With him Scheffer formed a close intimacy, and the influence of this familiarity provoked in him a severe scrutiny of his previous labours, and brought about a total change of manner. He banished for ever the facile and loose execution of his early works, and adopted a style where the drawing and details were insisted on with an unflinching severity. Several of his pictures indicate the struggle of this transitional period, amongst which the most remarkable is a portrait of Mademoiselle de Rothschild, painted in 1828,—a picture executed with so hard and laborious an effort that the genius of the painter seems almost to have succumbed under its self-imposed trammels. From this struggle Scheffer emerged master of a manner adapted to his peculiar talent, and no longer leaning for support on the ideas of others. Hitherto his pictures had betrayed a certain vacillation very unlike the character of the man. Rembrandt, Poussin, and Greuze alternately lent an influence to his style, and might claim something in his ideas; and it was not till after a long search for a school to which he might attach himself that he discovered the true force and independence of his own talent. This uncertainty is not uncommon to the early efforts of original minds, which are unwilling to alight on the first perch that invites their stay, but rather circle for a time round the point of their departure till the instinct of their nature determines their course, and they dart towards the bourne with a swift and steady flight.

The immature works of a great artist are among his most instructive labours; the machinery of his art and the progress of his mind are very visible. In after-life, when he has learned the science to hide his art, his works bear the fallacious appearance of spontaneous production—students gaze with despair at paintings which seem to have been breathed on the canvas without effort; but those who study his early pictures will derive a friendly encouragement; they will see how courageously he has battled to master unruly materials, how he has sought help at  
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the hands of all, how he has often failed, and how he has persevered in feeling his way to success—with even a more painful effort than men of a more shallow talent.

Scheffer was now touching on middle life; he had gained for himself an honourable position in his art, and an income that placed him at ease for the future. He was acquainted with most of the leading men of the day, and was accepted as one of their brotherhood. His well-known connexion with the family of the Duke of Orleans, afterwards Louis Philippe, commenced in 1826, when he was appointed to instruct the young princes in the elements of art. A mutual esteem quickly sprang up, which afterwards ripened into a deep and lasting friendship, destined to influence the after-career of the painter, and to give a mournful impetus to his death.

In the meantime French politics ran every year in a more turbulent current, and the struggle between the Court and the liberal party hurried to its consummation. The King's government, although defeated in the Chamber on a *projet de loi* levelled at the liberty of the press, persevered in other equally rigorous measures. The National Guard, having expressed its displeasure against M. Villele, the King's minister, was disbanded. The Chambers were suddenly dissolved, and the censorship of the press was re-established. This fatal act of the government roused the energies of the liberal party to the most strenuous exertion. La Grange again became their rendezvous; and Scheffer was among the first to appear there: he was personally connected with the heads of the party, and took a prominent share in their subsequent proceedings. The fact that Mrs. Grote and her distinguished husband were visitors at La Grange while these meetings were in progress has produced a description of them so vivid and graphic that we wish that space would allow us to insert it entire; but we must content ourselves with extracting her animated account of Scheffer's adventures on the third and last of the three 'glorious days' of July, 1830, when he was deputed, along with M. Thiers, then the *rédacteur en chef* of the 'National,' to offer the crown to Louis Philippe. Scheffer, we must premise, had fought unceasingly at the barricades during the two preceding days, and Mrs. Grote's narrative takes up the sequel as follows:—

'On the morrow of the third and decisive day of July, that is to say, on the 30th, Scheffer, fairly tired out with the efforts of the three previous days, was in his own house in the Rue Chaptal (the same in which he continued to reside until his death), when he was surprised by the entrance of Monsieur Thiers. "Eh bien! Scheffer, me voici! j'ai besoin de vous: j'ai tout fait." "Comment, *tout fait?*" calmly inquired

inquired Scheffer. "Well, I mean that I have been to the Hôtel de Ville; seen the Members of the Municipal Committee; seen the 'chefs de partis' at Lafitte's; and, in short, I am the bearer of a communication to the Duke of Orleans, which you must assist me in conveying to Neuilly." "Tiens!" replied Scheffer; "so, you mean that I am to go with you as a kind of commissioner from the leaders of the party?" "I do," rejoined M. Thiers, "and for this reason, among others, that you are known to keep good horses in your stable; for, look you, we can go in no other way than by riding on horseback." "That is certain," quoth Scheffer; "the barricades would render the passage of a carriage impossible." "But stay," said Thiers, "how shall I manage about my *monture*? I shall never be able to sit one of your great beasts." Thereupon Scheffer hastened to the stables of young Ney (son of the Marshal), with whom he was on intimate terms, and, borrowing a small nimble nag for his friend, they started on their important errand.

"The barricades presented, in truth, some obstacles to their progress; but Scheffer, being a practised horseman, leaped his horse over them. M. Thiers could not manage matters quite so actively. The mob, however, good-naturedly aided him to scramble through, lifting him, almost bodily, over the piles of stones, &c., horse and all, laughing heartily at "le petit commis" for his bad horsemanship. As M. Thiers rode in white stockings and shoes, and wore spectacles, I suspect that his personal appearance did afford some scope for the light-hearted jokes of "le peuple" on that morning.

"When, at length, the two gentlemen found themselves fairly outside of the walls of Paris, a number of men of the lower class crowded about them: "Où allez vous donc, Messieurs?" "Cela ne vous regarde pas." "Eh bien! then we shall send some of our fellows with you, to see where you go to." A couple of "blouses" accordingly accompanied them, each mounted on horseback, and armed. The party had not trotted far on their road before Thiers said, in a quiet tone of voice to his companion, "Ecoutez, mon cher! you are a good rider, whilst I may very easily get a tumble before I reach Neuilly; and if this should happen, my hat will inevitably roll off, and the *mandat* which, before we set off, I put therein for safety, may be discovered, and then I shall get into trouble: I beg you will take charge of it." Scheffer took the paper, and placed it in his breast pocket. It was a sort of *blanc seing*, to which the names of Lafayette, Lafitte, Marshals Lobau and Gérard, and one or two other leading men, were appended. The Duke, it was expected, would, on looking at the paper, frame some sort of "declaration" in reply to the missive.

"At the bridge of Neuilly, Scheffer wanted sadly to get rid of his neighbours in the "blouses." Pretending to descry some of the King's troops at a distance, he cried out, "Ah! here come our friends, I see; it is the royal guard!" Whereupon the two attendants judged it prudent to wish them "good morning," and to turn their horses' heads the other way. The two envoys quickly arrived at the Château de Neuilly. M. Scheffer (from whose lips I learned what has

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been related above) gave me no details of what passed within its walls, except to mention one circumstance, viz. that Madame Adelaide, addressing her brother, had said, "Sire ! conduisez vous en Roi !"

We will merely remark here, that, while this address of Madame Adelaide to her brother, as reported to Mrs. Grote by Scheffer, is strikingly characteristic of *one* of the two influences that attended ever, like saving and seducing spirits, on Louis Philippe's career, that of the good Queen Amalie to Scheffer on this occasion, as cited by Mrs. Grote after Vaulabelle, is equally characteristic:—"That M. Thiers should have done this does not surprise me—he knows but little of us ; but you, Sir—you who have been admitted to so close an intimacy with this circle—you might have appreciated our sentiments more correctly." Nothing, we think, can illustrate more honourably the loyal and lofty spirit which has ever animated that most love-worthy and beloved princess.

Louis Philippe, the 'Roi Citoyen,' being thus settled on the uneasy throne of France, and the political ferment of French society having for the time subsided, Scheffer returned to the pursuit of his art, and entered in the silence of his atelier on a study of German and English literature. The early struggles of the artist and the ever-changing features of the time had repressed in him the speculative turn of thought he had inherited from his Teutonic origin ; but leisure and a matured intellect now caused him to turn his attention to the perilous speculations of the German philosophers. The tangled web of their conjectures on the mysteries of our nature—the philosophy, falsely so called, of unlimited scepticism—took possession of his mind with a terrible force, and fettered him about with doubts that his early education had given him no weapons to combat. How far he eventually shook himself clear of these trammels we shall presently consider. In the meantime, the philosophic poetry of Goethe revealed to him an unsuspected side of his own nature, and he recognised in 'Faust'—where the torment of doubt is the heart of the inspiration—the struggles of a kindred spirit. Scheffer painted no less than nine pictures from this tragedy—executed at different periods of his career, and some of them among his latest works. They form, however, a connected series, and may be called the finest illustrations that have ever been produced of any poem, although essentially original and in no wise the simple reflex of the poet's ideas. Scheffer felt that the painter's genius might challenge an equality with that of the poet—he understood the proper connexion that should subsist in their double office—and he claimed effectively to be Goethe's ally and colleague

colleague on the throne rather than his mere envoy and interpreter.

The poet who creates his imaginary beings has not the means to complete them in their entire circle; he may bid them live through a course of action where each mood of mind is revealed—he may bring them into varied contrast, shock them together in the conflict of life, and overwhelm them with happiness or misery. This he does through the ear; we stand like one outside of some low-browed door, beyond which we seem to hear familiar voices and catch the suppressed tones, it may be, of a bitter altercation—the dispute seems suddenly to cease, and is succeeded by the click of steel, the shuffle of feet, and the stertorous breathing of the scuffle—a sharp cry, and all is still: but let us burst the door—'tis there the poet is at fault; he can indeed describe the scene within, but the painter is the great magician,—we look into *his* glass, and by the lamp set on the ground to give light to the combat that has closed, we see and shudder as we gaze; the furniture has been huddled violently into one corner of the room, and a man leans on the mantelpiece with his hands crushed into his eyes; a prostrate form lies contorted on the floor, six inches of steel protruding from his back, and a pool of blood and wine soaking into his shirt. The aspect of the moment, every circumstance is before us, with the completeness of reality. Here, then, is the essential difference of the two arts—the one begins where the other ends—poetry may suggest, but painting shapes the idea into life and form—the one art is the true complement to the other. Scheffer has thus taken up Goethe where the poet no longer found a footing. Faust, Margaret, and Mephistopheles, have received from him their individual character, shape, and complexion. The wise and sensual philosopher, whose unhallowed knowledge has ended in heartbreak, appears before us, with the miserable conviction eloquent on his brow—Margaret, with the thoughts of girlhood and the pulse of love, looks at us with innocent eyes, and blushes like a child—Mephistopheles is present with his twisted lip and sneering aspect—they rise, each of them, to our recollection with the reality of beings who have moved, breathed, and acted in our presence. The church that Margaret prayed in, the garden where she walked with Faust, come before us with a wonderful truth, and accomplish that which no poet ever did, and the painter alone can do. Doubtless, to complete the conceptions of a great poet requires some parity of intellect; and it is for this reason that subjects from the greatest authors generally disappoint us; the painter is overtaken in the effort, and

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unable to bend the bow of Ulysses; the real object of the task is abandoned, and he covers his defeat by a multitude of details and accidents. It is thus that we see in Retzsch's 'Faust' how signally the artist has been overcrowned by the genius of the poet—whilst Scheffer, on the contrary, stands equal to the alliance, and dominant in the strength of his own art. The one put the incidents of the poet into movement and costume, but the other completed the circle of his conception.

It was in this power and with this success that Scheffer painted, in 1831 and 1832—to say nothing of 'Le Larmoyeur,' and some other works of less note—three pictures from the poem of 'Faust':—'Faust in his Study,' 'Margaret at the Wheel,' and 'Margaret tempted in the Church.' The last of these is among the finest of the series. He has represented Margaret sunk forwards from the attitude of prayer, and inanimate except in the expression of the face; her eyes are half-closed, and she seems to listen with a frightful curiosity to the promptings of the evil spirit, visible only through her livid lips and contracted features. Two girls are praying peacefully at her side, and the devout forms of the congregation dispersed through the dim aisles of the church appear in the distance. In this picture Scheffer reaped the full advantage of his recent discipline. His noble inspiration is upheld by an amount of knowledge equal to the occasion, and we see a balance of power not hitherto possessed.

We must duly chronicle at this point the execution of two pictures, painted by order of Louis Philippe for the gallery of Versailles. The close relation that existed between Scheffer and the royal family occasionally interrupted his career, and forced him on the choice of uncongenial subjects. The pictures in question were undertaken in distaste to the task, and finished in a manner little worthy of his reputation. He contributed with repugnance some yards of canvas to the miles of bombast prepared by the Sovereign for the gross tastes of his people; and always spoke of these works with a petulant disgust very characteristic of the man. His true friendship for the royal family, and the pleasure of intercourse with them, counterbalanced indeed these vexations. In 1832 his regard for the Duke of Orleans led him to join in an expedition to Antwerp, then invested by the French army; on which occasion the Duke, under the guidance of General Baudron, assisted in the siege-operations, and took a lesson in the art of war. But of all the Orleans family—with the exception, indeed, of Queen Amalie—Scheffer was most deeply attached to the Princess Marie, afterwards a Princess of Wurtemberg; a lady whose virtues and genius are not unfamiliar

to the English people, and for whose premature death they have not ceased to mourn. When first his pupil, she found little interest in skimming over the surface of art; but after the marriage of her eldest sister she entered on the study with a sudden and unexpected devotion. Her talent for composition appeared to Scheffer so fine as to be worthy of the most careful cultivation; and, seeing that she expressed her ideas more readily by the art of sculpture than on canvas, he became her instructor in a material strange to his hand, and which he had to master step by step along with his pupil. In a letter written by Scheffer to his brother Arnold—then contemplating a memoir of the Princess—not long after her death, he gives so beautiful a sketch of her progress as an artist, and her character as a woman, that we make no excuse for placing it, almost at full length, before our readers:—

‘Les “notes” que tu me demandes, mon cher Arnold, sur les travaux et sur les idées de la Princesse Marie, sont très difficile à faire.

‘Elevée à la façon de toute princesse, par Madame de Malet, personne fort instruite, fort pieuse, mais aux idées les plus bornées possibles, elle était, *enfant*, la petite princesse la plus impertinente, la plus étourdie qu’on puisse imaginer. Mais tout en se moquant de ses maîtres, elle apprenait ce qu’il fallait apprendre—langues vivantes, histoire, etc. etc. Un seul maître (M. Pradher) eut le mérite,—par une sévérité non interrompue, mais sans un mouvement de colère—de lui inspirer du respect; elle lui devait en outre un talent de musicienne assez distingué.

‘Les leçons de dessin que je lui donnai depuis l’âge de douze ans n’avaient jamais été qu’un passe-temps pour elle et pour moi.—Elle faisait peu de progrès, et n’a jamais su dessiner une tête même d’après la bosse. Quand sa sœur aînée s’est mariée, cette jeune fille, jusque là si étourdie, était devenue tout d’un coup triste et reflective. Elle me demanda sérieusement de lui donner des leçons capables de la distraire et de l’occuper, tout en me disant que de copier l’ennuyait à mourir.

‘Elle essaya de faire des compositions de sujets historiques et de les colorer au lavis. Dès le premier essai, tout son talent, toute son imagination, me furent révélés. Dans l’espace de deux ans elle fit plus de cinquante dessins, tous composés, tous trouvés d’expression, avec une originalité et un bonheur très remarquables; mais tous très incorrects de dessin, et bien médiocrement colorés. Les idées étroites de Madame de Malet, les craintes de la Reine, et mon respect à moi pour la pudeur de jeune fille, empêchèrent les progrès de dessin et d’exécution.—Ne pouvant copier que des figures drapées (et très drapées), elle a toujours ignoré la structure du corps humain. Ennuyée de toujours bien composer, et de toujours mal dessiner, elle prit le dessin en dégoût, et me demanda un jour si je ne pourrais pas lui donner quelque chose à faire de moins monotone, et que tout le monde ne ferait pas comme elle? Ennuyé moi-même de corriger tous les jours de bras cassés et des

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jambes tordues, je l'engageai à essayer de la sculpture, que je n'avais jamais faite, et dont la nouveauté était aussi attrayante pour moi que pour elle.

‘Le premier essai fut le petit bas-relief de *Goetz et Martin*, composé simplement, l'exécution étant tout-à-fait l'enfance de l'art.

‘Ce premier essai n'était pas encourageant, mais le jour même où cet essai revenait du mouleur, le livre de Quinet, ‘*Ashéverus*,’ se trouvait sur la table : elle venait de le lire, composa et ébaucha sur-le-champ *Ashéverus*, à qui l'ange Gabriel défend l'entrée de sa maison. Dans ce bas-relief l'instinct de sculpture se révèle ; la connaissance des plans, une forme particulière et originale, une expression frappante, denotant une vraie vocation d'artiste. Dès ce moment elle prit la passion de la sculpture, et moi, pour dire vrai, la passion de lui donner des leçons. Pendant qu'elle travaillait, je lui cherchais des sujets à exécuter ; dans Quinet, puis dans Schiller, qu'elle ne connaissait pas ; puis dans Goethe. Le premier sujet qu'elle prit fut “*Le Reveil du Poète*,” qu'elle composa entièrement, dont je lui dessinai seulement quelques têtes sur papier. Ce bas-relief est, pour quiconque a le goût de l'art, une chose admirable de conception, et pour tout homme qui peut juger de la difficulté vraie, une chose hors ligne. La manière dont instinctivement elle a deviné les plans multipliés de ce bas-relief, et dont les caractères divers des personnages sont indiqués, ne peuvent vraiment se comprendre dans une jeune fille qui en sculpture en était à son troisième essai, et qui n'avait lu les poètes et romanciers que sous la direction d'une gouvernante dévote. Après ce bas-relief, elle fit le modèle de bronze de “*Jeanne à cheval* ;” la conception est entièrement d'elle, la figure de Jeanne est bien trouvée, mais dans l'exécution matérielle je l'aidai beaucoup. A cette époque le Roi avait commandé à Pradier, notre premier statuaire, une statue de Jeanne d'Arc, pour Versailles. Mal inspiré, Pradier fit un modèle qui ne rendait nullement cette noble figure ; alors le Roi commanda un autre projet de statue à sa fille ; la Princesse accepta, après m'avoir consulté, mais à condition de faire aussi la grande statue, si le modèle réussissait.

‘Ce fut au moment de commencer ce travail qu'elle perdit Madame de Malet. Cette pauvre femme, qui, tout en idolâtrant son élève, la querellait du matin au soir, mais dont la bonté et le dévouement désintéressés rachetaient tout l'ennui, reçut de la Princesse Marie durant sa maladie des soins de fille. Elle ne quitta pas sa vieille gouvernante pendant plusieurs jours et plusieurs nuits, et reçut son dernier soupir. La séparation avec sa sœur avait opéré un premier changement dans son esprit ; la perte de sa gouvernante changea complètement son cœur ; ses regrets pour cette pauvre femme ont duré tout sa vie, et à chaque instant elle invoquait son souvenir. Madame de Malet m'avait beaucoup aimé ; à cause de cela surtout, la confiance de la Princesse pour moi redoubla. Elle me fit chercher au moment où sa gouvernante venait d'expirer, et je puis dire que jamais je n'ai vu douleur plus vraie ni plus touchante.

‘Au bout de peu de temps je la forçai de recommencer à travailler.

Une grande composition "d'Ashéverus" l'occupa d'abord : en haut, Dieu ; dans le milieu, le Christ portant sa croix, et le Juif qui lui refuse de se reposer à sa porte ; à droite, les tribus primitives descendant l'Himalaya ; à gauche, les monuments de la civilisation Egyptienne, Grèce et Romaine ; en bas, l'enfer, recevant dans ses bras les trophées des batailles qui ont terminé les grandes époques historiques. Tout cela, merveilleusement arrangé et bien dessiné, aura fait honneur à tout artiste distingué.

'Elle commença la grande figure de Jeanne d'Arc. L'expérience matérielle lui manquait ainsi qu'à moi. Au lieu d'exécuter cette figure en terre, qui est facile à manier, nous imaginâmes de la faire en cire. Elle tomba deux fois, s'affaissa une troisième ; puis toujours impossibilité d'avoir des modèles. Malgré toutes ces difficultés, cette statue est la meilleure statue moderne de Versailles. La noblesse, la simplicité, et un admirable caractère féminin la distinguent des vulgaires productions qui l'entourent, parce qu'elle porte non seulement l'empreinte du talent, mais surtout l'expression de l'âme élevée de son auteur ! Le succès de cette statue fût immense ; les adulations ne manquèrent pas, mais jamais je n'ai vu un mépris plus grand pour les flatteries que celui qu'elle exprima ; quoique bien méprisante dans cette occasion, comme du reste, toujours pour l'entourage officiel, elle était ravie comme un enfant du succès de son œuvre parmi le peuple, et surtout parmi les soldats.

'Depuis elle fit "la Périe" portant aux pieds de l'Eternel les larmes du pécheur repentant ; l'ange à la porte du ciel ; le groupe d'Ashéverus et Esther ; le buste de sa sœur et de son fils ; deux petits groupes équestres, et "le Pèlerin" de Schiller. Dans chaque œuvre subséquente il y avait progrès. Le travail était devenu une telle passion pour elle, qu'à l'insçu de sa famille elle y donnait une partie de ses nuits. Elle rêvait d'une vie élevée d'artiste, et d'exercer une grande influence sur les arts en France. Elle lisait tout ce qui pouvait développer son intelligence ; œuvres de science, comme œuvres d'imagination ; tout était lu et bien compris par elle. Elle admirait tout ce qu'était ou paraissait grand et beau. Les larmes lui sont venues dans les yeux quand elle apprit la mort de Carrel, qu'elle jugeait, pourtant, très bien être l'ennemi le plus dangereux de sa famille. Son cœur avait toute la foi religieuse qu'un noble cœur de femme peut contenir, mais son esprit osait aborder toutes les questions, et ne réculait, en discutant, devant aucune de leurs conséquences. Avec ses goûts d'artiste, avec l'élévation de son esprit, avec sa bonté de cœur (qui était toute autre chose que la bonté banale des grande) elle devait se trouver en désaccord continuel avec l'entourage royal. Elle avait le sentiment aristocratique, mais n'était nullement *Princesse*. Toutes ses amitiés d'enfance, elles les avait religieusement conservées jusqu'à sa mort. Avec un sentiment de patriotisme Français très exalté, elle avait pris une haine profonde pour ce qui se passait en France. Sa maladie et les derniers mois de sa vie, mois de souffrance, dont elle savait la fin avant de quitter la France, sont un exemple de grandeur et de résignation.'

Resuming

Resuming the more special thread of our narrative, we now touch on the culminating point of Scheffer's artistic career. The tragedy of 'Faust' had drawn from him the flash of a similar inspiration, but the 'Inferno' of Dante elicited a still more passionate response. Few men can remain unstirred by the blast of a trumpet, or unmoved at the swell of the organ: the song of Dante rings with a kindred voice; and Scheffer followed the march of the poem through the gates of hell, led there as truly as ever was Dante by the ghost of Virgil. We pause not to speculate on the attraction which may have drawn off Scheffer's mind, unquiet and restless in its secret doubts, from the narrow and starless round of Faust's philosophy to the all-embracing yet still warring world of Dante's experience;—enough that the vision of 'Paolo and Francesca' rose to his mind's eye in consummate loveliness, and is embodied to us in his well-known picture with a perfection that no other modern work of art has attained to. Her story has been told in the lull of the turbulent wind, and her voice has ceased, choked by sobs and gushing tears that stream from her closed eyelids; the two are locked dearly in each other's arms, and the returning blast heaves them back into the crowded whirlwind, that shall buffet them along for ever, leaving her words to ring long in our ears,—

'Nessun maggior dolore  
Che ricordarsi del tempo felice  
Nella miseria!'

Their youth, their love and crime, their tender beauty, and cruel death, strike with a keen edge on our hearts, and we feel ready to sink, like Dante, overmastered with the pity of the sight. Scheffer never could bear to hear this picture praised.

Some few works do not require praise, but are rather removed far from it by their very excellence. They are not near the mark, but penetrate to the heart of the matter, and their truth is too absolute to need acknowledgment. Such is, to our mind, the merit of this work—the masterpiece of the painter. We entertain no desire to criticise the material qualities of the execution; it is sufficient that it has given the artist's inspiration to the world in its full integrity. An elaboration beyond this is a lapse from excellence, and often allied to pedantry; an attribute which never attached to Scheffer.

The 'Paolo and Francesca' was received by the public with universal admiration. The French are quick-sighted to appreciate a fine work, and very ready to do homage to its author. Scheffer rose without cavil to the height of his reputation, and retained it ever afterwards. The picture was bought by the Duke of Orleans, a worthy appreciator of excellence; but has  
since

since become dead to the public, and consigned, we may say, to a temporary tomb, in becoming the property of Prince Anatole Demidoff. Several replicas exist—one, half-size, in the Bridgewater Gallery; but the original inspiration was too subtle and delicate to bear repeated evocation, and, except in one instance, they present but a poor reflection of the original.

From this time forwards the thread of Scheffer's life was but little connected, except on one remarkable occasion, with the shifting and many-coloured tissue of French politics. The affairs of France, although *remises à neuf* after the revolution of July, soon lost their fresh gloss. An unsuspected bias towards monarchical institutions became apparent in the 'Citizen-King,' and gave a lively dissatisfaction to his liberal associates. These were by degrees removed from the conduct of affairs, and replaced by men of a more ductile metal. It appeared clear to the disenchanted eye of liberalism that the vices of the previous *régime* survived in their accustomed haunts, and that the existing government smacked of the worst ingredients of its predecessor. General Lafayette and others of his party blamed themselves for their party-credulity in disposing of the sovereign power without sufficient guarantee, but held themselves excused by reason of the amount of deception and mystification of which they had, as they considered, been the dupes and victims. The discontented elements of the nation slumbered the while uneasily, or were adroitly pitted against each other,—and the ministry lived by the disagreement of all.

The nature of Scheffer's occupations during these chequered years drew him ever more and more into the habit of private exertion. He felt how hopeless had become the chicanery of French politics, and ceased to expect the regeneration of his country through a political revolution. His art and his books occupied his time of study, and he passed his leisure hours with his friends. For many years it had been his custom to take some sort of likeness, however slight, of his intimate companions; and these portraits had become so numerous as to cover the walls of his studios. A great proportion of the most eminent men of France were of the number, and gave a more general interest to the collection. Although by no means a portrait-painter of the highest order, he has left some works in this line of very great excellence. But there was a want, a deficiency, in his mind which limited his success in this direction. He understood and appreciated certain types, but found difficulty in unravelling the idiosyncrasy of others. He could never escape his own intense individuality sufficiently to understand and appreciate that of others of an opposite cast—a power very necessary

sary to excellence in this branch of his art. Still his portraits have a quality very rare in the present day, and most apparent in the greatest artists,—we mean, a simplicity very generally neglected by our present school of portraiture in England. If we pass in review any portraits by the first masters, this quality will be very evident. There is no attempt after the utterance of passing emotion, however beautiful or dignified. The portraits of Titian, Rembrandt, and Rubens, do not smile or frown, simper or sneer; the caprice of the painter, or the vanity of his subject, is nowhere gratified. The face is presented simply, and in repose—it is then only that the complete character of the man is disclosed. When the features subside, the traces of the habitual emotions become evident in the confirmed expression of the countenance. The lines that ridge the brow, and contract the penthouse of the eyes, are eloquent of past thought; the drawn nostril, that seems dilated even in repose, tells of dearly-cherished pride; the hard eye betrays cruelty and wrong—the swelled muscles of the mouth, sensual appetites indulged. Nor this only,—in repose the rounded cheek looks more delicate, the lips that have often smiled bear the spirit of a smile in their silent rest, and lovely eyes sit sweetest in the quiet shade of a tranquil brow. It is not, we repeat, that the utterance of fugitive emotion is not beautiful, but that emotion, since it displaces the features, injures the likeness—we have a portrait of the emotion, not of the man, of his passing excitement, not of his habitual frame of mind. These observations will apply equally to the movement of the body, with certain modifications, very easy to perceive. Among Scheffer's portraits that of his mother is by far the best. Several years were occupied in its execution, and the work was completed with the tenderest love. He knew her character by heart, and her soul looks out of the canvas. The quality of the painting is of high merit, carried out in the Dutch manner, and resembling some of the most refined portraits of Rembrandt. We have seen also a portrait of Lamennais, and one of Lord Dufferin, both of which are rich in some of the best attributes of the art.

The poems of Dante gave occasion to two other pictures by Scheffer. Dante and Beatrice appear in each of them. In the finer of the two she stands, or rather hovers before us, her eyes fixed on heaven, and drawn upwards by the might of ecstasy—Dante gazes on her eyes, and rises in her company through the strength of his love. The two Mignons are works of the same period, and of all his conceptions probably the most widely circulated through engravings. The melancholy yearning that precedes womanhood breathes in the sad lips, the delicate cheeks,

cheeks, and wistful eyes of the solitary child,—her heart wanders after the cranes that are flying south, over the sunset horizon, far away. This picture, too, sprang from an inspiration of the heart, and was perfected from the face of a daughter. Cornélie Scheffer—now Madame Marjolin—was then advancing towards womanhood, and dearly attached to her only parent. Her mother had died years since, and she lived in her father's house under the protection of her grandmother. She had become his chief tie to life and the freshest source of all his happiness; she was his pupil, his constant friend, his devoted consoler, and, after death, his chief mourner.

In the year 1839 Scheffer experienced one of those strokes that separate us from our youth more absolutely than the advance of years. His mother had been long ailing; her illness at last took a mortal turn, and she died, surrounded by her children. With her death the motive expired of Scheffer's early exertions. He had worked, when a boy, to obey and please her—afterwards, in manhood, to support and do her honour. With her death a long-continued impulse suddenly ceased to beat, and was succeeded by a languor very visible for a lengthened period in his works.

But the loss of his mother was not the sole cause of this depression of mind. The object of his life, the art which he loved, seemed now, for the first time—even after he had passed beyond the middle term of life—unsatisfying and valueless. There comes a period in the lives of men when the imagination ceases to give a colour to the prospects of existence; a wide experience has forced on us a habit of appreciation, and things are seen in their naked proportions and hard reality. We no longer have the heart to catch, like babies, at objects beyond our reach; and we have rapped our heads too often against the furniture of the world not to apprehend its practical relations to ourselves. This period comes later to ardent temperaments than to the more sedate, and often occasions a profound disgust to the pursuits of life. To those who have centred their happiness on the illusions of the moment nothing can give a more miserable shock. But on all it must strike like the chilling breath of the autumnal equinox—save only on such as possess the assured faith of a future existence, and can call to mind and realise by anticipation the eternal spring that shall follow the dying year. This pale complexion of thought spread its influence over Scheffer more and more at this period. He was at the age of forty-five, and had lost many of his dearest friends. The Princess Marie, his beloved pupil, and the Duke of Orleans, on whom he had fixed his expectations for the welfare of France, were both  
dead.

dead, and the death of the Duke in particular had left a gap in his hopes for the future, never to be refilled. His more domestic sorrow, in the loss of his mother, made the cup overflow. The instinct of his heart prompted him now to seek for consolation from the sources of religion, which his nature was most fitted to imbibe; but his intellect had been saturated in the scepticism of modern philosophy, and revolted from so simple a fount of happiness. A contest began, which he in vain attempted to set at rest, between the intuitive faith that springs in minds of his class, and the sceptical influences of his early education and subsequent course of study. And this struggle continued long to agitate his mind and influence his works in art.

These religious doubts are curiously indicated in his pictures of the 'Christus Consolator' and 'Christus Remunerator,' painted about this period. In these compositions he attempted to philosophise on Christianity, and to depict the *dicta* rather than the acts of Our Saviour. They are both of them expositions of doctrine, homilies on canvas; and, although fine in parts, are quite devoid of interest. A personal reality is the basis of all pictorial art, and the image of an abstraction is a contradiction in sense as well as in terms. Scheffer stood perplexed how to embody the nature of Our Saviour whilst doubting of his divinity; he thought to elude the dilemma by endeavouring to depict the Doctrine and not the Person, and failed doubly in the attempt. Here for the first time we find Scheffer's conception of a subject completely at fault,—he was himself the first to perceive this distortion of his art, and avoided it ever afterwards. We would remark by the way, that this attempt to express ideas by a method which, in its intrinsic nature, is unfitted for the task, is a fault common to the present day, and lies at the root of much false art, in music, painting, and poetry.

Scheffer's next religious work was the 'Agony in the Garden.' Here we once more recognise the truth of the artist's conception. Our Saviour is represented alone, and drooping forwards on his knees;—the agony of mind is given with a truth never surpassed by any painter; yet there is also a reserve and respect in the treatment of the subject, often absent in the works of the Italian masters. In colour, drawing, and indeed in all the qualities of painting, this picture is of the first excellence. After this work there appeared in succession the 'Christ bearing his Cross,' the 'St. Augustine and his Mother,' the 'Three Kings,' the 'Maries at the Sepulchre,' 'St. John writing the Apocalypse,' and some others—occupying in their completion an interval of several years. The yearnings of humanity towards the infinite, and the struggle  
after



after things unseen, are the dominant ideas of nearly all these works. The picture of St. Augustine and his mother St. Monica peculiarly reflects the course of the inner life of the painter. The character of St. Augustine, who was driven by the cravings of an insatiable intellect through many forms of misbelief to the haven of Christianity, had for Scheffer a deep significance. The mutual love of St. Augustine and his mother none could more feelingly appreciate. It is related by Augustine in his 'Confessions' that his mother had accompanied him as far as Ostia on his return to Africa. The evening before his embarkation—and it was the eve too of her death—they sat together, locked hand in hand, watching the sun set over the Mediterranean. All was tranquil. The work of her life had been crowned with victory, and after the prayers and struggles of many years, she had led her only son to the foot of the Cross, there to abjure for ever the errors of the Manichean philosophy. Scheffer has represented them in this last common vigil of their existence—her upturned face is full of heavenly beatitude—his eyes are fixed on the far horizon, while the new faith burns in his heart. There is an intense homefelt truth in this and other of Scheffer's works of this period. His difficulty of belief seems to have cast him the more passionately on the desire to believe; and it gives a tearful earnestness to all these pictures, visible in no other productions of art that we know of. The series, taken together, forms a complete reflection of the mental state of the artist during the period of their execution.

This period in Scheffer's history is summed up and concluded by his picture of the 'Temptation on the Mount,' begun in 1853, on which he spent the greater part of three years, and stretched his powers to the utmost. The figures are of colossal proportions, and, if not, like the 'Paolo and Francesca,' a complete success, it is, nevertheless, the greatest effort of his genius. When Scheffer attempted to embody the antagonism of good and evil, of the Prince of Peace and of the prince of the powers of darkness, face to face on the mountain-top, he undertook a work above the powers of any human mind to accomplish. Success was hopeless in an absolute sense. All works that deal with subjects of this high order are failures in a degree, but those subjects are not the less fitted to become the inspiration of a noble art, which in its very failure may soar into regions as high as were ever pierced by the wings of human genius. That this picture was the summary and close of the internal conflict in Scheffer's own mind, we must again repeat as our conviction. The eternal questions relating to good and evil—the dogmas connected with their warfare,

fare, free-will, innate sin, and a future state of retribution—had haunted him without cease for many years, and found a final utterance in this grand picture. These, and many other such speculations, that to us who have been born far from the arid frontiers of scepticism are only known as caged lions, turned and returned across his wanderings like grim and terrible beasts, invulnerable and inexorable. We do not, indeed, suppose that the conquest of such foes, when they have once daunted the human mind, can ever be complete and final in this life;—although repulsed, they will prowl round, and dog our footsteps unceasingly, till we have completed our journey, and crossed the protecting barriers of the grave.

To raise in the reader any idea of this picture is not possible; there is little action to describe, and the expressions are too subtle for words. Whoever has seen the head of the Evil One will not easily forget the bloodless agony of the features, where the convulsions of hate have been suddenly struck by the frost of despair; or the sublime repose of strength resting on Our Lord's countenance. We perceive the fruitlessness of a contention where there is no equality in the combatants, and the impotent energy of the fiend reveals the absolute power of his antagonist. The work is so lofty in its excellence, and yet so open to censure for its material defects, that, in order to arrive at a due estimate of it, we take leave to make some general remarks on the proper order and precedence of excellence in art, and to offer certain considerations which we think may conduce to a just and consistent criticism of painting in general.

We conceive, then, that the cultivation of art is worthily approved by mankind for this purpose, that it provides for minds of one order a means of receiving the conceptions of another. Except for the art of painting, the conceptions of Raphael would have shot in barren beauty through his own brain;—the world of Shakspeare, without the art of poetry, would have been packed into the coffin along with the humanity of the poet; and but for the art of music, the melodies and the harmony that rang through the souls of Handel and Mozart would have been silenced in their graves. Art is thus the medium of transmission, the electric chord, that puts the many in sympathy with the individual. We may compare art to a thousand things: but it is always a means to an end, and valuable on that account. Thus, then, the idea is the primary object, and its proper transmission, however essential, is a matter secondary and dependent. The gift given is the idea; the process of giving it constitutes the art. It follows, of necessity, that the idea is the most important, and the mode of delivery is subservient, and only

only to be considered in so far as it accomplishes the task assigned. This is the true test of art in every branch of its exercise. In the work of a poet each word should move like an armed man, with the accumulating strength of a host, in step and in rank, with the impulse of one and the vigour of a thousand: but this imposing march is only worthy as it is directed on a noble object, and becomes contemptible from the very perfection of the power if unworthily directed. So likewise in music, when the perfection of science hides the paucity of ideas; and so, too, with painting, when form, colour, light, and shade, and all the array of pictorial excellences, are squandered on a canvas—to express nothing. Here, then, we have a fair criterion by which to class excellence in all works of art,—in all; for we believe that, as the whole includes the parts, so these canons cover the whole extent and varieties of art, however humble—nothing in creation, of God's handiwork, being common or unclean in the eye of a true artist. First, then, let us give its rightful supremacy to the idea; then, in the second place, appreciate justly the completeness with which the idea has been presented. Now the art of painting evokes several handmaids to the fulfilment of this secondary duty,—Drawing, or Design, without which all is without form and void; Colour, which adds life and beauty to the form; and Light and Shade, or Chiar'oscuro, which gives substance and reality to the whole. Each of these handmaidens has an essential part to fulfil, and without the aid of all any conception must fall short of its full accomplishment. But the qualities of mind requisite to ensure this triple excellence are so rarely found in equal combination, that a consummate painter can scarcely be said to have ever existed. The great schools of art differ from each other principally in the varying development of these several elements of painting—Form, Colour, and Chiar'oscuro. The Tuscan and Roman School attached itself to Form, the Venetian to Colour, that of Correggio to Light and Shade. Each of these schools is excellent in its office, and for this reason,—that the ideas it desired to convey bore always a close affinity to the dominant excellence of the school itself, and are less dependent for their development on the other or sister elements. Thus intellect and sentiment, principally aimed at by the Florentine and Roman School, are chiefly expressed through form; whilst youth, love, and the pride of life—ideas prevalent with the Venetians—are much dependent for expression on the glow and flush of colour. But this correct perception of the affinity between the various constituent elements or qualities of art and certain classes of ideas has also led to this grave error, that,

because

because such an affinity existed, an antagonism must also of consequence coexist between those ideas, specially considered, and the less congenial elements : for example, between intellect and Colour, and between the glow and flush of life and Design. This fallacy has produced a host of injurious effects, which would require too lengthened a discussion to deal with on the present occasion. Suffice it that we point out its evil influence on Scheffer's art and practice. Through the first portion of his career there is a remarkable equality in the form, colour, and light and shade of his works, all indeed in embryo, and very incomplete, but still of good promise throughout. With what we may call his second manner this balance becomes disturbed, and after his '*Femmes Souliotes*,' which possesses some fine passages of colour, our painter grew more and more attached to form and its various developments. This natural bias of mind was not in itself injurious to his works, and was to be expected in an artist seeking painfully after the expression of human emotions. His colour during this second period is often merged in the more necessary qualities of his art, but is never neglected, and sometimes fine. In his third manner, as seen in the series of pictures of which the '*Temptation*' was the most important, and which he adopted during the long-continued mental conflict which we have attempted to describe, and which gave a tinge to all his thoughts, he seems to have conceived the notion that colour was positively antagonistic to the proper development of his ideas. All his subsequent works bear the mark of this misconception, for not only did he banish colour, but the contrast of light and shade also fled his canvas, and left him crippled and confined under self-imposed bonds at a period when his conceptions were of the loftiest elevation. The picture of the '*Temptation*' is for this cause deprived of the vigour of a complete creation, and remains the mere adumbration of a conception as grand as was ever placed on canvas by the greatest painters. This defect in Scheffer's later works has had a very injurious influence on his reputation, and in this country in particular, where the merits he so anxiously suppressed are most appreciated and admired. We have heard many painters and some judges of art go so far as to refuse Scheffer on this account any rank among the great artists of the period. They forget that by such a standard of judgment they are in danger of degrading the art of painting to the mere trade of imitation, and that an artist must be valued by mankind in proportion to the nobility of his ideas rather than for the material qualities of his brush.

But we have been carried far beyond the thread of our narrative in these and other discussions, and have neglected the events

events of Scheffer's life, which ran with a uniform regularity for several years during this period. A constant application to the pursuit of his art engrossed him far too completely to permit of his entering the strife of politics, or even the throng of general society. He held, nevertheless, a high position in the opinion of all parties, although he gave, as hitherto, the weight of his approbation to the liberals. This open expression of his sentiments in no wise affected the friendly relations that subsisted between him and the Royal Family. Although the intimate ties of friendship and sympathy which had existed before the death of the Princess Marie and the Duke of Orleans had been severed, still the affection Scheffer had felt for the Duke was transferred to his widow and her son, the young Count of Paris, who, in his turn, became his pupil. But the events of Louis Philippe's reign were now drawing towards an unexpected close, and however much Scheffer might be absorbed in his labours, he, as well as other well-wishers to the Royal Family, grew uneasy at the angry temper of the country and the consequent danger that menaced the King's government. More than one thunder-cloud had dispersed itself without explosion, and the signs of the accumulating tempest were disregarded. The storm burst on a sudden, and swept the dynasty of Orleans from the throne of France. Here again we shall have recourse to Mrs. Grote for an account of the Second Revolution, in which Scheffer took a remarkable part, the circumstances of which she noted down from his own lips, and the substance of which we also recollect to have heard him relate.

Scheffer, we may premise, had repeatedly warned the Royal Family of the signs of the time. On the Monday preceding the King's abdication, on being shown a letter from Odillon Barrot, announcing the intention of the liberal party to suppress their proposed banquet and demonstration, the effect of which was alike dreaded by both parties, he obtained permission to carry the letter to the Tuileries that he might relieve the anxiety of the Duchess of Orleans. Her eyes filled with tears as she perused the letter. 'How good of you,' she exclaimed, 'to bring me this welcome news, Scheffer! but I must have you come with me into the King's cabinet, to communicate it to his Majesty.' 'Your Royal Highness must excuse me,' replied Scheffer: '*le Roi et moi nous ne nous sommes jamais aimés*; I would rather that your Royal Highness carried in the news alone.' She did so. 'After the lapse of a few minutes'—we are giving the anecdote in Mrs. Grote's words—she returned. "The King is delighted," said the Duchess, "but do you know that he could not help observing, in his jocular way, "*Voyez donc, quels drôles de gens* que

que ces messieurs-là ! dès qu'on leur montre le bout de la corne, ils vous tournent le dos." Nothing, we think, can be more characteristic of Louis Philippe than this observation.

'It was towards noon on the morning of the 24th February, 1848, that M. Scheffer, having been on duty (as Captain of the National Guard) ever since daylight, met M. Oscar de Lafayette, who was in search of him. "Scheffer," said Oscar, "it is mighty disagreeable to be obliged to expose one's life for a monarchy which one does not esteem; but nevertheless it is our duty, and we must go and defend it at all price." Scheffer assented. They repaired to the garden of the Tuileries, and posted themselves on the terrace under the windows of the King's apartments. There was a great quantity of straw strewn upon the steps, which had been placed there to enable the Dragoons to ride down the steps into the garden, from the other side of the château. They sat down on the straw, and after some time a voice was heard, calling upon Scheffer by name. Scheffer heard it, "but," said he, "I was too much absorbed with the thoughts which the grave events passing before me engendered, to pay any attention to the call."—"Scheffer!" again cried the same voice, only this time still louder. "Who calls?" cried Scheffer. "It is I, the Queen." Scheffer sprang up, approached the château, and perceived the Queen at the *croisée*. He said, "What does your Majesty want with me?" I want you," said she, "to assist in conducting us out of the château. The King has abdicated, and we are going to depart." Scheffer and Oscar Lafayette immediately entered the château, in the intention to ascend to the King's apartments; but they had not got half way up when they met the King and Queen, their sons, and son's children, together with the Duchess of Orleans, and her two sons, all coming hurriedly down the stairs. The Queen said, "Scheffer, keep close to the King, your uniform will inspire respect." The King gave his right arm to the Queen, and they set out, proceeding through the gardens by the "*grande Allée*," and not "by a secret passage," as has been foolishly asserted. Scheffer walked close to the King, on his left side: the rest of the party following in their train; these consisting of perhaps ten or a dozen persons. Among the group was Scheffer's own brother, Arnold, who had joined them on the way through the gardens. A small escort of cuirassiers accompanied the party, to protect them on each side. Nobody spoke a word, except on one occasion, when an officer, unmindful of a bough of a tree, which hung low, was swept off his horse by it. The King suddenly stopped and said, "Pray, somebody go and assist that officer." When they reached the "*Grille*," which opens on the "*Place de la Concorde*," there was found a considerable mass of people, and Scheffer had some uneasy misgivings as to what might happen. There were no carriages provided, as has been stated by M. Thiers and others. But two public carriages—not "*Fiacres*," but what are called "*Remises*"—chanced to be within hail, and were accordingly brought, by one of the attendants, to the spot at which the royal party had arrived. Scheffer,  
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knowing the impossibility of getting them away unrecognised, took off his "Schako," and waving it in the air, called out to the people—"Le Roi part, vive le Roi!" The people offered no opposition, but very few voices responded to his cheer. Scheffer then assisted the Queen into one of the "Rémises," the King after her: then one child after another was taken on to their laps, until five souls were in the carriage, and it could hold no more. The King kept calling out, "Où est donc mon porte-feuille? Sauvez mon porte-feuille, pour l'amour de Dieu!" Scheffer caught the portfolio from the hands of one of the attendants, and threw it up to M. Dumas, who had mounted beside the coachman. The second carriage having been filled in like manner with the first, the royal party drove off at a rapid pace (still escorted by the Dragoons), and took the road to Passy, along the "Quais."

'There remained now standing on the Place de la Concorde, the Duchess of Orleans, with her two sons, M. Jules de Lasteyrie, M. Scheffer, and (I think) two or three more royal personages; perhaps the Duchess of Montpensier, but whom they were I really cannot specify. Just then M. ——— joined the party, and offered his arm to the Duchess of Orleans, and thus all re-entered the garden of the Tuileries. The noise of the insurgents pouring in numbers down the Rue de Rivoli sounded alarmingly upon their ears. "M. ———!" exclaimed Scheffer, "you must allow me to say that your name is not held in sufficient respect for you to be of any use to the Duchess of Orleans; you had better leave us; I will take care of her Royal Highness to the best of my ability." ———, without making any answer, at once quitted them. The Duchess now took Scheffer's left arm, and he held the young Comte de Paris with his right hand, followed by M. Jules de Lasteyrie with the Duc de Chartres. They retraced their steps towards the château. When they reached the centre of the gardens, Scheffer heard a loud crash in the direction of the Rue de Rivoli. The mob had forced the iron gates, and were thronging into the gardens. Scheffer called out, "Vive la Duchesse d'Orleans!"—"Vive le Comte de Paris!" The mob, although offering them no molestation, seemed uncertain whether to respond or not. The young Comte de Paris took off his cap, and bowed repeatedly to the populace. The boy manifested no symptom of fear, preserving entire self-possession. One of the mob cried out, "Un roi ne se découvre pas!"

'They passed out of the grille, on to the "Quai," and walked along by the river side to the Chamber of Deputies. Scheffer stood near them during that terrible stormy scene, which ultimately resulted in the proclamation of the Republic. M. Jules Lasteyrie, after this was over, managed to get the Duchess out, through the President's garden, and conducted her (as is well known) to the "Invalides." The Duc de Chartres was placed, during the tumult, in some part of the building. Scheffer told the Duc de Nemours that the young boy was in a place of safety, and that the Duc himself had better "get out of the way," his person being well known. The Duke asked one of the National Guard to lend him his uniform. The man did so, putting on the

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the Prince's clothes in exchange; and so the Duke made his way out. "I could not have quitted this place," said he, "until I knew that Chartres was safe.—"

It was thus Scheffer's singular fortune to speak both the prologue and epilogue to the 'imperial theme'—first, to bear the crown of France in his pocket to Louis Philippe, and afterwards to conduct the King from his palace into a hackney-coach, a dethroned and exiled sovereign. The *coup de théâtre* was on a great scale, and gives matter for serious consideration. We all remember how, after his sudden overthrow of the government, the Monarchy was succeeded by a Republic—how the populace of Paris, displeased at the moderation of the Provisional Government, attempted in June a further revolution—and how General Cavaignac, at the head of the Line and the National Guard, gave a bloody check to the Red Republicans, after three days' incessant fighting and a great loss of life. Scheffer commanded a battalion of the National Guard throughout the struggle, and was engaged at the Barrier St. Denis in the thick of the fight. His battalion carried one of the principal barricades at the point of the bayonet, and otherwise highly distinguished itself. The following incident was related to us by Scheffer's servant, who had a great respect for his master's military prowess, and but a moderate opinion of his talents as an artist. During the first attack of the barricades Scheffer had ridden forwards to rally his men, who were straggling to the rear under a heavy fire; he was almost alone, and became a mark for the insurgents. One man in particular had scrambled forwards to within a few yards of him, and covered Scheffer several times with his musket, but paused, uncertain whether it were not better to knock over a National Guard, who had alone stood his ground with his commanding officer, and held a musket ready charged. 'Visez bien, mon ami,' said Scheffer to his companion, pointing to the *bonnet rouge*, and interposing his horse to give his friend cover, 'et voyons qui tire le mieux!' Both fired at the moment, and the Red Republican toppled over the barricade at their feet. After the conclusion of the struggle the government presented Scheffer with the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour, but he declined the distinction, refusing to reap any honour gained in a strife with his fellow countrymen. He thought the struggle was more worthy to be forgotten than to be commemorated, even by those who had fought in the defence of order.

The election of the President followed close on the struggle of June, and Louis Napoleon made choice of a ministry well calculated to form a stable government; but the expedition to Rome in 1849 alienated the liberal party, and weakened

his ministry. Impatient and depressed at the drift of affairs, Scheffer quitted Paris for Holland, and spent some days on his way thither with the Queen of the Belgians. Mrs. Grote has printed several extracts from letters written during this journey to his daughter Cornélie, by this time the wife of M. Marjolin, and we regret that our space will not permit us to give more than a single passage. The following observations appear to us interesting on account of the open manner in which the artist speaks of his own works:—

“Voilà huit jours,” he writes, in October 1849, “que j’ai quitté le travail! Je croyais que cela me reposerait la tête, et le contraire me paraît arriver. Il est vrai que j’ai vu une quantité de belles choses qui redoublent mon désir de me remettre à peindre. Je sens si bien tout ce qui me manque—non pour compléter mon talent, ce serait folie d’y songer—mais pour rendre suffisamment ce que je désire exprimer, et pour avoir un côté tout-à-fait saillant. Quand on voit cette vérité si frappante d’expression chez les anciens peintres Allemands, cette perfection de forme et de beauté chez les Italiens—puis, l’exécution forte et saisissante des peintres Hollandais—je sens que je suis un “Mittelding,” et cela je n’aurais pas dû l’être; et je tâcherai au moins de ne pas le rester dans le peu que je pourrai produire encore.”—And again:—“J’ai vu ici de merveilleux tableaux de la vieille école Hollandaise. Je commence pourtant à estimer un peu plus mon propre talent. . . . Je crois que j’ai touché une corde dont les autres n’ont pas essayés. Quand je reviendrai chez moi, je crois que j’aurai fait des progrès.”

From the Hague Scheffer extended his journey as far as Eisenach, in order to pay his respects to the Duchess of Orleans, after which he returned through Rotterdam to Paris.

On Scheffer’s return from Holland he married the widow of General Baudrard, a lady of English extraction, to whom he had been for many years deeply attached. Although devoted to her husband, she indulged in a jealous and exacting affection little fitted to bring happiness in its train, and which embittered, although it could not quench, Scheffer’s tender love and regard. Her feeble health and unequal spirits did not deprive her of a great charm of person and manner, which will be remembered by all who were *habituated* of Scheffer’s atelier.

Scheffer’s house, as we remember it at this time, was approached from the Rue Chaptal by an avenue of acacias, over which the green of spring spread very early in the year. A large cedar-tree shaded the front of the house, and gave an air of quiet and seclusion to the place. Two studios, which faced each other, stood a little in advance from the rest of the buildings, and here Scheffer passed most of his time, either

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at his work, which few were permitted to interrupt, or among his friends, who often visited him of an afternoon. Thiers and Guizot, Cavaignac and Lamoricière, Manin, the Venetian patriot, Vermeil, the Protestant pastor, a man of great eloquence and piety, Viardot and his wife, Béranger and Lamartine, Chopin, the composer, Thierry, the historian, and very many others whose names are well known, were members of this society. Scheffer's studio partook as much of the drawing-room as the workshop, and was made graceful by all the accompaniments of a woman's occupations; for his daughter was his close and constant companion. In this assemblage Scheffer was the life of the conversation. He was not above the middle height, but upright and broad-chested, with a fine brow and animated eyes. His utterance, quick and impatient, seemed to fail under the rush of ideas that hurried through his mind. His conversation was most original, and his ideas more suggestive than accurate. Although profoundly Teutonic and Northern in character, he had entirely identified himself with the French people, from whom he had adopted many very Gallic opinions, amongst others a strong dislike to England and the English, against whom it was his custom to rail with a good-natured petulance to his English friends. He held money and all money-transactions in extreme contempt, and felt a passionate admiration for courage and military glory. Had he not been born a painter he would have died a soldier; indeed it was by no fault of his that he was not shot through the body a dozen times during his life; and these occasions he always recalled with a lively satisfaction. He was frank in his affections, but kept up a very deliberate animosity against those whom he despised, or who had transgressed what he considered the line of honour.

We have hitherto followed Scheffer at some length through the more eventful period of his career. Its decline was clouded by a succession of sad yet common misfortunes, fitted to deprive life of its sweetness, and make death seem the peaceful close of an overwrought day.

Shortly after his marriage, Scheffer came to England, that he might assist at the funeral of his late sovereign, Louis Philippe, who died at Claremont in 1850. He expressed a strong repugnance to visit our country, and admired little in London save the Elgin Marbles, on which he wrote, in a letter to his daughter quoted by Mrs. Grote, with a noble and true enthusiasm.

The *coup d'état* in December 1851 produced a fierce and lasting influence on his mind. The political aspirations of thirty years were blighted in an hour, and the fragile fabric of French liberty crumbled into dust. After vainly endeavouring to rouse

some resistance by beat of drum in his quarter of Paris, where he commanded the National Guard, he returned to his house in a state of hopeless dejection, which is very eloquently described by Mrs. Grote, who was at Paris at the time, and often in his society.

In 1853 Scheffer lost his favourite brother and intimate companion Arnold, who died in his arms, after a lingering and painful illness. The deaths of Madame Scheffer and Augustin Thierry, his oldest friend, soon after followed;—they expired within a few days of each other. When such gaps as these are made in the array of life, they do away with the pride of conflict, and dispose us to expect in stillness the conclusion of the game. Whoever has attained to the age of sixty must stand in company with but a pitiful remnant of the band amidst whom he at first opened his career—happy if he has completed something, even should it have no relation to the cherished object for which he has laboured, and on which he bent the young vigour of his soul. With such a conviction Scheffer continued to work patiently and in the silence of his atelier, and completed during this period some of his finest works, among which we may mention the ‘Gémissement’ and the ‘Ruth and Naomi.’

In 1857 Scheffer was induced to return to England, tempted across the channel by the Manchester Exhibition; and in order that he might fulfil his promise to paint the portrait of the Queen Marie Amalie. He was much interested with the works of art assembled at Manchester, and greatly astonished at our English school of painting. The French are not famous for discovering any excellence in their neighbours, and British art has been little appreciated beyond the coasts of our own island. Our school had all the charm of a personal discovery to the mind of Scheffer, which was quick to render justice and generous in its admiration. From Manchester he paid a visit to Madame Jules Schwabe at Glyngarth, on the Menai Straits, where he partially recovered his strength and spirits.

Scheffer had scarcely returned to Paris when he was called to attend the funeral of Manin, the defender of Venice, who had been for several years his friend and companion. Manin's death was sudden, and Scheffer passed the greater part of a day and night in company with the corpse, to complete an unfinished likeness of his friend. Grief and excitement brought on a violent attack of illness, from which he recovered slowly. But scarcely was he again master of his breath and able to work, when the toll of the bell summoned him once more and for the last time to the burial of a friend. The Duchess of Orleans died at Claremont, and he hurried over to be present at her obsequies. The fatigue

fatigue of the journey, the sorrow of the time, the long ceremony and chilling cold of the vault, made a deadly impression on his frame; he reached London and fell ill, rallied only to cross the channel, and relapsed at his own house near Argenteuil. For a few days he appeared again to revive in the balmy air of the early summer, but the oil of life had been expended, and he breathed his last on the 15th of June, a little before sunset, without pain. The evening's light and pleasant breeze played through his open casement, accompanied by the peaceful sounds of a summer's twilight; but he knew their beauty no longer. He was attended by his daughter, and surrounded by several of his unfinished works, amongst which was his incomplete picture of 'The Angel of the Resurrection,' on which he was occupied a few hours before his death.

To sum up and deliver judgment on the career of any notable man is the rightful task of a subsequent rather than of a contemporary generation. Posterity only can duly appreciate, across the intervening sea of years, his amount of success or defeat, and the extent of his influence on succeeding times. For no influence, scarcely the most trivial, is extinguished with the close of life; and the dominion of a great mind radiates with a potency not limited by years or even ages. The career therefore of a man like Scheffer, who by the nature of his art appeals equally to the future and to the present time, and seeks to become the intimate of the unborn as well as of the living, is placed beyond the reach of any final judgment of ours. He has appealed, as all great men must appeal, to more than one generation, and from the award of posterity he will receive the amount of honour that is his due.

And yet, without pretending to a final judgment, we think we may point out some of those excellences which have already gained for Scheffer so wide a reputation, and specify certain defects which have withheld from him the applause of many. But for the purpose of such a survey it is requisite that we should, as far as we are able, place ourselves in the point of view of the artist himself; for Criticism is less the science of condemnation than of appreciation. Were it otherwise, she would be a blight to all rising excellence, and a check on the civilisation of mankind. Let us bear in mind, then, that it was the peculiar and almost exclusive object of Scheffer's art, to depict the emotions of mankind, the range of passion and sentiment under the good and evil influences of our nature; and that he held the subordinate accessories of art in disregard, in comparison.

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We shall not attempt to run through the long catalogue of pictures we have left unmentioned—some of which are among Scheffer's noblest labours, and well worthy of special notice did time and space permit. It is sufficient to remark that the series, taken as a whole, has this surpassing merit, that it presents us with a variety of expression nowhere to be equalled in the works of any painter we can call to mind. Giotto, Fra Angelico, Leonardo da Vinci, and Raphael, the great masters of emotion among the Italian schools of painting, are comparatively limited in their range. No doubt, they have depicted some of the more absolute passions, such as hatred and terror, or the ecstatic emotions of love and beatitude, with surpassing vigour; but they did not attempt to depict the more complex passions, where the intellect, rather than the senses, is associated with the emotion. Indeed, they could not portray what they seldom felt, and what the age they lived in was not ripe to understand. It is in this power that Scheffer appears to us unrivalled. He has given us in many of his works expressions of a very complicated character, conceived so finely and carried out with such truth to nature, that the features indicate more vividly than any words could do the nature of the emotions which conflict within. In this excellence his series from 'Faust' is eminently great. In his head of Satan tempting Our Lord, in his head of Byron's Giaour, in that of Ulrich when his father Count Eberhard has cut the table-cloth between them, and in a crowd of other pictures, we find the same merit. And that he is equally fine in delineating the more simple emotions is evident when we call to mind his Paolo and Francesca, and the St. Augustine and his Mother. When we consider the supreme excellence of Scheffer in this, holding as he did so wide and lofty a range of expression in absolute command, it is much to be lamented that he was not equally capable of imparting a corresponding variety to the features through which he gave it presentment and utterance. All his heads may be classed under half-a-dozen types, and even these bear a strong family likeness. In this respect he is far inferior to the old masters of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, whose works are a clear reflex and mirror of the varied life that swarmed around them—nay, he stands here second to many painters of his own time. This defect, which grew with the advance of years, proceeded from an exclusive and (as it were) inseeking turn of mind, and might have been combated with success—had he chosen to make the effort—even in middle age.

Here, then, we touch upon that peculiarity in Scheffer's mind—the source alike of his strength and weakness as an artist—

artist—that intense individuality, native to his Teutonic strain of birth and thought, which, while it gave him excellence in the highest sphere of art, blinded him to the just demands of those of lesser elevation. The abhorrence of all extraneous influence grew to be a principle, almost a mania, in his mind and action. Not only did he avoid any familiarity with the paintings of his own day, but he was unwilling to converse with the famous works of other times,—not only did he set his face against the practice of copying after the ancient masters, but he condemned the habit of pilgrimage to the great shrines of art in Italy. He had a rooted objection to leaving home, and went abroad only when it was absolutely necessary. The indulgence of this habit of mind narrowed and cramped his ideas in a thousand ways, and dwarfed his genius, which was unable consequently to expand itself except in certain directions. The affluence, that can only arise from an intimate commerce with all nature, such as is visible in the great Italian masters, is totally wanting to Scheffer, and, in its stead, an arid poverty reigns throughout the accessories of his works. The total absence of landscape, for example, and even of a proper indication of a sky in his back-grounds, is but one instance out of a hundred that might be mentioned of the same class. These deficiencies, which inflict but little pain on some minds, are intolerable to others, and jar so rudely on their nature as to preclude all sympathy with the noble qualities thus fenced off, with a hedge of thorns, from their apprehension. To be out of sympathy with a large section of mankind is of itself the proof of a serious defect in the views and practice of any artist; and is doubly to be regretted when, as in Scheffer's case—and the remark will apply to a school of earnest and able artists nearer home—the defect is in a sense voluntary, and within reach of a simple remedy, which it is in the power of every determined will to apply.

Although Scheffer was not a fine draughtsman, and never possessed that lively instinct of form, the birthright of some minds from nature, he nevertheless has produced many works excellent both in form and design; and even in his earlier pictures he can seldom be convicted of bad drawing. But colour and *chiar'-oscuro* were elements never much considered by him, and many of his pictures are painfully deficient in both. In this respect, the works he executed between the age of forty and forty-five are much the most complete, and exhibit a balance of qualities which we in vain seek in his later productions.

These defects, so evident to us, were also clearly perceived by Scheffer himself—he admitted them with the candour of his nature



nature; but unfortunately he grew to feel a perverse pleasure in the indulgence of his peculiar bent of disposition, goaded thereto by the opposite tendencies of French art, which had become more and more material—or, to use an Italian expression, naturalistic—in its aims. Thus his leaning to idealism was fostered by his contempt for the opposite extreme; and he fell into the great and besetting sin of impatient minds, that of cherishing one description of error through a hatred for its antagonistic vice.

We have now, as we believe, stated fairly the charge that will be brought against Scheffer when his works shall challenge for him before the tribunal of posterity a place among the great men that have added to the stores of mankind. How far such a charge is likely to dim his fame, we will not attempt to determine. Let it suffice to say that, when his works were exhibited in Paris, shortly after his death, in 1859, and the rooms were crowded with the labours of a long and varied career, there was not one picture which—if spirits revisit this earth, and can rejudge the labours they have left behind them—could have raised in the spirit of Scheffer a pang of remorse; but, on the contrary, the struggle of man towards a purer and juster state of being was everywhere visible—humanity appeared under its noblest inspiration—life in its truest aim,—till the influence of the artist's works seemed to fill the rooms of the Exhibition with the atmosphere of a silent and constant prayer.

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ART. VI.—*A Handbook for Travellers in Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, and Somersetshire.* New Edition. With a Travelling-Map. London, 1859.

SO great has been the amount of patient industry that has been applied, during the course of the present century, to the elucidation of antiquarian problems, and so successful have been the new modes of investigation, that very few of the riddles which puzzled and perplexed our forefathers now remain to excite the interest, or to exercise the ingenuity, of the present generation of antiquaries. Little remains for them but to follow in the steps of those who have preceded them, and thus to complete the exploration of the labyrinths, the clue to whose windings has already been discovered.

During the last thirty years the great mystery of the Egyptian hieroglyphics has been cleared away; and, although we may not yet be able to read all the inscriptions that adorn the walls of the temples and tombs that crowd the valley of the Nile, with the same

same certainty as if they were couched in alphabetical writing, we nevertheless know the nature of their contents; we can fix the relative ages of every monument in that wondrous valley; and we can ascertain, with tolerable precision, the approximate date of the reigns of her kings, and of the buildings which they erected. Still more extraordinary are the fruits that have been obtained from the sagacious guesses of Grotefend at the beginning of the century. These have ripened into the discovery, not only of the exact meaning of the Persepolitan inscriptions, but into the approximate reading of the inscriptions which adorn the palaces of Nineveh and of Babylon, and have revealed in some measure the long-lost history of that once famous kingdom. The learning of Prinsep has enabled him to decipher all the unread inscriptions of India, and the age of her mysterious cave-temples is now no longer a stumbling-block to the antiquary. Even the strange scribblings on the rocks in the Sinaitic peninsula are explained, and known to be matter of the least possible interest, either to the historian or the philologist.

Amidst these wonderful results two problems continue to defy the patience and the acumen of the learned of Europe. The inscriptions of Etruria are still unread, and Stonehenge and its cognate monuments are without a date or a history.

To those who have not tried it, the first seems one of the easiest problems which could be proposed. The alphabet in which the inscriptions are written is perfectly well known. The origin and history of the Etruscans are neither of them involved in much obscurity. The people were the cotemporaries of the Romans, who knew their language, and borrowed most of their institutions from them. Yet, with all this, not one word has been deciphered with certainty, and we do not know to which of the great families of nations the Etruscans belong, nor consequently to which class of languages we are to turn for hints to guide us in our researches. The other problem does not present so many hopeful features. The people who erected the so-called Druidical monuments were utterly illiterate; at all events, they have not left one single cotemporary record, either of their acts or their buildings. No single letter of an inscription has been found on any of their monuments, and, except in one instance in France, not one single architectural moulding or detail exists which can give us a hint of the age in which it was carved, or point to the style to which we must look for cognate examples. With these deficiencies it is not easy to see where we are to turn for the materials from which to elucidate their history. Yet we hope to show that such data do exist as will enable us to fix  
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with tolerable certainty the date when most of their buildings were erected, and to point out the uses to which they were applied.

Whatever may be the cause of the mystery that still hangs over the origin and purposes of Stonehenge, it certainly is not owing to want of industry or ingenuity on the part of those who have formed the numberless hypotheses which from time to time have been so confidently put forward. No monument has attracted more attention from antiquaries, nor can any one be named regarding which more books have been written or more theories broached during the last two centuries.

It would indeed be difficult to find a building more likely to invite speculation than Stonehenge. There is a grandeur even in its situation which adds immensely to its interest, standing as it does in the centre of a vast open plain, where till very recently no sign of husbandry was to be seen, nor any dwelling or marks of occupation by living man. Every part of the plain is dotted with little groups of barrows marking the monuments of chiefs who had no means of recording their deeds or even their names, but trusted to the rude mound of earth and the pious memories of their children to transmit to posterity the memorials of those acts they seemed so anxious to perpetuate. When viewed from a distance the vastness of the open tract in which Stonehenge stands takes considerably from its impressiveness, but when the observer gets close to its great monolithic masses the solitary situation lends it a grandeur which scarce any other building of its class can be said to possess. Its dimensions, although its size is inferior to many other structures, are by no means contemptible: its diameter is greater than the width of the portico of the Parthenon at Athens, the outer circle of stones being 108 feet, or almost exactly the internal diameter of the dome of St. Paul's. It is not, however, to its dimensions as measured on the plan that it owes its impressiveness, but to that description of monolithic grandeur which no other building in Europe possesses to the same extent. The outer circle is composed of 40 stones, each standing 13 feet above the soil, and joined by a single architrave nearly three feet in height; within these stand the five great trilithons, rising in height, from the pair nearest the entrance, which stand nearly 20 feet above the soil, to the great central group, which reaches 25 feet in height. The two uprights measure each 26 feet 3 inches, but about four feet are buried in the soil. Between the outer circle and inner trilithons stand some twenty stones, about six or seven feet in height, though how disposed it is not easy now to ascertain, and within the choir or central oval some ten or twelve more

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in pairs, two being placed symmetrically a little in front of each of the openings between the great trilithons. All of these are of a different stone, porphyry or granite, brought from a distance, and were probably votive stones, added after the original design was completed. With the exception of these thirty or thirty-two smaller stones, all the original parts of the temple are composed of Sarsens or grey wethers, a fine silicious sandstone found deposited in thin crusts in the bottom of the valleys all over the Wiltshire downs. The Stonehenge blocks have been rudely chiselled and squared into the required shape, but the exposure to the weather during fourteen centuries has so eaten away the softer parts, and the lichens have so rounded off the sharper edges, that there is perhaps no monument in contemplating which we are more inclined to forget man's agency, and in the chaos of ruin in which it now exists to fancy we are looking on some freak of nature which had fashioned these gigantic masses, and heaped them together in such unfamiliar forms and such strange confusion.

That such a monument should puzzle the learning of antiquaries, while it excited their imagination, can easily be conceived; yet we can scarcely understand how Inigo Jones, who was the first of the new school who broached the subject, could see in it a temple of the Tuscan order of architecture built by the Romans, and dedicated by them to the god *Cœlus*. This theory seems to have proved perfectly satisfactory to that old pedant James I., at whose request it was written in 1620; but soon after its publication by his son-in-law, John Webb, it was attacked by Dr. Charleton, who had the honour to have a poetical epistle addressed to him on the occasion by Dryden, which bears for its title—'To my honoured friend Dr. Charleton, on his learned and useful works; but more particularly his treatise of Stonehenge, by him restor'd to the true founders.' These 'true founders,' according to the theory of Dr. Charleton, were the Danes. His argument produced a sharp rejoinder from Mr. Webb, who strongly supported his father-in-law's Vitruvian theory, but both were put aside by Aylett Sammes, who proved, to his own satisfaction at least, that the building was of Phœnician origin, and Keysler, in 1720, was equally clear that it was built by the Anglo-Saxons.

At last, in 1740, the industrious Dr. Stukeley published his ponderous tomes on Stonehenge and Avebury, and with a vast display of learning, but a sad want of logic, strove to prove that Stonehenge was a temple of the British Druids, built by some Tyrian Hercules long before the Roman Conquest, and that Avebury was a *Dracontium*, or Serpent Temple, of even more remote antiquity. The theory was elaborated with a minuteness most  
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amusing, not only by fixing the place of the altar on which the human victims were sacrificed, but pointing out all the rites that attended the sacrifices, and allotting to each its particular locality in the temple. The pains he took to measure and explore by himself,—for which we owe him a debt of gratitude,—coupled with his apparent learning and undoubted honesty of purpose, seem to have impressed his cotemporaries and successors with the conviction that he had in reality solved the difficulty. Wood, Cooke, Smith, King, Davies, all followed in the same track—each only adding some little variation or engrafting some pet theory of his own. Even Sir Richard Colt Hoare, one of the best and safest of antiquaries, does not dare to dissent.

In later times, it is true, the Indian Maurice put in a claim for the Assyrian Bel, and Mr. Duke, tired of the bloody rites of Stukeley and his followers, has wished to devote the temple to the more scientific purposes of an observatory, on what grounds it is difficult to understand. Neither Stonehenge nor Avebury possesses a gnomon like the great structural observatories of India, which might be useful in observing heavenly phenomena, nor arcs or divided circles of any kind; nor do they represent in the most elementary manner any system of astronomical facts that we are acquainted with. The whole theory is entirely without any basis. We have no record that the Druids, or whoever built these temples, had any peculiar skill in astronomy—no hint that, if they had, they took this strange way of recording their knowledge—and no proof that, if they did, any person either in ancient or modern times would be able to understand what they so clumsily expressed. The notion may safely be left to die a natural death; but the Druidical theory of Dr. Stukeley has become a part of our stock-belief, and ‘Druidical remains’ is the generic name applied to all the rude stone monuments in every part of the country. Yet it would be difficult to point out on what this nomenclature rests. What we know of the Druids is simply that their worship was nemoral, their rites cruel and bloody, and that they were found in France principally in the forests of the Carnutes—in England in the island of Anglesea. No classical or native authors mention having met with Druids in this island out of that one locality. Tacitus is distinct both as to Suetonius first discovering them in that remote corner, and as to the burning and cutting down of their groves in order to root them out. Down to the time of Constans and Valens, it seems to have been there only that the Roman generals ever encountered them. It may also be remarked that though the word ‘Druid’ seldom if ever occurs without the word ‘grove’ or ‘tree’ being mentioned in connection with their rites, the word ‘stone’ never occurs in the

the same passage, and there is not a shadow of proof that this people ever raised a stone or built a stone temple, much less that they erected Stonehenge or other similar monuments. It need hardly be pointed out that no grove ever grew at Stonehenge. The soil is so thin as to be incapable of supporting large trees; while, as a general rule, these so-called Druidical remains are found on barren moors, on the remote sea-coasts of Brittany or the Orkneys, where trees never grew or could grow. On the other hand, though trees and groves were rife between Chartres and Rheims, or in the ancient country of the Carnutes, not one single Druidical remain is to be found within its limits. But it is needless to pursue the refutation further. The whole argument of the supporters of the theory is nothing more than this: there was an order of priests called Druids in Britain when Cæsar invaded the country, and when Tacitus and Strabo wrote; and there is a class of monuments in this country regarding whose origin we know nothing: therefore it is assumed these monuments were built by the Druids.

It is little wonder that sober-minded people look on the solution as hopeless, considering that, according to the antiquaries enumerated above, we have for builders a Tyrian Hercules, a nameless Phœnician, a pre-Christian Druid, a Roman, a Dane, and an Anglo-Saxon; and for purposes, the proof that it was a temple dedicated to Hercules, Cælus, Bel, Moloch, and to the gods of the Druids, whoever they were; and lastly, that it was the original of Greenwich Observatory. Are there then no data on which to base a more reasonable theory? Must we always be wandering in uncertainty regarding the oldest and the most attractive of our national antiquities? Let us begin by looking at what tradition and the older writers say on the subject before mere book-learning and pedantry took the place of common-sense.

As we have already stated, there seems to be no cotemporary record whatever of the building of Stonehenge, or of any of its cognate monuments, and no mention of it by any name by which it can be recognised in the works of any author anterior to the Norman Conquest. After this period the monkish annalists have mixed up their account of it with such a mass of legends and fables, that modern antiquaries have rather unreasonably rejected the wheat because they found it mixed up with so much chaff, instead of trying to sift it and see if any grains of truth remained at the bottom of the heap.

The most detailed account of the building is found in the 'Topography of Ireland,' by Giraldus Cambrensis, written about the year 1187. After giving an account of a similar monument to be found at Kildare, he goes on to say, 'These stones, according  
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to the British history, Aurelius Ambrosius, King of the Britons, procured Merlin to bring, by supernatural means, from Ireland into Britain; and in order that he might leave some famous monument of so great a treason to future ages, set them up, in the same order in which they had formerly stood, on that spot where the flower of the British nation fell by the cut-throat practice of the Saxons, and where, under the pretence of peace, the ill-secured youth of the kingdom by murderous design were slain.'

The account of this massacre by Hengist, as given by Nennius, who wrote in the ninth century, is identical with the account of the same transaction given by Giraldus. It took place apparently in the year 461. The war continued between Ambrosius and Hengist till the year 467, when Hengist was taken prisoner and put to death by Ambrosius.

Jeffrey of Monmouth, translating apparently from the ancient 'British Chronicle' of Tysilio, written about 700 A.D., begins his account of the building of Stonehenge by saying that 'Aurelius, wishing to commemorate those who had fallen in battle and who were buried in the convent at Ambresbury, thought fit to send for Merlin to counsel him as to the proper monument to be erected to the slain.' He then goes on to tell the same story as Giraldus, with more detail, and more miraculous circumstances. Henry of Huntingdon mentions it as one of the wonders of Britain, but merely to ask 'Quare ibi constructi sunt?' a question to which he gives no answer. Camden, in 1556, mentions it as the common report that 'Ambrosius Aurelianus, or his brother Uther Pendragon, did rear them up by the aid of Merlin, that great mathematician, in memory of the Britons who, by the treachery of the Saxons, were slain at a parley. Others say that the Britons erected this for a stately sepulchre of the same Ambrosius in the very place where he was slain by the enemy's sword.'

The Welsh Triads seem in more instances than one to allude to this building, and so far as their meaning can be made out confirm all that we have quoted, but their testimony is so indistinct that it is impossible to rely upon it. The general result to be derived from the assertions of all those who expressed an opinion on the subject before the Vitruvian theory of Inigo Jones, simply is, that Stonehenge was a cenotaph, or memorial kirk,\* erected by a British king, Aurelius Ambrosius, to com-

\* There can be very little doubt but that the word *kirk*, or, as we soften it into church, is identical with the French *cirque* or Welsh *cyrch*, a centre or circle. It was applied by the German and Celtic nations to their Christian places of worship, because in early times these were almost invariably circular, but also it may be assumed because the pre-Christian places of worship were of that form, and probably had that name. Kirkdale, in Cumberland, for instance, takes its name from an ancient circular temple of earth which is called the *Kirk* to this day, and many other examples might be cited.



memorate the death of those who had fallen in battle in the great struggle with Hengist, or who were slain by his treachery. So consentaneous is the testimony, and so probable the story, that we might suppose some very strong reason existed for rejecting it, but the probabilities of the case, on the contrary, seem so strongly to confirm it, that less evidence would almost suffice to establish this as the true history of the monument.

In the first place we have the negative evidence of the total silence of all the Greek and Roman geographers with regard to these circles. It is true, that, as no Pausanias ever visited these shores, it would not be wonderful if no mention were found of such a monument as Stonehenge; but as these circles exist everywhere, from the 'Standing Stones of Stennis' in the Orkneys, to the Botallick circles near Penzance in Cornwall, and were no doubt in former times ten times more numerous, it seems very unlikely that no classical author should have alluded to this mode of honouring their dead, or worshipping their gods, on the part of the natives of this country. The Romans could not possibly have been ignorant of their existence, as Old Sarum, where four of their great roads meet, is hardly six miles from Stonehenge, and another of their roads passes within a mile of Avebury, and cuts across its two avenues. Yet we have detailed accounts of the worship of the Druids, and of the modes of burial adopted by the natives, not only in one but in several authors, while no mention is made of these stone circles, which certainly are, and were, the most remarkable works of the native Britons.

Roman coins have been frequently found by those who have been digging in and about Stonehenge. These were never in such sites as would render it certain that they had existed there before the monument itself; but in 1797, when Mr. Cunnington was exploring the holes formed by the fall of one of the great trilithons, he found fragments of fine black Roman pottery in the bottom of the pits, and consequently under the base of the great stones. He suggests that they may have fallen into the pits afterwards; and as this is possible, though very improbable, it will not do to rely too much upon the circumstance, but, like the coins and other fragments of Roman pottery discovered about the place, it must be considered as strong presumptive evidence that the building was erected after Roman times.

This view is further confirmed by the ordinance of the building, the amount of art shown in hewing the stones into shape, and the exactness with which the upper stones are fitted to the lower ones by tenons and mortices. From all we know we have no reason to believe that before the Roman Conquest the Britons were capable of moving such masses, or of fashioning them

them with such art, or of arranging them with such regard to architectural effect. If we admit the end of the fifth century to be the true epoch of the erection, this is easily understood; for the Britons had then the advantage of all that was taught them by the Romans. It also explains why Stonehenge alone of these circular buildings was erected with hewn stones, and with a view to a complicated architectural effect, for its reputed founder was by descent a Roman, and having been educated as such he naturally strove to instil some of the art of his ancestors into the works of his subjects, while Avebury, and the other buildings of purely British origin, still retained the impress of the rude conceptions of uncivilized races.

If from Stonehenge we pass to the neighbouring circles at Avebury we do not find much that at first sight throws any light on our inquiries. No ancient author mentions the place by name, and no local traditions hint at the time or the purposes for which it was erected. Silbury Hill, however, is not quite so mute, and does furnish one or two indications of no small value. For this purpose it is necessary to assume that it forms a cotemporaneous part of the arrangement. This, however, can hardly be doubted, as it forms so symmetrical a portion of the whole, standing as it does exactly opposite to the centre of the temple, and almost exactly half way between the two great avenues which stretch out like arms as if to embrace it. It has, indeed, been more than once remarked that if you take a pair of compasses and place one leg on Silbury Hill, and the other at the exact distance of a Roman mile, you describe the avenues, and pass through the centre of the Temple itself. This has been used as an argument by Rickman and others for its post-Roman design; but the coincidence may be accidental, and the avenues, if meant for a semicircle, are so badly drawn that little reliance can be placed on such an indication.

There is another indication, however, of much more value, which is that the Roman road from Bath to Marlborough either passes under the hill, or makes a sudden bend to get round it in a manner that no Roman road, in Britain at least, was ever known to do. Unfortunately the spread of cultivation has obliterated the road for nearly a mile on either side of the hill itself; for, like all the roads in the down country, it was neither paved nor metalled, so that no traces of its course remained when once the plough had passed over it. Still no one standing on Oldborough Down, and, casting his eye along its straight unbending line, can avoid seeing that it runs straight at the centre of Silbury Hill. It is true it may have diverged just before hitting it, but nothing can be more unlikely. It would have

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have been just as easy for the Roman engineer to have carried its arrow-like course a hundred yards to the right. This indeed would have been a preferable line, looked at from a Roman point of view,—straighter for Marlborough, to which it was tending, and fitting better to a fragment of the road found beyond the village of Kennet. But all this was disregarded if the hill existed at that time, and the road runs straight at its heart, as if on purpose to make a sharp turn to avoid it,—a thing as abhorrent to a Roman road-maker as a vacuum is said to be to nature. From a careful examination of all the circumstances of the case, the conclusion seems inevitable that Silbury Hill stands *on* the Roman road, and consequently must have been erected subsequently to the time of the Romans leaving the country. As excavations have proved that it was not a burying-place, it probably is a monument erected to commemorate some event which took place there. It may be that a battle was decided on this spot, and it may be that the dead of the victorious army were buried beneath the vallum, or in the circles of the neighbouring temple at Avebury. Whether this were so or not, we may rest tolerably sure that Silbury Hill, for whatever purpose erected, was heaped up after the departure of the Romans from this country.

That Avebury was a burying-place seems tolerably clear from the following passage, disinterred by the late Mr. Kemble from the '*Codex Diplomaticus Œvi Saxonici*.' A Saxon conveyancer, in describing the boundaries of the estate of Overton, which lies between Marlborough and Avebury, begins his description at Kennet and Wodensden;\* thence proceeds to the Wansdyke; and after going round the township through a number of well-known places, comes back to Kennet, where he adds these remarkable words—'thence northward up along the Stone-row, thence to the burial-places.' That the Stone-row was the Kennet avenue no one can doubt, and that the burial-places were the Avebury circle, is, to say the least of it, extremely probable.

If Stukeley had not been determined to find a *Dracontium* at Avebury, he probably would have arrived at this conclusion long ago, for he records that, 'when Lord Stawell, who owned the manor of Abury, levelled the vallum on the side of the town next the church where the barn now stands, the workmen came to the original surface of the ground, which was easily discernible by

\* Everything in this neighbourhood is redolent of Woden; for, besides Wodensden, the great Wansdyke was originally called Wodensdyke. The great battle where Ceawlin was defeated in 591 was at Wodensbeorh, close by, between Avebury and Swindon. The hill between Avebury and Silbury, enclosed by the two avenues, is still called Waden or Woden Hill, and other instances occur all over this part of the country.

a black stratum of mould upon the chalk. Here they found large quantities of buck-horns, bones, oyster-shells, and wood-coals. The old man who was employed in the work says there was a quantity of a cartload of the horns, that they were very rotten, and that there were many burnt bones among them.' If this be so, the mystery of Avebury may easily be cleared up by a section being cut, or a tunnel bored through the vallum. If burned human bones are found, no one will doubt that the Saxon records are correct, though it hardly requires this testimony to prove that it was, like almost all the circular buildings throughout the world, dedicated to the memory of the dead, and not to the worship of any living God.

After Stonehenge and Avebury the most important group of circles in the south of England is that at Stanton Drew, in Somersetshire. They possess a tradition, such as it is, that the place was erected by Keyna, the daughter of a Welsh prince who lived in the fifth century, and who, having crossed the Severn in search of a secluded spot where she might devote herself to contemplation, fixed on Stanton Drew. Then follows the story of the snakes, which need hardly be repeated. The one point which at present interests us is the date of the fifth century, which is given as the time of its erection.

The well-known Kits-Cotty-house is always assumed to be the grave of Katigren, who was killed in the battle of Aylesford fighting against Hengist; and the neighbouring circles of Ad-dington across the Medway are in like manner believed to be the burying-places or to have been erected in memory of those who fell in that struggle. Bruath Arthur, or Caermarthenshire, carries its date in its name. Even Rolldrich, in Oxfordshire, is irreverently ascribed to Rollo the Dane; and though this can hardly be maintained, it is at least curious that every shadow of tradition that exists regarding these monuments should point to the time which elapsed between the departure of the Romans and the conquest by the Saxons as the period when they all were erected. The traditions may be too vague to be of much value in themselves, but they become valuable when they confirm the evidences derived from other sources.

It was supposed that the cognate monuments of Brittany would throw some light on the subject; but they are perhaps even more uncommunicative than our own, or it may be that they have been less diligently explored. There is, however, one curious cromlech in that neighbourhood which lets us into a secret that was hardly to be expected. It is called the Dolmen de St. Germain-sur-Vienne, and is situated near Confolens in Charente. Its peculiarity is that the stone table, which,

which, as in all monuments of this class, is a rude unhewn mass of rock, is supported by four slender columns of what we would call early English architecture. There is no reason whatever to suppose that these are not the original supports of the roof, or that they replaced the rude blocks which, in all other known instances, support the upper stone of these buildings; and the only conclusion we can come to is that in the remote corners of France the old superstition still lingered, and the old mode of burying was still practised, even as late as the twelfth century.

One other indication of date is perhaps worth alluding to, which is, that the names given to these so-called Druidical remains are in almost all instances Saxon, which would hardly be the case if they had existed long before the Saxon period, and had had any well-known Celtic appellation applied to them. In many cases, such as Stonehenge, Stanton Drew, Stennis, &c., it is the good Saxon word for *stone* which is the main feature in their nomenclature. Stonehenge, it is true, seems to have been called *Choir Gaur*, somewhat absurdly translated by the monkish chroniclers 'the Giant's Dance.' *Chorea*, however, certainly meant then as now *Choir* as we now understand it, and *Gaur* may have been used as an adjective to mean simply 'gigantic choir,'—an appellation without any local meaning. Its real name was either '*Stan-Henge*' or 'hanging-stones, or, which is even more probable, '*Stan-Hengist*,' from being erected to commemorate those who fell in the war against that invader. Be this as it may, the final proof of the age of these buildings will probably be ascertained from well-directed excavations. Hitherto, from being assumed to be temples, none of those who have been so industrious in digging into barrows have ever thought of exploring the floors of these circles. Many, no doubt, like Stonehenge, were mere monuments,—many enclose sacred spots, as probably was the case at Rollrich; but Avebury was almost certainly sepulchral, and so, in all probability, were the greater part of the similar erections which still exist in most parts of these islands.

Pending some more systematic investigation we may rest content with the approximate certainty that all the great stone monuments of this country belong to the period that elapsed between the departure of the Romans and the conquest of the country by the Danes and Saxons—to that great Arthurian period to which we owe all that we know of the poetry and of the mythology of the Celtic race, and which seems to have been their culminating point in the early form of their civilization. In France, where the Saxons never went, the Celts seem to have retained their old faith and their old feelings to a much later period. But even if these propositions are not fully admitted, their rejection does not

affect the conclusion that Stonehenge itself was erected by Aurelius Ambrosius, who reigned from about 464 to 508 A.D., and who raised it as a memorial to those who fell in the Saxon war.

Although, therefore, there seems no great difficulty in fixing a date to these buildings with a tolerable degree of approximate certainty, and although we may feel sure that the people who erected them were Celts, we are not much further advanced in the object of our researches, for we know so little of the history of this people at that period, and are so deficient in correct information as to their manners and customs, and the particular forms of their worship or religion, that we are more inclined to look to the monuments to supply us with the particulars we are seeking, than to attempt to explain the uses of the buildings from the stores of our extraneous learning. In fact there does not appear to be any source from which light can be thrown on the question, unless it should be that we can discover a cognate style of architecture among some more civilized people, whose writings or sculptures should enable us, by comparing the known with the unknown, to solve the riddle.

It is evident that neither Greece, nor Rome, nor Egypt, will supply this deficiency. All the styles of the ancient Roman world have long been familiar to the learned, and every conceivable analogy has been exhausted without any approach to success; but there is one style still existing in India, which has only recently been examined, and which promises a better result. The Buddhist architecture in India, as practised from the third century B.C. to the seventh A.D., is essentially tumular, circular, and external, thus possessing the three great characteristics of all the so-called Druidical remains. The analogies of the two styles are not, it must be confessed, particularly apparent at first sight, for the obvious reason, that, though practised contemporaneously, the eastern style is the utterance of a highly civilized people, possessing an extensive literature, fond of sculpture, and carrying ornament in architectural detail to a most lavish extent, whereas the western style is that of a rude uncivilized race, who, if they knew of letters, have left no trace of them, never represented the human figure, and have not set up a single stone with a sculptured moulding upon it. To compare the two styles is, consequently, no easy task, and requires an intimate knowledge of their essentials which few possess, and which it is difficult to impart without entering into elaborate details.

The difficulty is further increased by the fact, that inhumation of the bodies of dead persons was rarely practised in India by any section of the population. Cremation seems always to have

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been the general practice, and the ashes were commonly either thrown into the river or dispersed in the air. The rites seem to have finished at the pyre, and the subsequent disposal of the remains to have been thought of little importance. The consequence is, that in India the tumulus is only a simulated tomb, and generally contains merely a relic of the deceased, a bone, a tooth, a lock of hair,—it may be only a garment, or some household article. It bore, in fact, exactly the same relation to a real tomb as the sarcophagus containing relics and forming the stone altar in Catholic churches bears to a stone coffin used for the inhumation of a body. It cannot be doubted but that both these kinds of relic-shrines are a refinement on the practical modes of burial used before they came to be adopted.

In India the tumulus is sometimes, though rarely, of earth, but generally of rubble masonry internally, and of hewn stone or brick on the external surface, and originally was apparently always surrounded by a circular enclosure of upright stones, though in later times this came to be attached to the building as an ornamental band, instead of an independent feature. In the most celebrated example in India, that at Sanchee, the circle consists of roughly-squared upright stone posts, joined at the top by an architrave of the same thickness as the posts, exactly as at Stonehenge; the only difference being the insertion of three stone rails between each of the uprights, which is a masonic refinement hardly to be expected among the Celts. What adds to their interest is, that almost every upright bears a short inscription to say that it is the 'Danam' (Donum) or gift of some pious individual who is named.

The tope or tumulus itself was raised either by an individual or a body of men; and although the principal one contained no relic, those around it did contain relics of Buddhist saints and missionaries who lived in the third century B.C., and whose names and acts are familiar to Indian antiquaries. The surrounding pillars were the offerings of the people afterwards, but, as far as can be judged from the characters used in the inscriptions, and other circumstances, they are all earlier than the Christian era.

Besides being used as burial-places, or as relic-shrines, the tumuli of India were frequently erected to mark spots where great events, either sacred or secular, had occurred. Of those which have been dug into and explored, hardly one-half have yielded relics; the rest denote battle-fields, or the localities visited by Buddha or his successors, and where they performed miracles, or some other notable act.

Besides the tumuli with their enclosing circles, there are in India circles of upright stones, which apparently enclose nothing.



nothing. Of these, the most celebrated is that at Amravati, on the Kistna. It now surrounds a tank, which certainly in modern times has been enlarged, but may have been a place where some one bathed, or where some miracle was wrought, which the stones were set up to commemorate and sanctify. Like every structure in India, the stones are covered with sculpture, but they are, otherwise, simply two concentric rows of upright stones, without any joining lintel, enclosing a space 193 feet in diameter. In its immediate proximity are numberless little circles of rude unhewn stones, identical with those in this country, but smaller. All which have been opened have been found to enclose funereal remains. There are also in Southern India cromlechs so like those which exist both here and in France, that they could not be distinguished if placed side by side. There are again kistvaens, sometimes similar to our own, but generally consisting of four upright slabs, with a flat one on the top, but all more or less squared either by splitting or hewing. Single obelisks, or as we should call them Menhirs, are among the commonest forms of Buddhist architecture. They are either isolated pillars, then called *Lâts*, put up to commemorate events or to bear inscriptions, or stand in pairs before the gates of temples.

Another form, but only now found in rock-cut examples, is the oblong choir, shaped into an apse at the altar end, and having an aisle winding around it, so as to admit of a circulation of processions round the sacred spot. Some hundreds of these exist cut in the rock in various parts of India, but there is only one example in a structural form, and that is among the tumuli at Sanchee.

Here then we have a group of monuments which, if not identical, must be admitted to bear a strong resemblance to those found in this country. We have tumuli which are burying-places, but more rarely in both countries than is generally supposed; tumuli which are relic-shrines, which many of those opened in this country certainly are; and tumuli which, like Silbury Hill, and many other blind barrows, are commemorative of the acts of living men, not depositories of their bones.

We have circles which enclose sacred spots, circles which enclose tombs, circles which enclose tumuli, like that at New Grange in Ireland, and the one destroyed at Avebury, but unfortunately we have in India no example of a circle enclosing a choir like that at Stonehenge. That such there may have been is more than probable, but they could not exist in rock-cut examples, and all the structural choirs except one having perished, their enclosures must have perished with them. The similarity

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of the Menhirs and lâts need hardly be insisted upon, nor the general peculiarity of the pyramid and relic worship so distinctly described by Clemens of Alexandria. This form of religion seems to be that which has covered the greater part of Europe and of Asia with the tumuli which meet the traveller's eye on every plain, and have hitherto been considered merely as the depositories of the dead bodies of extinct races of men.

These coincidences are too striking to be accidental, and would no doubt have been perceived long ago, but for the want of any recorded historical connexion between the races and the religions of two nations situated so far apart from each other. The answer is on everybody's lips—the one class of monuments belongs to a Buddhist people, and they are adapted to the rites of that religion; the other belongs to a people whose priests were Druids, and were used for their sanguinary rites. Unless it can be shown that the Druids came, as has often been suspected, from Dravida Desa, or the Madras country, or that the Buddhist religion once prevailed in these islands, the analogies, however ingenious, fail entirely in conveying conviction to the mind.

We have intimated that it is by no means clear that the Druids were the priests of the inhabitants of the south-eastern parts of this country; but that their votaries were to be found principally in the fastnesses of the Welsh mountains and the forests of Anglesea, and possibly also in the less cultivated forest-districts throughout the island. The truth seems to be, as is clearly expressed by Edwin Norris, the best and safest of our ethnographers and philologists, that—

‘All the accounts left us by ancient writers indicate two different races simultaneously inhabiting Britain; the one a tribe who went naked and painted their bodies, who dwelt in tents, and indulged in promiscuous intercourse, were ignorant of agriculture, used stone hatchets and arrows, and probably were cannibals; the others, men who built houses, dressed in black garments or skins, coined money, constructed chariots, grew a great deal of corn, extracted metals from the ore, made bronze tools, and probably had some use of letters. It seems difficult to believe that these were one people, though confounded by classical writers, who received without criticism the accounts brought home by casual travellers. But this was in early times, and the less civilized race may have been destroyed or absorbed by the time the Romans became better acquainted with the island; and yet Saint Jérôme in his youth, about the middle of the fourth century, saw the Attacotti, ‘gens Britannica,’ feeding on human flesh; and he says that these savages, though they had plenty of swine and cattle in their forests, preferred the flesh of men and women for their horrid feasts.’ (*‘Cornish Drama,’* vol. ii. p. 461.)

They were two people, in fact, occupying nearly the same relative positions

positions that the Red Indians of America do to the European colonists—not indeed differing to the same extent, but still so far dissimilar that the Roman and Greek geographers treated the more savage aboriginal race as the Britons *par excellence*, and dwelt on their peculiarities with zest, and described them in detail, while they seem to have passed over in silence the familiar habits and customs of the Belgic and other settlers, which offered no novelty to point a description or adorn a tale. Or it may be that the unscientific habits of that age prevented them from discriminating between the two races, and that, recording those facts which seemed most strange and interesting, they ascribed to the whole population peculiarities that belonged only to a small section. This ought not to astonish us when we reflect that, although we, with our boasted science, have possessed India for more than a century, and been familiar with it for twice that period, it is only now that we are beginning to be conscious that India is inhabited by two totally distinct races of men. The learned, it is true, have been for some time aware of this fact, but it has not yet found its way into our popular books. Even those who know India personally, and have made it their special study, are not so completely impressed with the importance of the circumstance as to take it as the guide to their speculations, and the ultimate test of all their reasonings on this subject. Yet without it India is a mystery, and neither its history, its religion, nor its arts can be understood.

Whether it is that human life is shorter in India than elsewhere, or that the enervating effects of the climate prevent families reaching the extent necessary to keep up the population to the required standard, or whether it arises from any other cause, certain it is that the great phenomenon of Indian history is, that, from the earliest period to the present hour, nation after nation, horde after horde, has been poured into her fertile plains without the cup ever overflowing, or even being full. The principal migration has been across the Indus, but tribes have leaked in through the passes of the Himalayas, and small bodies have crept in by sea, but, with one most insignificant exception, no colony is known ever to have left her shores, nor any Indian army ever to have crossed her borders in search of foreign conquests. Before the dawn of the earliest light of tradition the vast Tamul race seem to have penetrated apparently in successive waves, and spread themselves over the whole peninsula. We know that they came across the Indus, because they have left a fragment of their race in the Brahui, on this side of that great stream. They belong, as we now know, to the Tartar family of mankind, and constitute the whole population of the southern parts of India, and

and still underlie the more recent immigrants on the north of the Vindhya Mountains. Next to them came the great Sanscrit-speaking tribes of the Arians. Like the Tartar Tamuls, they too came across the Indus, and at the time when the Vedas were reduced to their present form, some twelve or thirteen centuries B. C., as we learn from the researches of St. Martin, they possessed the Punjab, and extended from the Jumna in the east to Cabul in the west, but subsequently occupied the whole of the Gangetic valley, and, as a dominant and superior race, spread their influence, if not their conquests, over the entire Peninsula.\* These two races still remain perfectly distinct; and it is hardly too bold a generalization to say that all that has been built in India has been built by the Tartar races—all that has been written has been written by the Arians.

The great fact, however, which interests us most in the present instance, is the rise of the Buddhist religion, which is one of the most important events, though one of the least understood, of those which have occurred in the history of the human race. The true explanation of this phenomenon appears to be that in the sixth century B.C., Sakya Sinha, the son of a chief of the race of Sakas, as his name imports, living near the foot of the Himalayas, being disgusted at the supremacy of the hated Arians, gathered together the traditions of his race, and, refining upon them and moulding them to the state of society as he then found it, blended the whole into a system of religion which even now numbers more votaries than any faith on the face of the globe. He abolished caste—the peculiar institution of the Arians; ignored the existence of the Deity, to the conception of which no Tartar ever rose; adopted metempsychosis as their special form of belief in a future state; and proclaimed the negative creed, that by the practice of the ascetic virtues man might conquer happiness and attain to final absorption into the godhead. This appeal to the feelings and the prejudices of races forming at least nine-tenths of the population of India was irresistible, and its success proportionately great. For ten centuries Buddhism was the religion of India; but the Brahmins had kept their books and the old records of their former faith; and when the unwritten Tartar faith became corrupt and feeble, from its innate want of vitality, and its uncertainty of doctrine, the old faith cropped out again, but, 'heu quantum mutatus!' mixed with Sivaism and Vishnuism, and every

\* The Greeks seem to have been aware of this distinction of the two races, inasmuch as Arrian, quoting from Megasthenes, says, 'From Bacchus to Sandracottus the Indians reckon 153 kings, who reigned during a space of 6042 years, in all which time they had only the liberty of being governed by their own laws twice, first for about 300 years, and after that for about 120.'

form of absurd fetichism which it could gather from local superstitions, and by which it hoped to enlist the feelings of the people. This is the shape in which it now exists in India.

Among the mixed populations of Hindostan the Buddhist religion has been entirely supplanted by this strange medley of absurdities; but wherever it has been preached to a purely Tartar people, there it remains unaltered to the present day. In Tartary, in Siam, in Burmah, and in China, throughout the whole of Northern Asia, wherever there are Tartars or people nearly allied to them there Buddhism still flourishes unimpaired.

It would be extremely interesting if any Indian record told us of the rise and spread of this wonderful form of faith. Nothing, however, was written by its founder, nor apparently by his immediate successors, and we should know little about it but for the fortunate mania of the first great regal convert, which induced him to carve his edicts on the rocks at Cuttack, in Guzerat, and on the banks of the Upper Indus, besides engraving them on pillars all over the country. From these we learn that Asoka's first care after his conversion was to send missionaries to proclaim his new faith in the neighbouring lands. It does not seem however that they penetrated beyond Cabul or Balkh westward. The most interesting record is that contained in the 13th edict of the rock-cut inscriptions, where he mentions having formed treaties or alliances with Ptolemy, Antiochus, Antigonus, Magas, and Alexander;—not treaties of war or peace, but for the protection or aid of his co-religionists in the dominions of those kings. Owing to the imperfections of the stone and of the record it is not easy to make out what is exactly intended; but this much is certain, that about the year 256 B.C. Asoka did make arrangements for religious purposes with Ptolemy Philadelphus, Antiochus Theos, Antigonus Gonatus, with Magas of Cyrene, and Alexander, who could only be the king of Epirus and Macedonia mentioned by Justin in the same passage in which he relates the death of Magas.\* The existence of rock-cut Viharas or Monasteries at Petra, in the dominions of Antiochus, and of similar excavations at Cyrene, go far to confirm and elucidate this; for though travellers have hitherto called every excavation a tomb, there can be no doubt that many of those at Petra and Cyrene and elsewhere were the abodes of living ascetics, and not burial-places at all. The spread of Pythagoreans everywhere, and of the Essenes in Judea, is also an indication of some such form of faith; and it is also curious, though not conclusive, that all the barbarous coinage

\* Justin, 'Historiæ,' XXVI. c. ii.

of Britain can be traced back to that of Philip of Macedon and his successors.\*

All this, however, unfortunately stops short exactly at the point where it would be most interesting; for though it may show that at an early period some form of Buddhism extended to the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, it does not show that it ever penetrated farther westward; and unless some thread can be found to connect the two, the historical proof of the connection of eastern and western Buddhism must remain imperfect. The question is by no means new, and has over and over again been investigated by modern inquirers, but without much success. Northern antiquaries were early struck with many of the points of similarity between the Woden of the Scandinavians and the Buddha of the east; and though there can be little doubt that they originally meant one and the same person, the Woden, as we now know him as a god of the stirring, energetic, warlike Arian races of the north, was a very different person from the quiet, contemplative, unhopeful prophet of the Tartars. In Europe we find him associated with a whole hierarchy of gods of war and peace, of the earth and sky, &c., as well as with a distinct idea of a future state, and other peculiarities of Arian faith. Notwithstanding this, men were early struck by the similarity of the names. It appeared a strange coincidence that Buddhbar in the east should be Wodensday, or, as we now call it, Wednesday, in the west. They saw in the sacred tree at Upsala the counterpart of the Bo-tree at Budhgaya. The tumuli spread all over Asia and northern Europe seemed to have a common origin, and fifty other little circumstances seemed to point more or less distinctly to the same conclusion. Then the Edda told how Woden, flying from the oppression of the Romans after the Mithridatic war, had fled from the Crimea, carrying his faith with him to the north, and bequeathing his vengeance to his successors, while the caves of Inkermann and the tumuli of Kherson bore silent testimony to the truth of this record.

The evidence has been repeatedly sifted, and all that can be said of it seems to be this, that it is sufficient for the purposes of any one who knows that Buddhism did and does exist in the east, and believes that he finds it in the Wodenism of the west. Feeling certain that the one must have sprung from the

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\* According to Davies, the Triads bring the Cymry, under the conduct of *Hu*, from Defrobani in the land of *Hav*, and this is understood to imply the neighbourhood of Constantinople in the eastern part of Thrace (page 98); and again *Hu*, the lord of Mona, is styled Buddwas, the dispenser of good (page 118).

other, the slight traces of its progress along the valley of the Borysthenes is all that he cares for; but unless the explorer is convinced that the religions are identical, this class of proof will scarcely prevail with him. If, however, it can be shown that there is something in the religion of the west which is identical with that of the east, and so peculiar that the identity cannot be accidental, the conclusion is inevitable that the one must be borrowed from the other, and it only remains to show which was the earliest. Now the fact of there being a most remarkable similarity between the religious forms of Buddhist countries and those of Christianity as practised in the Middle Ages, is so striking that no one now seems inclined to dispute it, though the causes that gave rise to this coincidence are little understood, and the most various, and it may be added the most absurd, theories have been proposed to account for it. No traveller ever entered a Buddhist monastery in the east, and saw a long line of shaven priests issue at matins and at vespers from their monastery, and range themselves on each side of the choir in the temple, where incense is burning on the altar in front of an image of the queen of heaven or the statues of the three precious Buddhas, nor ever heard the low monotonous chant in which they drawl forth their Liturgy in an unknown and long-forgotten tongue, without being aware that he has seen something very like it in the far west. If he follows these monks back to their cells, sees them governed by a mitred abbot, and arranged as deacons, priests, and neophytes, learns that they are bound by vows of celibacy, are separated from the laity, live by alms, and spend their lives in a dull routine of contemplation and formal worship, he must fancy that he is transported back to some Burgundian convent in the Middle Ages, or that the unchangeable east has retained what has passed away in the more progressive west.

When those enterprising travellers Huc and Gabet were sojourning among the Lama-serais of Thibet, they were so struck with the identity of the forms of worship and of monastic habits\* that they devoted a considerable portion of their book to an attempt to explain how it arose. The explanation on which they

\* La crosse, la mitre, la dalmatique, la chape ou pluvial, que les grands Lamas portent en voyage, ou lorsqu'ils font quelque cérémonie hors du temple; l'office à deux chœurs, la psalmodie, les exorcismes, l'encensoir soutenu par cinq chaînes, et pouvant s'ouvrir et se fermer à volonté; les bénédictions données par les Lamas en étendant la main droite sur la tête des fidèles; le chapelet, le célibat ecclésiastique, les retraites spirituelles, le culte des saints, les jeûnes, les processions, les litanies, l'eau bénite: voilà autant de rapports que les bouddhistes ont avec nous. Maintenant, peut-on dire que ces rapports sont d'origine chrétienne? Nous le pensons



they principally relied was the tradition that the reformer Tsong Kaba had been in the fourteenth century educated by a Christian priest, and from him had learned the ritual and the doctrines which he is said to have introduced into his native country. Unfortunately for their theory, we know from architectural remains in India, which date back as far as the Christian era, and from the writings of Chinese travellers who visited India from the fourth to the seventh centuries, that this form of worship existed in all essential particulars exactly as it now does at least 1000 years before the reformer was born. M. Huc's other suggestion, '*que le diable y est pour beaucoup*,' is less open to objection, but can hardly be accepted as either a philosophical or complete explanation of the mystery.

A third suggestion, which has been frequently put forward both in this country and abroad, is that Christianity is borrowed from Buddhism. A more unfounded assertion never was advanced, nor one that will less stand the test of even the hasty examination. It may be safely asserted that there is not a trace of Buddhism in the Bible itself: all that is Buddhist is found in mediæval and more modern Christianity. It was introduced long after the age of the Evangelists, and if we are not mistaken can be traced to the barbarous nations who were incorporated with the Roman Church at the downfall of the Roman Empire.

It is not necessary, even if it were possible here, to enumerate all the similarities between Buddhism and Roman Catholicism. A few of the principal resemblances and easiest to be understood will suffice for our argument. One of the most prominent is found in the institution of an infallible head, who is not only the chief of the hierarchy, but the vicegerent of God on earth. The idea of conferring infallibility by election to an office did not exist either in the religions of Greece or Rome, nor in any of the religions of the West; nor is it, so far as we can judge, sanctioned by anything in the New or Old Testament, but belongs essentially to the Buddhist principle that man may conquer godhood by force of his own exertions and the practice of certain virtues. In Thibet the Delai Lama is chosen when a child; in Italy the Pope is selected in mature age; but in both cases the infallibility, which is the essence of the office, is attained by the transmission of some not easily-defined virtue, supposed to be inherited from the founder of the religion.

pensons ainsi; quoique nous n'ayons trouvé ni dans les traditions, ni dans les monuments du pays, aucune preuve positive de cet emprunt; il est permis néanmoins d'établir des conjectures qui portent tous les caractères de la plus haute probabilité.

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A far more striking and exact parallel is found in the segregation of the clergy from the laity, and the institution of the monastic orders, which formed so important a part of the arrangements of the Middle Ages, and has done so in all times in Buddhist countries. Practically, the two institutions are absolutely identical;—established for the same purposes, governed by the same laws, exercising the same powers, and developing the same results. In both institutions, all parties joining them give up all worldly possessions, have all things in common, take vows of celibacy, and live apart from the rest of men. Poverty and absolute dependence on alms have always been the rule in Buddhist countries, as they were with the mendicant friars of the West, and were more or less professed, if not practised, by all orders of monks. The establishment of a hierarchy of Priors, Abbots, Bishops, and Cardinals, and of the corresponding offices in the East, is perhaps a necessary consequence of the organization of any large body of men among whom it is indispensable that discipline must be maintained; and is common to the two institutions as a consequence of the segregation of so large a body of individuals into a separate class, rather than as a preordained part of the institution.

Canonization is another remarkable institution common to these two religions, and to these only. It has frequently been attempted to draw a parallel between the demigods of Greece or Rome and the institution of saints in the mediæval church; but the argument has always broken down, as in fact there is no essential similarity between the two. The minor gods of the heathen Pantheon, though remarkable for their power or virtues, were all more or less connected by birth or marriage with the great Olympic family, and owed their rank rather to their descent than to their virtues. It is true that, in later times, the deification of Roman emperors, and others of that class, which the abject flattery of a corrupt age introduced, was a nearer approach to the usage of Buddhism which was then flourishing in the East. But, when the custom is adopted in its purity, the attainment of Buddhahood, or of saintship, is owing neither to birth nor to office, but to the practice of the ascetic virtues in the church, or of piety or charity towards the church on the part of those outside its pale.

If we turn from the hierarchy to the material forms of worship, we find the same novelties and the same striking resemblances. As is now perfectly well known, the principal object of worship in all Buddhist countries is and always was the veneration paid to relics. As early as the time of Clemens of Alexandria it was known

known in the west that the followers of Buddha worshipped a pyramid, which was supposed to contain a bone, a relic of their god. The true old Tartar form of this was the homage paid to the bodies of the dead ; but the Buddhists have refined on the primitive practice. No bodies are venerated but those of persons who have attained Buddhahood in some shape or other, and then it never is the body as buried that is revered, but some bone or utensil, or some spot rendered sacred by the presence of a saint, or where some miracle was performed by some holy person. The worship of holy places and of holy things rose in the Middle Ages to be the most prominent of all forms of devotion, but did not exist before, and has died out to a great extent since, though, while thousands flock to see a holy coat at Trèves, or the blood of St. Januarius at Naples, or to worship at Loretto or Compostella, it cannot be said that this Buddhist formula is yet extinct in modern Europe.

The similarities of the liturgies may to some extent be accidental, and have no doubt been caused by the similarity of institutions ; but it can hardly be considered an accident that the great act of devotion in one church should be the endless repetition of 'Ave Marias' and 'Paternosters,' and in the other a still more continuous utterance of 'Om mani Padmi Hom,' or such-like formulas ; though it must be confessed that in no age did the Romish Church carry this so far as is done in Buddhist countries through the invention of the praying-wheel, by which mechanical means are employed to say the prayers of those who are too lazy to perform that office themselves.

It would be tedious to dwell on the many minor points of resemblance between the forms of the two religions. It must be already clear that the Reformation in the sixteenth century was nothing more than a rebellion of the Arian races of Europe against the Buddhism which the Celtic races had superinduced upon the Christianity of the Bible ; and that all the corruptions which the reformers attacked were (with the single exception of transubstantiation) Buddhist doctrines or formulas, such as popery, monachism, relic-worship, &c. After that great struggle it was found that all the Teutonic races of Europe—who never had been genuine Buddhists—had thrown off the Buddhist institutions and forms ; but that no Celtic race had become Protestant, but 'held their old faith and old feelings fast.' So it remains at the present day. Europe is Protestant in the exact ratio of the purity of the Arian blood in any race, and Romish in proportion as the people in any country are Celtic. The inference seems to be inevitable that the Celts were Buddhists before their conversion to

to Christianity. The Teutons were not, nor did they ever heartily adhere to the unfamiliar forms that had been forced upon them. The Buddhism which crept into the mediæval church did not come by any of the usual routes of travel or of trade. No Buddhist missions were established in Asia Minor, or Palestine, or Egypt, whence, by their preaching, their doctrines were spread into the Roman Empire, and thence communicated to the nations who were gradually converted to Christianity. The very contrary, indeed, seems to be the fact. The Greek Church, although in immediate contact with Buddhist countries, has infinitely less of Buddhism in its formulæ or faith than the Romish, and there is no trace of Buddhism having passed through it to the West. Nor can we trace it as proceeding from Rome itself, but, on the contrary, we find all the peculiarities we have enumerated springing up gradually among the barbarians who overwhelmed the Roman Empire, and it was by them forced on the Church at Rome by the pressure of circumstances. Nor is it difficult to see how this arose. The policy of the Roman Church, as set forth in Pope Gregory's celebrated letter to Bishop Mellitus, was, to get the barbarians to allow themselves to be baptized, and to acknowledge Christ in any form. Even although the first converts were allowed to retain the worship of 'trees and stones,' the missionaries hoped that many would be weaned from their idolatries, and at all events that their children would forsake the *Kirk*, and take to the *Ecclesia*. This policy was to a certain extent unsuccessful, for the simple reason that the barbarians outnumbered the Romans as a thousand to one; that they were too illiterate to comprehend the arguments on which the new faith rested, and too rude to see its beauty, or to appreciate the doctrines of peace and love which it inculcated. If a few were truly converted, the mass still adhered to their old superstitions; and as the Roman element died out, the old faith came again more prominently to the surface, and was mixed up with the higher and holier faith, which it leavened, but neither destroyed nor superseded.

There are few chapters in the history of the world at present so dark as that which treats of the doings of the Celtic races of Britain before the advent of the Saxons, and none to which the light of the new science of ethnography is likely to be of more value. All however which concerns us at present is to know that Buddhism, in some shape or other, and under some name that may be lost, did exist in Britain before the conversion of its inhabitants to Christianity. If this has been made clear, a great step has been gained in the elucidation of the antiquities of this illiterate

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illiterate people. If we may venture to turn the lamp of Indian Buddhism on these hitherto mysterious monuments, we see at once what was meant by the inner choir at Stonehenge, by comparing it with the numerous examples of choirs in all Buddhist churches. We understand its enclosing circle by comparing it with that at Sanchee and elsewhere. We are no longer puzzled by the small granite monoliths, standing unsymmetrically between the two original groups, and inside the principal, for we can at once assume them to be the 'danams' of succeeding votaries, offered after the temple was finished; and we can easily see how it came to be a cenotaph, or memorial church, dedicated to those who died and were buried at Ambresbury. It would explain to us why Silbury Hill, erected on a Roman road, should not cover the remains of the dead, but be the attempt of a letterless race to perpetuate the memory of some event, which nothing but a written record could really communicate to future ages. We might surmise that the circle at Rollrich enclosed a holy spot, and know that the stones of Stennis were really the burying-place of some chief. There is, in fact, no winding in the labyrinth through which this thread might not conduct us in safety, and nothing so mysterious that we might not hope by this means to understand it. But to effect this end, explorations must be made afresh, and researches set about in a purpose-like manner, not aimless gropings in the dark, such as alone have yet been undertaken. A more systematic inquiry would repay the exertions of the earnest historical student, for it is the sole method by which we can expect to throw any light on this branch of our national antiquities. What is even more important, it is the only clue that is now likely to be afforded us for unravelling the mysterious wanderings of the races who peopled Europe and overthrew the Roman Empire, whose blood still flows in our veins, and whose feelings still influence every act, public or private, that takes place in the great European family of nations.

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ART. VII.—*On the Origin of Species, by means of Natural Selection; or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life.* By Charles Darwin, M.A., F.R.S. London, 1860.

ANY contribution to our Natural History literature from the pen of Mr. C. Darwin is certain to command attention. His scientific attainments, his insight and carefulness as an observer, blended with no scanty measure of imaginative sagacity, and his clear and lively style, make all his writings unusually attractive. His present volume on the 'Origin of Species' is the

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result

result of many years of observation, thought, and speculation; and is manifestly regarded by him as the 'opus' upon which his future fame is to rest. It is true that he announces it modestly enough as the mere precursor of a mightier volume. But that volume is only intended to supply the facts which are to support the completed argument of the present essay. In this we have a specimen-collection of the vast accumulation; and, working from these as the high analytical mathematician may work from the admitted results of his conic sections, he proceeds to deduce all the conclusions to which he wishes to conduct his readers.

The essay is full of Mr. Darwin's characteristic excellences. It is a most readable book; full of facts in natural history, old and new, of his collecting and of his observing; and all of these are told in his own perspicuous language, and all thrown into picturesque combinations, and all sparkle with the colours of fancy and the lights of imagination. It assumes, too, the grave proportions of a sustained argument upon a matter of the deepest interest, not to naturalists only, or even to men of science exclusively, but to every one who is interested in the history of man and of the relations of nature around him to the history and plan of creation.

With Mr. Darwin's 'argument' we may say in the outset that we shall have much and grave fault to find. But this does not make us the less disposed to admire the singular excellences of his work; and we will seek *in limine* to give our readers a few examples of these. Here, for instance, is a beautiful illustration of the wonderful interdependence of nature—of the golden chain of unsuspected relations which bind together all the mighty web which stretches from end to end of this full and most diversified earth. Who, as he listened to the musical hum of the great humble-bees, or marked their ponderous flight from flower to flower, and watched the unpacking of their trunks for their work of suction, would have supposed that the multiplication or diminution of their race, or the fruitfulness and sterility of the red clover, depend as directly on the vigilance of our cats as do those of our well-guarded game-preserves on the watching of our keepers? Yet this Mr. Darwin has discovered to be literally the case:—

'From experiments which I have lately tried, I have found that the visits of bees are necessary for the fertilisation of some kinds of clover; but humble-bees alone visit the red clover (*Trifolium pratense*), as other bees cannot reach the nectar. Hence I have very little doubt, that if the whole genus of humble-bees became extinct or very rare in England, the heartsease and red clover would become

very

very rare or wholly disappear. The number of humble-bees in any district depends in a great degree on the number of field-mice, which destroy their combs and nests; and Mr. H. Newman, who has long attended to the habits of humble-bees, believes that "more than two-thirds of them are thus destroyed all over England." Now the number of mice is largely dependent, as every one knows, on the number of cats; and Mr. Newman says, "near villages and small towns I have found the nests of humble-bees more numerous than elsewhere, which I attribute to the number of cats that destroy the mice." Hence, it is quite credible that the presence of a feline animal in large numbers in a district might determine, through the intervention, first of mice, and then of bees, the frequency of certain flowers in that district.'—p. 74.

Again, how beautiful are the experiments recorded by him concerning that wonderful relation of the ants to the aphides, which would almost warrant us in giving to the aphids the name of *Vacca formicaria*:—

'One of the strongest instances of an animal apparently performing an action for the sole good of another with which I am acquainted is that of aphides voluntarily yielding their sweet excretion to ants. That they do so voluntarily the following facts will show. I removed all the ants from a group of about a dozen aphides on a dock plant, and prevented their attendance during several hours. After this interval, I felt sure that the aphides would want to excrete. I watched them for some time through a lens, but not one of them excreted. I then tickled and stroked them with a hair in the same manner, as well as I could, as the ants do with their antennæ, but not one excreted. Afterwards I allowed an ant to visit them, and it immediately seemed, by its eager way of running about, to be well aware what a rich flock it had discovered. It then began to play with its antennæ on the abdomen first of one aphid and then of another, and each aphid, as soon as it felt the antennæ, immediately lifted up its abdomen and excreted a limpid drop of sweet juice, which was eagerly devoured by the ant. Even the quite young aphides behaved in this manner, showing that the action was instinctive, and not the result of experience.'—pp. 210, 211.

Or take the following admirable specimen of the union of which we have spoken, of the employment of the observations of others with what he has observed himself, in that which is almost the most marvellous of facts—the slave-making instinct of certain ants. We say nothing at present of the place assigned to these facts in Mr. Darwin's argument, but are merely referring to the collection, observation, and statement of the facts themselves:—

'*Slave-making Instinct*.—This remarkable instinct was first discovered in the *Formica* (*Polyerges*) *rufescens* by Pierre Huber, a better observer even than his celebrated father. This ant is absolutely dependent on its slaves; without their aid the species would certainly



become extinct in a single year. The males and fertile females do no work. The workers or sterile females, though most energetic and courageous in capturing slaves, do no other work. They are incapable of making their own nests or of feeding their own larvæ. When the old nest is found inconvenient, and they have to migrate, it is the slaves which determine the migration, and actually carry their masters in their jaws. So utterly helpless are the masters, that when Huber shut up thirty of them without a slave, but with plenty of the food which they like best, and with their larvæ and pupæ to stimulate them to work, they did nothing; they could not even feed themselves, and many perished of hunger. Huber then introduced a single slave (*F. fusca*), and she instantly set to work, fed and saved the survivors, made some cells and tended the larvæ, and put all to rights. What can be more extraordinary than these well-ascertained facts? If we had not known of any other slave-making ant, it would have been hopeless to have speculated how so wonderful an instinct could have been perfected. Another species (*Formica sanguinea*) was likewise first discovered by P. Huber to be a slave-making ant. This species is found in the southern parts of England, and its habits have been attended to by Mr. F. Smith, of the British Museum, to whom I am much indebted for information on this and other subjects. Although fully trusting to the statements of Huber and Mr. Smith, I tried to approach the subject in a sceptical frame of mind, as any one may well be excused for doubting the truth of so extraordinary and odious an instinct as that of making slaves. Hence I give the observations which I have myself made in some little detail. I opened fourteen nests of *F. sanguinea*, and found a few slaves in each. Males and fertile females of the slave-species (*F. fusca*) are found only in their own proper communities, and have never been observed in the nests of *F. sanguinea*. The slaves are black, and not above half the size of their red masters, so that the contrast in their appearance is very great. When the nest is slightly disturbed, the slaves occasionally come out, and, like their masters, are much agitated, and defend the nest. When the nest is much disturbed, and the larvæ and pupæ are exposed, the slaves work energetically with their masters in carrying them away to a place of safety. Hence it is clear that the slaves feel quite at home. During the months of June and July, in three successive years, I have watched for many hours several nests in Surrey and Sussex, and never saw a slave either leave or enter a nest. As, during these months, the slaves are very few in number, I thought that they might behave differently when more numerous, but Mr. Smith informs me that he has watched nests at various hours during May, June, and August both in Surrey and Hampshire, and has never seen the slaves, though present in large numbers in August, either leave or enter the nest. Hence he considers them as strictly household slaves. The masters, on the other hand, may be constantly seen bringing in materials for the nest and food of all kinds. During the present year, however, in the month of July, I came across a community with an unusually large stock of slaves, and I observed a few slaves

slaves mingled with their masters leaving the nest, and marching along the same road to a large Scotch fir-tree, twenty-five yards distant, which they ascended together, probably in search of aphides or cocci. According to Huber, who had ample opportunities for observation, in Switzerland the slaves habitually work with their masters in making the nest, and they alone open and close the doors in the morning and evening; and, as Huber expressly states, their principal office is to search for aphides. This difference in the usual habits of the masters and slaves in the two countries probably depends merely on the slaves being captured in greater numbers in Switzerland than in England.

‘One day I fortunately witnessed a migration of *F. sanguinea* from one nest to another, and it was a most interesting spectacle to behold the masters carefully carrying (instead of being carried by, as in the case of *F. rufescens*) their slaves in their jaws. Another day my attention was struck by about a score of the slave-makers haunting the same spot, and evidently not in search of food: they approached, and were vigorously repulsed by an independent community of the slave species (*F. fusca*), sometimes as many as three of these ants clinging to the legs of the slave-making *F. sanguinea*. The latter ruthlessly killed their small opponents, and carried their dead bodies as food to their nest, twenty-nine yards distant, but they were prevented from getting any pupæ to rear as slaves. I then dug up a small parcel of pupæ of *F. fusca* from another nest, and put them down on a bare spot near the place of combat; they were eagerly seized and carried off by the tyrants, who perhaps fancied that, after all, they had been victorious in their late combat.

‘At the same time I laid on the same place a small parcel of the pupæ of another species (*F. flava*), with a few of these little yellow ants still clinging to the fragments of the nest. This is sometimes, though rarely, made into slaves, as has been described by Mr. Smith. Although so small a species, it is very courageous, and I have seen it ferociously attack other ants. In one instance I found to my surprise an independent community of *F. flava* under a stone beneath a nest of the slave-making *F. sanguinea*, and when I had accidentally disturbed both nests, the little ants attacked their big neighbours with surprising courage.

‘Now I was curious to ascertain whether *F. sanguinea* could distinguish the pupæ of *F. fusca*, which they habitually make into slaves, from those of the little and furious *F. flava*, which they rarely capture, and it was evident that they did at once distinguish them, for we have seen that they eagerly and instantly seized the pupæ of *F. fusca*, whereas they were much terrified when they came across the pupæ or even the earth from the nest of *F. flava*, and quickly ran away; but in about a quarter of an hour, shortly after all the little yellow ants had crawled away, they took heart and carried off the pupæ.

‘One evening I visited another community of *F. sanguinea*, and found a number of these ants returning home and entering their nests, carrying the dead bodies of *F. fusca* (showing that it was not a migration)

gration) and numerous pupæ. I traced a long file of ants burthened with this booty for about forty yards to a very thick clump of heath, whence I saw the last individual of *F. sanguinea* emerge, carrying a pupa, but I was not able to find the desolated nest in the thick heath. The nest, however, must have been close at hand, for two or three individuals of *F. fusca* were rushing about in the greatest agitation, and one was perched motionless with its own pupa in its mouth on the top of a spray of heath, an image of despair over its ravaged home.—p. 219, 223.

Now, all this is, we think, really charming writing. We feel as we walk abroad with Mr. Darwin very much as the favoured object of the attention of the dervise must have felt when he had rubbed the ointment around his eye, and had it opened to see all the jewels, and diamonds, and emeralds, and topazes, and rubies, which were sparkling unregarded beneath the earth, hidden as yet from all eyes save those which the dervise had enlightened. But here we are bound to say our pleasure terminates; for, when we turn with Mr. Darwin to his 'argument,' we are almost immediately at variance with him. It is as an 'argument' that the essay is put forward; as an argument we will test it.

We can perhaps best convey to our readers a clear view of Mr. Darwin's chain of reasoning, and of our objections to it, if we set before them, first, the conclusion to which he seeks to bring them; next, the leading propositions which he must establish in order to make good his final inference; and then the mode by which he endeavours to support his propositions.

The conclusion, then, to which Mr. Darwin would bring us is, that all the various forms of vegetable and animal life with which the globe is now peopled, or of which we find the remains preserved in a fossil state in the great Earth-Museum around us, which the science of geology unlocks for our instruction, have come down by natural succession of descent from father to son,— 'animals from at most four or five progenitors, and plants from an equal or less number' (p. 484), as Mr. Darwin at first somewhat diffidently suggests; or rather, as, growing bolder when he has once pronounced his theory, he goes on to suggest to us, from one single head:—

'Analogy would lead me one step further, namely, to the belief that ALL ANIMALS AND PLANTS have descended from some one prototype. But analogy may be a deceitful guide. Nevertheless, all living things have much in common in their chemical composition, their germinal vesicles, their cellular structure, and their laws of growth and reproduction. . . . Therefore I should infer from analogy that probably all the organic beings which have ever lived on this earth' (man therefore of course included) 'have descended from some

one

one primordial form into which life was first breathed by the Creator.'  
—p. 484.

This is the theory which really pervades the whole volume. Man, beast, creeping thing, and plant of the earth, are all the lineal and direct descendants of some one individual *ens*, whose various progeny have been simply modified by the action of natural and ascertainable conditions into the multiform aspect of life which we see around us. This is undoubtedly at first sight a somewhat startling conclusion to arrive at. To find that mosses, grasses, turnips, oaks, worms, and flies, mites and elephants, infusoria and whales, tadpoles of to-day and venerable saurians, truffles and men, are all equally the lineal descendants of the same aboriginal common ancestor, perhaps of the nucleated cell of some primæval fungus, which alone possessed the distinguishing honour of being the 'one primordial form into which life was first breathed by the Creator'—this, to say the least of it, is no common discovery—no very expected conclusion. But we are too loyal pupils of inductive philosophy to start back from any conclusion by reason of its strangeness. Newton's patient philosophy taught him to find in the falling apple the law which governs the silent movements of the stars in their courses; and if Mr. Darwin can with the same correctness of reasoning demonstrate to us our fungular descent, we shall dismiss our pride, and avow, with the characteristic humility of philosophy, our unsuspected cousinship with the mushrooms,—

'Claim kindred there, and have our claim allowed,'

—only we shall ask leave to scrutinise carefully every step of the argument which has such an ending, and demur if at any point of it we are invited to substitute unlimited hypothesis for patient observation, or the spasmodic fluttering flight of fancy for the severe conclusions to which logical accuracy of reasoning has led the way.

Now, the main propositions by which Mr. Darwin's conclusion is attained are these:—

1. That observed and admitted variations spring up in the course of descents from a common progenitor.

2. That many of these variations tend to an improvement upon the parent stock.

3. That, by a continued selection of these improved specimens as the progenitors of future stock, its ~~powers~~ <sup>improvements</sup> may be unlimitedly increased.

4. And, lastly, that there is in nature a power continually and universally working out this selection, and so fixing and augmenting these improvements.

Mr.

Mr. Darwin's whole theory rests upon the truth of these propositions, and crumbles utterly away if only one of them fail him. These therefore we must closely scrutinise. We will begin with the last in our series, both because we think it the newest and the most ingenious part of Mr. Darwin's whole argument, and also because, whilst we absolutely deny the mode in which he seeks to apply the existence of the power to help him in his argument, yet we think that he throws great and very interesting light upon the fact that such a self-acting power does actively and continuously work in all creation around us.

Mr. Darwin finds then the disseminating and improving power, which he needs to account for the development of new forms in nature, in the principle of 'Natural Selection,' which is evolved in the strife for room to live and flourish which is evermore maintained between themselves by all living things. One of the most interesting parts of Mr. Darwin's volume is that in which he establishes this law of natural selection; we say establishes, because—repeating that we differ from him totally in the limits which he would assign to its action—we have no doubt of the existence or of the importance of the law itself. Mr. Darwin illustrates it thus:—

'There is no exception to the rule that every organic being naturally increases at so high a rate, that, if not destroyed, the earth would soon be covered by the offspring of a single pair. Linnæus has calculated that if an annual plant produced only two seeds—and there is no plant so unproductive as this—and their seedlings next year produced two, and so on, then in twenty years there would be a million plants. The elephant is reckoned the slowest breeder of all known animals, and I have taken some pains to estimate its probable minimum rate of natural increase. It will be under the mark to assume that it breeds when thirty years old, and goes on breeding till ninety years old, bringing forth three pair of young in this interval; if this be so, at the end of the fifth century there would be alive fifteen million elephants, descended from the first pair.'—p. 64.

Leaving theoretical calculations, Mr. Darwin proceeds to facts to establish this rapid increase:—

'Several of the plants, such as the cardoon, and a tall thistle, now most numerous over the wide plains of La Plata, clothing square leagues of surface almost to the exclusion of all other plants, have been introduced from Europe.'—p. 65.

And, again, he reasons from the animal world:—

'The condor lays a couple of eggs and the ostrich a score, and yet in the same country the condor may be the more numerous of the two. The fulmar petrel lays but one egg, yet it is believed to be the most numerous bird in the world.'—p. 66.

This

This is followed by a passage which well illustrates the care and cleverness of Mr. Darwin's own observations:—

‘On a piece of ground three feet long and two wide; dug and cleaned, and where there could be no choking from other plants, I marked all the seedlings of our native weeds as they came up, and, out of the 357, no less than 295 were destroyed, chiefly by slugs and insects. If turf which has long been mown—and the case would be the same with turf closely browsed by quadrupeds—be let to grow, the more vigorous plants gradually kill the less vigorous though fully grown plants; thus out of twenty species growing on a little plot of turf (three feet by four), nine species perished from the other species being allowed to grow up freely.’—pp. 67, 68.

Now all this is excellent. The facts are all gathered from a true observation of nature, and from a patiently obtained comprehension of their undoubted and unquestionable relative significance. That such a struggle for life then actually exists, and that it tends continually to lead the strong to exterminate the weak, we readily admit; and in this law we see a merciful provision against the deterioration, in a world apt to deteriorate, of the works of the Creator's hands. Thus it is that the bloody strifes of the males of all wild animals tend to maintain the vigour and full development of their race; because, through this machinery of appetite and passion, the most vigorous individuals become the progenitors of the next generation of the tribe. And this law, which thus maintains through the struggle of individuals the high type of the family, tends continually, through a similar struggle of species, to lead the stronger species to supplant the weaker.

This indeed is no new observation: Lucretius knew and eloquently expatiated on its truth:—

‘Multaque tum interiisse animantum secla necesse est,  
Nec potuisse propagando procudere prolem.  
Nam, quæcumque vides vesci vitalibus auris  
Aut dolus, aut virtus, aut denique mobilitas, est,  
Ex ineunte ævo, genus id tutata reservans.\*

And this, which is true in animal, is no less true in vegetable life. Hardier or more prolific plants, or plants better suited to the soil or conditions of climate, continually tend to supplant others less hardy, less prolific, or less suited to the conditions of vegetable life in those special districts. Thus far, then, the action of such a law as this is clear and indisputable.

But before we can go a step further, and argue from its operation in favour of a perpetual improvement in natural types, we must be shown first that this law of competition has in nature to

\* Lucret., ‘De Rer. Nat.,’ lib. v.

deal with such favourable variations in the individuals of any species, as truly to exalt those individuals above the highest type of perfection to which their least imperfect predecessors attained—above, that is to say, the normal level of the species;—that such individual improvement is, in truth, a rising above the highest level of any former tide, and not merely the return in its appointed season of the feebler neap to the fuller spring-tide;—and then, next, we must be shown that there is actively at work in nature, co-ordinate with the law of competition and with the existence of such favourable variations, a power of accumulating such favourable variation through successive descents. Failing the establishment of either of these last two propositions, Mr. Darwin's whole theory falls to pieces. He has accordingly laboured with all his strength to establish these, and into that attempt we must now follow him.

Mr. Darwin begins by endeavouring to prove that such variations are produced under the selecting power of man amongst domestic animals. Now here we demur *in limine*. Mr. Darwin himself allows that there is a plastic habit amongst domesticated animals which is not found amongst them when in a state of nature. 'Under domestication, it may be truly said that the whole organization becomes in some degree plastic.'—(p. 80.) If so, it is not fair to argue, from the variations of the plastic nature, as to what he himself admits is the far more rigid nature of the undomesticated animal. But we are ready to give Mr. Darwin this point, and to join issue with him on the variations which he is able to adduce, as having been produced under circumstances the most favourable to change. He takes for this purpose the domestic pigeon, the most favourable specimen no doubt, for many reasons, which he could select, as being a race eminently subject to variation, the variations of which have been most carefully observed by breeders, and which, having been for some 4000 years domesticated, affords the longest possible period for the accumulation of variations. But with all this in his favour, what is he able to show? He writes a delightful chapter upon pigeons. Runts and fantails, short-faced tumblers and long-faced tumblers, long-beaked carriers and pouters, black barbs, jacobins, and turbits, coo and tumble, inflate their œsophagi, and pout and spread out their tails before us. We learn that 'pigeons have been watched and tended with the utmost care, and loved by many people.' They have been domesticated for thousands of years in several quarters of the world. The earliest known record of pigeons is in the fifth Egyptian dynasty, about 3000 B.C., though 'pigeons are given in a bill of fare' (what an autograph would be that of the chef-de-cuisine of the day!) 'in the previous dynasty' (pp. 27, 28): and so

we



we follow pigeons on down to the days of 'that most skilful breeder Sir John Sebright,' who 'used to say, with respect to pigeons, that "he would produce any given feather in three years, but it would take him six years to produce beak and head." '— (p. 31.)

Now all this is very pleasant writing, especially for pigeon-fanciers; but what step do we really gain in it at all towards establishing the alleged fact that variations are but species in the act of formation, or in establishing Mr. Darwin's position that a well-marked variety may be called an incipient species? We affirm positively that no single *fact* tending even in that direction is brought forward. On the contrary, every one points distinctly towards the opposite conclusion; for with all the change wrought in appearance, with all the apparent variation in manners, there is not the faintest beginning of any such change in what that great comparative anatomist, Professor Owen, calls 'the characteristics of the skeleton or other parts of the frame upon which specific differences are founded.'\* There is no tendency to that great law of sterility which, in spite of Mr. Darwin, we affirm ever to mark the hybrid; for every variety of pigeon, and the descendants of every such mixture, breed as freely, and with as great fertility, as the original pair; nor is there the very first appearance of that power of accumulating variations until they grow into specific differences, which is essential to the argument for the transmutation of species; for, as Mr. Darwin allows, sudden returns in colour, and other most altered appearances, to the parent stock continually attest the tendency of variations not to become fixed, but to vanish, and manifest the perpetual presence of a principle which leads not to the accumulation of minute variations into well-marked species, but to a return from the abnormal to the original type. So clear is this, that it is well known that any relaxation in the breeder's care effaces all the established points of difference, and the fancy-pigeon reverts again to the character of its simplest ancestor.

The same relapse may moreover be traced in still wider instances. There are many testimonies to the fact that domesticated animals, removed from the care and tending of man, lose rapidly the peculiar variations which domestication had introduced amongst them, and relapse into their old untamed condition. 'Plus,' says M. P. S. Pallas,† 'je réfléchis, plus je suis disposé à croire que la race des chevaux sauvages que l'on trouve dans les landes baignées par le Jaik et le Don, et dans celles de

\* 'On the Classification of Mammalia,' p. 98.

† 'Voyages de M. P. S. Pallas, traduit de l'Allemand par M. Gaultier de la Peyronne,' vol. i. p. 89.

Baraba, ne provient que de chevaux Kirguis et Kalmouks devenus sauvages,' &c.; and he proceeds to show how far they have relapsed from the type of tame into that of wild horses. Prichard, in his 'Natural History of Man,' remarks that the present state of the escaped domesticated animals, which, since the discovery of the Western Continent by the Spaniards, have been transported from Europe to America, gives us an opportunity of seeing how soon the relapse may become almost complete. 'Many of these races have multiplied (he says) exceedingly on a soil and under a climate congenial to their nature. Several of them have run wild in the vast forests of America, and have lost all the most obvious appearances of domestication.'\* This he proceeds to prove to be more or less the case as to the hog, the horse, the ass, the sheep, the goat, the cow, the dog, the cat, and gallinaceous fowls.

Now, in all these instances we have the result of the power of selection exercised on the most favourable species for a very long period of time, in a race of that peculiarly plastic habit which is the result of long domestication; and that result is, to prove that there has been no commencement of any such mutation as could, if it was infinitely prolonged, become really a specific change.

There is another race of animals which comes under our closest inspection, which has been the friend and companion of man certainly ever since the wandering Ulysses returned to Ithaca, and of which it has been man's interest to obtain every variation which he could extract out of the original stock. The result is every day before us. We all know the vast difference, which strikes the dullest eye, between, for instance, the short bandy-legged snub-nosed bull-dog, and the almost aerial Italian grayhound. Here again the experiment of variation by selection has been well-nigh <sup>tried</sup> ~~tired~~ out. And with what results? Here again with an absolute absence of the first dawns of any variety which could by its own unlimited prolongation constitute a specific difference. Again there is perfect freedom and fertility of interbreeding; again a continual tendency to revert to the common type; again, even in the most apparently dissimilar specimens, a really specific agreement. Hear what Professor Owen says on this point:—

'No species of animal has been subject to such decisive experiments, continued through so many generations, as to the influence of different degrees of exercise of the muscular system, difference in regard to food, association with man, and the concomitant stimulus to the development of intelligence, as the dog; and no domestic animal manifests so great a range of variety in regard to general size, to colour and character of hair, and to the form of the head, as it is affected by different proportions of the cranium and face, and by inter-

\* 'Natural History of Man,' pp. 27, 28.

muscular crests superadded to the cranial parieties. Yet, under the extremest mark of variety so superinduced, the naturalist detects in the dental formula and in the construction of the cranium the unmistakable generic and specific characters of the *Canis familiaris*. Note also how unerringly and plainly the extremest varieties of the dog-kind recognise their own specific relationship. How differently does the giant Newfoundland behave to the dwarf pug on a casual rencontre, from the way in which either of them would treat a jackal, a wolf, or a fox. The dumb animal might teach the philosopher that unity of kind or of species is discoverable under the strangest mask of variation.\*

Nor let our readers forget over how large a lapse of time our opportunities of observation extend. From the early Egyptian habit of embalming, we know that for 4000 years at least the species of our own domestic animals, the cat, the dog, and others, has remained absolutely unaltered.

Yet it is in the face of such facts as these that Mr. Darwin ventures, first, to declare that 'new races of animals and plants are produced under domestication by man's methodical and unconscious power of selection, for his own use and pleasure,' and then to draw from the changes introduced amongst domesticated animals this caution for naturalists: 'May they not learn a lesson of caution when they deride the idea of species in a state of nature being lineal descendants of other species?' (p. 29.)

Nor must we pass over unnoticed the transference of the argument from the domesticated to the untamed animals. Assuming that man as the selector can do much in a limited time, Mr. Darwin argues that Nature, a more powerful, a more continuous power, working over vastly extended ranges of time, can do more. But why should Nature, so uniform and persistent in all her operations, tend in this instance to change? why should she become a selector of varieties? Because, most ingeniously argues Mr. Darwin, in the struggle for life, if any variety favourable to the individual were developed, that individual would have a better chance in the battle of life, would assert more proudly his own place, and, handing on his peculiarity to his descendants, would become the progenitor of an improved race; and so a variety would have grown into a species.

We think it difficult to find a theory fuller of assumptions; and of assumptions not grounded upon alleged facts in nature, but which are absolutely opposed to all the facts we have been able to observe.

1. We have already shown that the variations of which we have proof under domestication have never, under the longest and most

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\* Owen's 'Classification of Mammalia,' p. 100.

continued system of selections we have known, laid the first foundation of a specific difference, but have always tended to relapse, and not to accumulated and fixed persistence.

But, 2ndly, all these variations have the essential characteristics of *monstrosity* about them; and *not one* of them has the character which Mr. Darwin repeatedly reminds us is the *only one* which nature can select, viz. of being an advantage to the selected individual in the battle of life, i. e. an improvement upon the normal type by raising some individual of the species not to the highest possible excellence within the species, but to some excellence above it. So far from this, every variation introduced by man is for man's advantage, not for the advantage of the animal. Correlation is so certainly the law of all animal existence that man can only develop one part by the sacrifice of another. The bull-dog gains in strength and loses in swiftness; the grayhound gains in swiftness but loses in strength. Even the English race-horse loses much which would enable it in the battle of life to compete with its rougher ancestor. So too with our prize-cattle. Their greater tendency to an earlier accumulation of meat and fat is counterbalanced, as is well known, by loss of robust health, fertility, and of power of yielding milk, in proportion to their special development in the direction which man's use of them as food requires. There is not a shadow of ground for saying that man's variations ever improve the typical character of the animal as an animal; they do but by some monstrous development make it more useful to himself; and hence it is that Nature, according to her universal law with monstrosities, is ever tending to obliterate the deviation and to return to the type.

The applied argument then, from variation under domestication, fails utterly. But further, what does observation say as to the occurrence of a single instance of such favourable variation? Men have now for thousands of years been conversant as hunters and other rough naturalists with animals of every class. Has any one such instance ever been discovered? We fearlessly assert not one. Variations have been found: rodents whose teeth have grown abnormally; animals of various classes of which the eyes, from the absence of light in their dwellings, have been obscured and obliterated; but *not one* which has tended to raise the individual in the struggle of life above the typical conditions of its own species. Mr. Darwin himself allows that he finds none; and accounts for their absence in existing fauna only by the suggestion, that, in the competition between the less improved parent-form and the improved successor, the parent will have yielded in the strife in order to make room for the successor; and so 'both the parent and all the transitional varieties will generally have

have been exterminated by the very process of formation and perfection of the new form? (p. 172),—a most unsatisfactory answer as it seems to us; for why—since if this is Nature's law these innumerable changes must be daily occurring—should there never be any one produceable proof of their existence?

Here then again, when subjected to the stern Baconian law of the observation of facts, the theory breaks down utterly; for no natural variations from the specific type favourable to the individual from which nature is to select can anywhere be found.

But once more. If these transmutations were actually occurring, must there not, in some part of the great economy of nature round us, be somewhere at least some instance to be quoted of the accomplishment of the change? With many of the lower forms of animals, life is so short and generations so rapid in their succession that it would be all but impossible, if such changes were happening, that there should be no proof of their occurrence; yet never have the longing observations of Mr. Darwin and the transmutationists found one such instance to establish their theory, and this although the shades between one class and another are often most lightly marked. For there are creatures which occupy a doubtful post between the animal and the vegetable kingdoms—half-notes in the great scale of nature's harmony. Is it credible that all favourable varieties of turnips are tending to become men, and yet that the closest microscopic observation has never detected the faintest tendency in the highest of the *Algæ* to improve into the very lowest *Zoophyte*?

Again, we have not only the existing tribes of animals out of which to cull, if it were possible, the instances which the transmutationists require to make their theory defensible consistently with the simplest laws of inductive science, but we have in the earth beneath us a vast museum of the forms which have preceded us. Over so vast a period of time does Mr. Darwin extend this collection that he finds reasons for believing that 'it is not improbable that a longer period than 300,000,000 years has elapsed since the latter part of the secondary (geological) period' alone. (p. 287.) Here then surely at last we must find the missing links of that vast chain of innumerable and separately imperceptible variations, which has convinced the inquirer into Nature's undoubted facts of the truth of the transmutation theory. But no such thing. The links are wholly wanting, and the multiplicity of these facts and their absolute rebellion against Mr. Darwin's theory is perhaps his chief difficulty. Here is his own statement of it, and his mode of meeting it:—

'Why then is not every geological formation and every stratum full of such intermediate links? Geology assuredly does not reveal  
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any such finely graduated organic chain; and this, perhaps, is the most obvious and gravest objection which can be urged against my theory. The explanation lies, as I believe, in the extreme imperfection of the geological record.'—p. 280.

This 'Imperfection of the Geological Record,' and the 'Geological Succession,' are the subjects of two laboured and ingenious chapters, in which he tries, as we think utterly in vain, to break down the unanswerable refutation which is given to his theory by the testimony of the rocks. He treats the subject thus:—1. He affirms that only a small portion of the globe has been explored with care. 2. He extends at will to new and hitherto unsuggested myriads of years the times which have elapsed between successive formations in order to account for the utter absence of everything like a succession of ascertainable variations in the successive inhabitants of the earth. How he deals in these suggestions with time, filling in or striking out a few millions of years at pleasure, the following comprehensive sentence may show:—

'At this rate, on the above data, the denudation of the Weald must have required 306,662,400 years, or say three hundred million years. But perhaps it would be safer to allow two or three inches per century, and this would reduce the number of years to 150 or 100 million years.'—p. 287.

As these calculations concerning the general duration of formations, and specially concerning the Weald, are highly characteristic of the whole 'argument,' it may be worth while to submit them to a somewhat closer examination.

Mr. Darwin then argues (pp. 285, 286) that 'faults' proclaim the vastness of these durations. To establish this, he supposes that the result of a great fracture was the severing of strata once continuous, so as to throw them relatively a thousand feet apart from their original position, and thus form a cliff which stood up vertically on one side of that dislocation; and so he imagines that countless ages must have elapsed, *according to the present waste of land*, to account for the wearing down of these outlines, so as to have left (as is often the case) no trace of the great dislocation upon the present surface of the land. But, with hardly an exception, every sound geologist would repudiate as a 'petitio principii' this whole method of reasoning; for though a few geologists would explain these great dislocations on the hypothesis of intermittent successive movements severally of small amount, yet in the judgment of far the larger number, and the more judicious of those who have made geology their study, they were undoubtedly the result of sudden movements, produced by internal efforts of central heat and gas to escape, and were infinitely more intense and spasmodic (catastrophic if you will) than

than any of those similar causes which, in a minor way, now produce our earthquakes and oscillations of the surface to the extent of a few feet only. Hence these great breaks and fractures were of such a nature as to render it impossible that any cliff should, at the period of their formation, have stood up on one side of the fracture. The very violence of the movement, accompanied as it must have been by the translation of vast masses of water sweeping away the rubbish, may, on the instant, have almost entirely smoothed down the ruptured fragments; the more so, as most of these great dislocations are believed to have taken place *under the sea*. The flattening down of all superficial appearances was therefore most probably the direct result of the catastrophe, and the countless ages of Darwin were, in all probability, at the longest, nothing more than a few months or years of our time.

The whole argument as to the Wealden denudation (p. 287) appears to us a similar exaggeration. Granting that rocky coasts are very slowly worn away by the present sea, the application of this view to the north and south coasts of the valley of the Weald, *i. e.* to the escarpments of the North and South Downs, is entirely untenable. For what shadow of proof is there that these chalk escarpments have been worn down inch by inch by the erosion of the waves of a former sea? It may be said to have been demonstrated \* by that great practical observer and philosophical geologist Sir R. Murchison, that, inasmuch as there is no trace of rounded water-worn pebbles nor shingles in any portion of the Weald (though there were plenty on the slopes without), the sea never could have so acted along these escarpments as on a shore, and hence the whole of the basis of the reasoning, about the three hundred million of years for the denudation of the cretaceous and subjacent deposits, is itself washed away at once.

But not only do the facts to which Mr. Darwin trusts to establish his vast lapses of years, which, he says, 'impress his mind almost in the same manner as does the vain endeavour to grapple with the idea of Eternity' (p. 285), not only do these give him the same power of supposing the progress of changes, of which we have found neither the commencement, nor the progress, nor the record, as ancient geographers allowed themselves, when they speculated upon the forms of men whose heads grew beneath their shoulders in the unreachd recesses of Africa,—but when, passing from these unlimited terms for change to work in, he proceeds to deal with the absence of all record of the changes themselves, the plainest geological facts again disprove

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\* See 'Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society,' London.  
Vol. 108.—No. 215.



his assumptions. For here he assumes that there are everywhere vast gaps (p. 302) between successive formations, which might, if they were filled up, furnish instances of all the many gradations required by his theory, and also that the past condition of the earth made the preservation of such specimens improbable. To prove the existence of these wide gaps, Mr. Darwin quotes (p. 289) Sir R. Murchison's great work on 'Russia;' but he appears to us to quote it incorrectly, for we understand it to say that there is abundant evidence that in that drift-covered region there are many evidences of the transition from the Devonian into the Carboniferous era in Palæozoic life, and also from the old Aralo-Caspian, or brackish water condition of tertiary times into present oceanic life; and that if all the rocks of Russia could be uncovered and the drift removed, we might discover many more of these transitions. In fact, although the geological record is often broken, we already know of many unbroken and perfect transitions between the Cambrian and Silurian, between the Silurian and Devonian, between the Devonian and Carboniferous, if not between the latter and the Permian.

Again, there is an absolute unbroken physical connection in Germany between the Permian and the Trias, and yet an entire separation of animals, and so on in Secondary and Tertiary deposits.

Now, if the field-geologist can show clear proofs of continuous deposit, and yet many distinct plants and animals in the succeeding formations, what becomes of that immense lapse of ages which should transform the Palæozoic Permian type into the entirely distinct Secondary or Triassic form? All such links are absolutely wanting even in these tracts, and in many others, where the conformable and gradual transition between formations proves that there is between them no break, and where everything indicates quiet physical transition, and which yet contain utterly different remains. How then can we account for such distinct forms of life in the quietly succeeding formations except by distinct creations?

Mr. Darwin is compelled to admit that he finds no records in the crust of the earth to verify his assumption:—

'To the question why we do not find records of these vast primordial periods, I can give no satisfactory answer.'—p. 308.

And again—

'The difficulty of understanding the absence of vast piles of fossiliferous strata, which on my theory no doubt were somewhere accumulated before the Silurian epoch, is very great.'—p. 308.

As to the suggestion that the absence of organic remains is no proof of the non-existence of the unrepresented classes, we would

would rather speak in the weighty words of Professor Owen than employ our own :—

‘The sum of the evidence which has been obtained appears to prove that the successive extinction of Amphitheria, Spalacotheria, Triconodons, and other mesozoic forms of mammals, has been followed by the introduction of much more numerous, varied, and higher-organised forms of the class, during the tertiary periods. There are, however, geologists who maintain that this is an assumption based upon a partial knowledge of the facts.

‘In the palæozoic strata, which, from their extent and depth, indicate, in the earth's existence as a seat of organic life, a period as prolonged as that which has followed their deposition, no trace of mammals has been observed. It may be conceded that, were mammals peculiar to dry land, such negative evidence would weigh little in producing conviction of their non-existence during the Silurian and Devonian æons, because the explored parts of such strata have been deposited from an ocean, and the chance of finding a terrestrial and air-breathing creature's remains in oceanic deposits is very remote. But in the present state of the warm-blooded, air-breathing, viviparous class, no genera and species are represented by such numerous and widely-dispersed individuals as those of the order Cetaceæ, which, under the guise of fishes, dwell, and can only live, in the ocean.

‘In all cetacea the skeleton is well ossified, and the vertebræ are very numerous; the smallest cetaceans would be deemed large amongst land-mammals, the largest surpass in bulk any creatures of which we have yet gained cognizance. The hugest ichthyosaur, iguanodon, megalosaur, mammoth, or megathere, is a dwarf in comparison with the modern whale of a hundred feet in length.

‘During the period in which we have proof that cetacea have existed, the evidence in the shape of bones and teeth, which latter enduring characteristics in most of the species are peculiar for their great number in the same individual, must have been abundantly deposited at the bottom of the sea; and as cachalots, grampuses, dolphins, and porpoises, are seen gambolling in shoals in deep oceans, far from land, their remains will form the most characteristic evidences of vertebrate life in the strata now in course of formation at the bottom of such oceans. Accordingly, it consists with the known characteristics of the cetacean class to find the marine deposits which fell from seas tenanted, as now, with vertebrates of that high grade, containing the fossil evidences of the order in vast abundance.’\*

And on that subject he again maintains :—

‘In like manner does such negative evidence weigh with me in proof of the non-existence of marine mammals in the liassic and oolitic times. In the marine deposits of those secondary or mesozoic epochs, the evidence of vertebrates governing the ocean, and preying

\* Owen ‘On the Classification of Mammalia,’ pp. 58, 59.

on inferior marine vertebrates, is as abundant as that of air-breathing vertebrates in the tertiary strata; but in the one the fossils are exclusively of the cold-blooded reptilian class, in the other of the warm-blooded mammalian class. The Enaliosauria, Cetiosauria, and Crocodilia played the same part and fulfilled similar offices in the seas from which the lias and oolites were precipitated, as the Delphinidæ and Balænidæ did in the tertiary and still do in the present seas. The unbiassed conclusion from both negative and positive evidence in this matter is, that the Cetacea succeeded and superseded the Enaliosauria. To the mind that will not accept such conclusion, the stratified oolitic rocks must cease to be monuments or trustworthy records of the condition of life on the earth at that period.'—p. 59.

And he thus sums up the argument:—

'So far, however, as any general conclusion can be deduced from the large sum of evidence above referred to and contrasted, it is against the doctrine of the Uniformitarian. Organic remains traced from their earliest known graves are succeeded one series by another, to the present period, and never reappear when once lost sight of in the ascending search. As well might we expect a living ichthyosaur in the Pacific as a fossil whale in the lias: the rule governs as strongly in the retrospect as the prospect. And not only as respects the vertebrata, but the sum of the animal species at each successive geological period has been distinct and peculiar to such period.'—p. 60.

Mr. Darwin's own pages bear witness to the same conclusion. The rare land shell found by Sir C. Lyell and Dr. Dawson in North America affords a conclusive proof that in the carboniferous period such animals were most rare, and only the earliest of that sort created. For the carboniferous strata of North America, stretching over tracts as large as the British Isles, and containing innumerable plants and other terrestrial things, must have been very equally depressed and elevated, since the very flowers and fruits of the plants of the period have been preserved; and if terrestrial animals abounded, why do we not see more of their remains than this miserable little dendro-pupa about a quarter of an inch long?

It would be wearisome to prolong these proofs; but if to any man they seem insufficient, let him read carefully the conclusion of Sir Roderick Murchison's masterly work upon '*Siluria*.' We venture to aver that the conviction must be forced upon him that the geological record is absolutely inconsistent with the truth of Mr. Darwin's theory; and yet by Mr. Darwin's own confession this conclusion is fatal to his whole argument:—

'If my theory be true, it is indisputable that, before the lowest Silurian stratum was deposited, long periods elapsed, as long as, or probably

probably far longer than, the whole interval from the Silurian age to the present day; and that during these vast yet quite unknown periods of time, the world swarmed with living creatures.'—p. 307.

Now it is proved to demonstration by Sir Roderick Murchison, and admitted by all geologists, that we possess these earlier formations, stretching over vast extents, perfectly unaltered, and exhibiting no signs of life. Here we have, as nearly as it is possible in the nature of things to have, the absolute proof of a negative. If these forms of life had existed they must have been found. Even Mr. Darwin shrinks from the deadly gripe of this argument. 'The case,' he says (p. 308) 'at present must remain inexplicable, and may be truly urged as a valid argument against the views here entertained.' More than once indeed does he make this admission. One passage we have quoted already from p. 280 of his work. With equal candour he says further on:—

'I do not pretend that I should ever have suspected how poor a record of the mutations of life the best preserved geological section presented, had not the difficulty of our not discovering innumerable transitional links between the species which appeared at the commencement and close of each formation pressed so hardly on my theory.'—p. 302.

And, once more—

'Why does not every collection of fossil remains afford plain evidence of the gradation and mutation of the forms of life? We meet with no such evidence, and this is the most obvious and forcible of the many objections which may be urged against my theory.'—p. 463.

But though this objection is that which is rated highest by himself, there is another which appears to us in some respects stronger still, and to which we deem Mr. Darwin's answers equally insufficient,—we mean the law of sterility affixed to hybridism. If it were possible to proclaim more distinctly by one provision than another that the difference between various species was a law of creation, and not, as the transmutationists maintain, an ever-varying accident, it would surely be by the interposing such a bar to change as that which now exists in the universal fruitlessness which is the result of all known mixtures of animals specifically distinct. Mr. Darwin labours hard here, but his utmost success is to reveal a very few instances from the vegetable world, with its shadowy image of the procreative animal system, as exceptions to the universal rule. As to animals, he is compelled by the plainness of the testimony against him to admit that he 'doubts whether any case of a perfectly fertile hybrid

hybrid animal can be considered as thoroughly well authenticated' (p. 252); and his best attempts to get rid of this evidence are such suggestions as that 'the common and the true ring-necked pheasant intercross' (p. 253), though every breeder of game could tell him that, so far from there being the slightest ground for considering these as distinct species, all experience shows that the ring-neck almost uniformly appears where the common pheasant's eggs are hatched under the domestic hen. How then does Mr. Darwin dispose of this apparently impassable barrier of nature against the transmutation-theory? He urges that it depends not upon any great law of life, but mainly, first, on the early death of the embryo, or, secondly, upon 'the common imperfection of the reproductive system' in the male offspring. How he considers this to be any answer to the difficulty it is beyond our power to conceive. We can hardly imagine any clearer way of stating the mode in which an universal law, if it existed, must act, than that in which he describes it, to disprove its existence. But, besides this, other and insuperable difficulties beset this whole speculation. To one of these Mr. Darwin alludes (pp. 192, 193), and dismisses it with a most suspicious brevity. 'The electric organs of fishes,' he says, 'offer another case of special difficulty,' and he places as 'a parallel case of difficulty the presence of luminous organs in a few insects belonging to different families and orders.

We see no possible solution on the Darwinian theory for the presence at once so marked and so exceptional of these organs. And how are they dealt with? Surely in a mode most unsatisfactory by one promulgating a new theory of creation; for scarcely admitting that their presence is little else than destructive of his theory, Mr. Darwin simply remarks 'that we are too ignorant to argue that no transition of any kind is possible,' a solution which could of course equally make the scheme it is intended to serve compatible with any other contradiction.

It is the more important to notice this, because there is another large class of cases in which the same difficulty is present, and as to which Mr. Darwin suggests no solution. We allude to those animals which, like many snakes, possess special organs for secreting venom and for discharging it at their own proper volition. The whole set of glands, ducts, and other vessels employed for this purpose are, as any instructed comparative anatomist would tell him, so entirely separate from the ordinary laws of animal life and peculiar to themselves, that the derivation of these by any natural modification from progenitors which did not possess them would be a marvellous contradiction of all laws of descent with which we are familiar. And this special and unnoticed

unnoticed difficulty leads us on to another of still wider extent. Most of our readers know that the stomachs and whole digestive system of the carnivori are constructed upon a wholly different type from those of the graminivorous animals. Yet whence this difference, if these diverse constructions can claim a common origin? Can any permutationist pretend that experience gives us any reason for believing that any change of food, however unnatural or forced, ever has changed or ever could change the one type into the other? Yet that diversity pervades the whole being of the separated classes. It does not affect only their outward forms, as to which the merest accidents of colour or of hair may veil real resemblance under seeming difference, but it pervades the nervous system, the organs of reproduction, the stomach, the alimentary canal; nay, in every blood-corpuscle which circulates through their arteries and veins it is universally present and perpetually active.

Where, then, in the most allied forms, was the earliest commencement of diversity? or what advantage of life could alter the shape of the corpuscles into which the blood can be evaporated?

We come then to these conclusions. All the facts presented to us in the natural world tend to show that none of the variations produced in the fixed forms of animal life, when seen in its most plastic condition under domestication, give any promise of a true transmutation of species; first, from the difficulty of accumulating and fixing variations within the same species; secondly, from the fact that these variations, though most serviceable for man, have no tendency to improve the individual beyond the standard of his own specific type, and so to afford matter, even if they were infinitely produced, for the supposed power of natural selection on which to work; whilst all variations from the mixture of species are barred by the inexorable law of hybrid sterility. Further, the embalmed records of 3000 years show that there has been no beginning of transmutation in the species of our most familiar domesticated animals; and beyond this, that in the countless tribes of animal life around us, down to its lowest and most variable species, no one has ever discovered a single instance of such transmutation being now in prospect; no new organ has ever been known to be developed—no new natural instinct to be formed—whilst, finally, in the vast museum of departed animal life which the strata of the earth imbed for our examination, whilst they contain far too complete a representation of the past to be set aside as a mere imperfect record, yet afford no one instance of any such change as having ever been in progress, or give us anywhere the missing links of the assumed chain, or  
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the remains which would enable now existing variations, by gradual approximations, to shade off into unity.

On what then is the new theory based? We say it with unfeigned regret, in dealing with such a man as Mr. Darwin, on the merest hypothesis, supported by the most unbounded assumptions. These are strong words, but we will give a few instances to prove their truth:—

‘All physiologists admit that the swim-bladder is homologous or “ideally similar” in position and structure with the lungs of the higher vertebrate animals; hence there *seems to me to be no great difficulty in believing* that natural selection has actually converted a swim-bladder into a lung, or organ used exclusively for respiration.’—p. 191.

‘*I can indeed hardly doubt* that all vertebrate animals having true lungs have descended by ordinary generation from the ancient prototype, of which we know nothing, furnished with a floating apparatus or swim-bladder.’—p. 191.

We must be cautious

‘In concluding that the most different habits of all *could not* graduate into each other; that a bat, for instance, *could not* have been formed by natural selection from an animal which at first could only glide through the air.’—p. 204.

Again:—

‘*I see no difficulty in supposing* that such links formerly existed, and that each had been formed by the same steps as in the case of the less perfectly gliding squirrels, and that each grade of structure was useful to its possessor. Nor *can I see any insuperable difficulty in further believing* it possible that the membrane-connected fingers and forearm of the galeopithecus might be greatly lengthened by natural selection, and this, as far as the organs of flight are concerned, would convert it into a bat.’—p. 181.

‘For instance, a swim-bladder has *apparently* been converted into an air-breathing lung.’—p. 204.

And again:—

‘The electric organs of fishes offer another case of special difficulty. It is impossible to conceive by what steps these wondrous organs have been produced; but, as Owen and others have remarked, their intimate structure closely resembles that of common muscle; and as it has lately been shown that rays have an organ closely analogous to the electric apparatus, and yet do not, as Matteucci asserts, discharge any electricity, we must own that we are far too ignorant to argue that *no transition of any kind is possible*.’—pp. 192-3.

Sometimes Mr. Darwin seems for a moment to recoil himself from this extravagant liberty of speculation, as when he says, concerning the eye,—

‘To suppose that the eye, with its inimitable contrivances for adjusting the focus to different distances, for admitting different amounts



amounts of light, and for the correction of spherical and chromatic aberration, could have been formed by natural selection, seems, I freely confess, absurd in the highest possible degree.'—p. 186.

But he soon returns to his new wantonness of conjecture, and, without the shadow of a fact, contents himself with saying that—'he *suspects* that any sensitive nerve may be rendered sensitive to light, and likewise to those coarser vibrations of the air which produce sound.'—p. 187.

And in the following passage he carries this extravagance to the highest pitch, requiring a licence for advancing as true any theory which cannot be demonstrated to be actually impossible:—

'If it could be demonstrated that any complex organ existed, *which could not possibly* have been formed by numerous, successive, slight modifications, my theory would absolutely break down. But I can find no such case.'—p. 189.

Another of these assumptions is not a little remarkable. It suits the argument to deduce all our known varieties of pigeon from the rock-pigeon (the *Columba livia*), and this parentage is traced out, though not, we think, to demonstration, yet with great ingenuity and patience. But another branch of the argument would be greatly strengthened by establishing the descent of our various breeds of dogs with their perfect power of fertile interbreeding from different natural species. And accordingly, though every fact as to the canine race is parallel to the facts which have been used before to establish the common parentage of the pigeons in *Columba livia*, all these are thrown over in a moment, and Mr. Darwin, first assuming, without the shadow of proof, that our domestic breeds are descended from different species, proceeds calmly to argue from this, as though it were a demonstrated certainty.

'It *seems to me unlikely* in the case of the dog-genus, which is distributed in a wild state throughout the world, that since man first appeared one species alone should have been domesticated.'—p. 18.

'In some cases *I do not doubt* that the intercrossing of species aboriginally distinct has played an important part in the origin of our domestic productions.'—p. 43.

What new words are these for a loyal disciple of the true Baconian philosophy?—'I can conceive'—'It is not incredible'—'I do not doubt'—'It is conceivable.'

'For myself, *I venture confidently* to look back thousands on thousands of generations, and I see an animal striped like a zebra, but perhaps otherwise very differently constructed, the common parent of our domestic horse, whether or not it be descended from one or more wild stocks of the ass, heminus, quagga, or zebra.'—p. 167.

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In the name of all true philosophy we protest equally against such a mode of dealing with nature, as utterly dishonourable to all natural science, as reducing it from its present lofty level as one of the noblest trainers of man's intellect and instructors of his mind, to being a mere idle play of the fancy, without the basis of fact or the discipline of observation. In the 'Arabian Nights' we are not offended as at an impossibility when Amina sprinkles her husband with water and transforms him into a dog, but we cannot open the august doors of the venerable temple of scientific truth to the genii and magicians of romance. We plead guilty to Mr. Darwin's imputation that

'the chief cause of our natural unwillingness to admit that one species has given birth to other and distinct species is that we are always slow in admitting any great change of which we do not see the intermediate steps.'—p. 481.

In this tardiness to admit great changes suggested by the imagination, but the steps of which we cannot see, is the true spirit of philosophy.

'Analysis,' says Professor Sedgwick, 'consists in making experiments and observations, and in drawing general conclusions from them by induction, and admitting of no objections against the conclusions but such as are taken from experiments or other certain truths; for hypotheses are not to be regarded in experimental philosophy.\*'

The other solvent which Mr. Darwin most freely and, we think, unphilosophically employs to get rid of difficulties, is his use of time. This he shortens or prolongs at will by the mere wave of his magician's rod. Thus the duration of whole epochs, during which certain forms of animal life prevailed, is gathered up into a point, whilst an unlimited expanse of years, impressing his mind with a sense of eternity, is suddenly interposed between that and the next series, though geology proclaims the transition to have been one of gentle and, it may be, swift accomplishment. All this too is made the more startling because it is used to meet the objections drawn from facts. 'We see none of your works,' says the observer of nature; 'we see no beginnings of the portentous change; we see plainly beings of another order in creation, but we find amongst them no tendencies to these altered organisms.' 'True,' says the great magician, with a calmness no difficulty derived from the obstinacy of facts can disturb; 'true, but remember the effect of time. Throw in a few hundreds of millions of years more or less, and why should not all these changes be possible, and, if possible, why may I not assume them to be real?'

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\* 'A Discourse on the Studies of the University,' by A. Sedgwick, p. 102.

Together with this large licence of assumption we notice in this book several instances of receiving as facts whatever seems to bear out the theory upon the slightest evidence, and rejecting summarily others, merely because they are fatal to it. We grieve to charge upon Mr. Darwin this freedom in handling facts, but truth extorts it from us. That the loose statements and unfounded speculations of this book should come from the author of the monographs on Cirripedes, and the writer, in the natural history of the Voyage of the 'Beagle,' of the paper on the Coral Reefs, is indeed a sad warning how far the love of a theory may seduce even a first-rate naturalist from the very articles of his creed.

This treatment of facts is followed up by another favourite line of argument, namely, that by this hypothesis difficulties otherwise inextricable are solved. Such passages abound. Take a few, selected almost at random, to illustrate what we mean:—

'How inexplicable are these facts on the ordinary view of creation !'  
—p. 436.

'Such facts as the presence of peculiar species of bats and the absence of other mammals on oceanic islands are utterly inexplicable on the theory of independent acts of creation.'—pp. 477-8.

'It must be admitted that these facts receive no explanation on the theory of creation.'—p. 478.

'The inhabitants of the Cape de Verde Islands are related to those of Africa, like those of the Galapagos to America. I believe this grand fact can receive no sort of explanation on the ordinary view of independent creation.'—pp. 398-9.

Now what can be more simply reconcilable with that theory than Mr. Darwin's own account of the mode in which the migration of animal life from one distant region to another is continually accomplished?

Take another of these suggestions:—

'It is inexplicable, on the theory of creation, why a part developed in a very unusual manner in any one species of a genus, and therefore, as we may naturally infer, of great importance to the species, should be eminently liable to variation.'—p. 474.

Why 'inexplicable'? Such a liability to variation might most naturally be expected in the part 'unusually developed,' because such unusual development is of the nature of a monstrosity, and monsters are always tending to relapse into likeness to the normal type. Yet this argument is one on which he mainly relies to establish his theory, for he sums all up in this triumphant inference:—

'I cannot believe that a false theory would explain, as it seems to me that the theory of natural selection does explain, the several large classes of facts above specified.'—p. 480.

Now

Now, as to all this, we deny, first, that many of these difficulties are 'inexplicable on any other supposition.' Of the greatest of them (128, 194) we shall have to speak before we conclude. We will here touch only on one of those which are continually reappearing in Mr. Darwin's pages, in order to illustrate his mode of dealing with them. He finds, then, one of these 'inexplicable difficulties' in the fact, that the young of the blackbird, instead of resembling the adult in the colour of its plumage, is like the young of many other birds spotted, and triumphantly declaring that—

'No one will suppose that the stripes on the whelp of a lion, or the spots on the young blackbird, are of any use to these animals, or are related to the conditions to which they are exposed'—pp. 439-40—

he draws from them one of his strongest arguments for this alleged community of descent. Yet what is more certain to every observant field-naturalist than that this alleged uselessness of colouring is one of the greatest protections to the young bird, imperfect in its flight, perching on every spray, sitting unwarily on every bush through which the rays of sunshine dapple every bough to the colour of its own plumage, and so give it a facility of escape which it would utterly want if it bore the marked and prominent colours, the beauty of which the adult bird needs to recommend him to his mate, and can safely bear with his increased habits of vigilance and power of wing?

But, secondly, as to many of these difficulties, the alleged solving of which is one great proof of the truth of Mr. Darwin's theory, we are compelled to join issue with him on another ground, and deny that he gives us any solution at all. Thus, for instance, Mr. Darwin builds a most ingenious argument on the tendency of the young of the horse, ass, zebra, and quagga, to bear on their shoulder and on their legs certain barred stripes. Up these bars (bars sinister, as we think, as to any true descent of existing animals from their fancied prototype) he mounts through his 'thousands and thousands of generations,' to the existence of his 'common parent, otherwise perhaps very differently constructed, but striped like a zebra.'—(p. 67.) 'How inexplicable,' he exclaims, 'on the theory of creation, is the occasional appearance of stripes on the shoulder and legs of several species of the horse genus and in their hybrids!'—(p. 473.) He tells us that to suppose that each species was created with a tendency 'like this, is to make the works of God a mere mockery and deception;' and he satisfies himself that all difficulty is gone when he refers the stripes to his hypothetical thousands on thousands of years removed progenitor. But how is his difficulty really affected?

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for why is the striping of one species a less real difficulty than the striping of many?

Another instance of this want of fairness, to which we must call the attention of our readers, because it too often recurs, is contained in the following question:—

‘Were all the infinitely numerous kinds of animals and plants created as eggs, or seed, or as full grown? and, in the case of mammals, were they created bearing the false marks of nourishment from the mother’s womb?’—p. 483.

The difficulty here glanced at is extreme, but it is one for the solution of which the transmutation-theory gives no clue. It is inherent in the idea of the creation of beings, which are to reproduce their like by natural succession; for, in such a world, place the first beginning where you will, that beginning *must* contain the apparent history of a *past*, which existed only in the mind of the Creator. If, with Mr. Darwin, to escape the difficulty of supposing the first man at his creation to possess in that framework of his body ‘false marks of nourishment from his mother’s womb,’ with Mr. Darwin you consider him to have been an improved ape, you only carry the difficulty up from the first man to the first ape; if, with Mr. Darwin, in violation of all observation, you break the barrier between the classes of vegetable and animal life, and suppose every animal to be an ‘improved’ vegetable, you do but carry your difficulty with you into the vegetable world; for, how could there be seeds if there had been no plants to seed them? and if you carry up your thoughts through the vista of the Darwinian eternity up to the primæval fungus, still the primæval fungus must have had humus, from which to draw into its venerable vessels the nourishment of its archetypal existence, and that humus must itself be a ‘false mark’ of a pre-existing vegetation.

We have dwelt a little upon this, because it is by such seeming solutions of difficulties as that which this passage supplies that the transmutationist endeavours to prop up his utterly rotten fabric of guess and speculation.

There are no parts of Mr. Darwin’s ingenious book in which he gives the reins more completely to his fancy than where he deals with the improvement of instinct by his principle of natural selection. We need but instance his assumption, without a fact on which to build it, that the marvellous skill of the honey-bee in constructing its cells is thus obtained, and the slave-making habits of the *Formica Polyerges* thus formed. There seems to be no limit here to the exuberance of his fancy, and we cannot but think that we detect one of those hints by which Mr. Darwin indicates the application of his system from the lower animals to

man

man himself, when he dwells so pointedly upon the fact that it is always the *black* ant which is enslaved by his other coloured and more fortunate brethren. 'The slaves are black!' We believe that, if we had Mr. Darwin in the witness-box, and could subject him to a moderate cross-examination, we should find that he believed that the tendency of the lighter-coloured races of mankind to prosecute the negro slave-trade was really a remains, in their more favoured condition, of the 'extraordinary and odious instinct' which had possessed them before they had been 'improved by natural selection' from *Formica Polyerges* into *Homo*. This at least is very much the way in which (p. 479) he slips in quite incidentally the true identity of man with the horse, the bat, and the porpoise:—

'The framework of bones being the same in the hand of a man, wing of a bat, fin of a porpoise, and leg of the horse, the same number of vertebræ forming the neck of the giraffe and of the elephant, and innumerable other such facts, at once explain themselves on the theory of descent with slow and slight successive modifications.'—p. 479.

Such assumptions as these, we once more repeat, are most dishonourable and injurious to science; and though, out of respect to Mr. Darwin's high character and to the tone of his work, we have felt it right to weigh the 'argument' again set by him before us in the simple scales of logical examination, yet we must remind him that the view is not a new one, and that it has already been treated with admirable humour when propounded by another of his name and of his lineage. We do not think that, with all his matchless ingenuity, Mr. Darwin has found any instance which so well illustrates his own theory of the improved descendant under the elevating influences of natural selection exterminating the progenitor whose specialities he has exaggerated as he himself affords us in this work. For if we go back two generations we find the ingenious grandsire of the author of the '*Origin of Species*' speculating on the same subject, and almost in the same manner with his more daring descendant. Speaking of the delicate organs of his favourite plants, Dr. Darwin tells us:—

'They now acquire blood more oxygenated by the air; obtain the passion and power of reproduction; are sensible to heat, and cold, and moisture; and become in reality insects fed with honey. . . . I am acquainted with a philosopher, who, contemplating this subject, thinks it *not impossible*' [we beg our readers to notice the exact phrase on which we have had so often to remark in the younger Darwin] 'that the first insects were the anthers or stigmas of flowers, which had by some means loosed themselves from their parent-plant; and that many other insects have gradually, in long process of time' [again we beg special attention to the remarkable foreshadowing of the  
gradual

gradual long-time development of the younger Darwin], 'been formed from these; some acquiring wings, others fins, and others claws' [like Mr. Darwin's bats, and fly-catching bears, and crabs], 'from their ceaseless efforts to procure their food, or to secure themselves from injury. . . . The anthers and stigmas are therefore separate beings.'\*

Many of our readers will remember the humour with which Frere and Canning, in the 'Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin,' exposed these philosophical arguments of the last generation. But their illustrations of the system apply so admirably to some of the speculations of our present volume, that we cannot forbear from quoting a few of them:—

'Quere, whether a practical application of this theory would not enable us to account for the genesis or original formation of space itself, in the same manner in which Dr. Darwin has traced the whole of organized creation to his six filaments? We may conceive the whole of our present universe to have been originally concentrated in a single point; we may conceive this primæval point, or punctum saliens of the universe, evolving itself by its own energies, to have moved forward in a right line, *ad infinitum*, till it grew tired; after which the right line which it had generated would begin to put itself in motion in a lateral direction, describing an area of infinite extent. This area, as soon as it became conscious of its own existence, would begin to ascend or descend according as its specific gravity would determine it, forming an immense solid space filled with vacuum, and capable of containing the present universe. Space being thus obtained, and presenting a suitable nidus or receptacle for the accumulation of chaotic matter, an immense deposit of it would be gradually accumulated; after which the filament of fire being produced in the chaotic mass by an idiosyncrasy or self-formed habit analogous to fermentation, explosion would take place, suns would be shot from the central chaos, planets from suns, and satellites from planets. In this state of things the filament of organization would begin to exert itself in those independent masses which in proportion to their bulk exposed the greatest surface to light and heat. This filament, *after an infinite series of ages* [the Darwinian eternity], would begin to *ramify*, and its oviparous offspring would diversify their former habits, so as to accommodate themselves to the various incunabula which Nature had prepared for them' [natural selection, that is to say, in our more modern phraseology, would now be busily at work]. 'Upon this view of things it seems highly probable that the first efforts of Nature terminated in the production of vegetables, and that these, being abandoned to their own *energies*' [or to the struggle for life], 'by degrees detached themselves from the surface of the earth, and supplied themselves with wings and feet, according as their different propensities determined them in favour of ærial and terrestrial existence; and thus, by an inherent disposition

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\* Additional Note xxxix. to Darwin's 'Botanic Garden.'



to society and civilization, and by a stronger effort men. These in time would restrict themselves to the use of their *hind feet*: their *tails* would gradually rub off by sitting in their caves and huts as soon as they arrived at a domesticated state.\*

Mr. Darwin would relieve them of their tails by the simple expedient of disuse, but he would eminently agree with the next suggestion of the Antijacobin writers, who suggest that,—‘Meanwhile the Fuci and Algæ, with the Corallines and Madrepores, would transform themselves into fish, and would gradually populate all the submarine portion of the globe.’\*

Our readers will not have failed to notice that we have objected to the views with which we have been dealing solely on scientific grounds. We have done so from our fixed conviction that it is thus that the truth or falsehood of such arguments should be tried. We have no sympathy with those who object to any facts or alleged facts in nature, or to any inference logically deduced from them, because they believe them to contradict what it appears to them is taught by Revelation. We think that all such objections savour of a timidity which is really inconsistent with a firm and well-instructed faith:—

‘Let us for a moment,’ profoundly remarks Professor Sedgwick, ‘suppose that there are some religious difficulties in the conclusions of geology. How, then, are we to solve them? Not by making a world after a pattern of our own—not by shifting and shuffling the solid strata of the earth, and then dealing them out in such a way as to play the game of an ignorant or dishonest hypothesis—not by shutting our eyes to facts, or denying the evidence of our senses—but by patient investigation, carried on in the sincere love of truth, and by learning to reject every consequence not warranted by physical evidence.’†

He who is as sure as he is of his own existence that the God of Truth is at once the God of Nature and the God of Revelation, cannot believe it to be possible that His voice in either, rightly understood, can differ, or deceive His creatures. To oppose facts in the natural world because they seem to oppose Revelation, or to humour them so as to compel them to speak its voice, is, he knows, but another form of the ever-ready feeble-minded dishonesty of lying for God, and trying by fraud or falsehood to do the work of the God of truth. It is with another and a nobler spirit that the true believer walks amongst the works of nature. The words graven on the everlasting rocks are the words of God, and they are graven by His hand. No more can they contradict His Word written in His book, than could the words of the old

\* ‘Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin,’ p. 110.

† ‘A Discourse on the Studies of the University,’ p. 149.

covenant graven by His hand on the stony tables contradict the writings of His hand in the volume of the new dispensation. There may be to man difficulty in reconciling all the utterances of the two voices. But what of that? He has learned already that here he knows only in part, and that the day of reconciling all apparent contradictions between what must agree is nigh at hand. He rests his mind in perfect quietness on this assurance, and rejoices in the gift of light without a misgiving as to what it may discover:—

‘A man of deep thought and great practical wisdom,’ says Sedgwick,\* ‘one whose piety and benevolence have for many years been shining before the world, and of whose sincerity no scoffer (of whatever school) will dare to start a doubt, recorded his opinion in the great assembly of the men of science who during the past year were gathered from every corner of the Empire within the walls of this University, “that Christianity had everything to hope and nothing to fear from the advancement of philosophy.”’†

This is as truly the spirit of Christianity as it is that of philosophy. Few things have more deeply injured the cause of religion than the busy fussy energy with which men, narrow and feeble alike in faith and in science, have bustled forth to reconcile all new discoveries in physics with the word of inspiration. For it continually happens that some larger collection of facts, or some wider view of the phenomena of nature, alter the whole philosophic scheme; whilst Revelation has been committed to declare an absolute agreement with what turns out after all to have been a misconception or an error. We cannot, therefore, consent to test the truth of natural science by the Word of Revelation. But this does not make it the less important to point out on scientific grounds scientific errors, when those errors tend to limit God’s glory in creation, or to gainsay the revealed relations of that creation to Himself. To both these classes of error, though, we doubt not, quite unintentionally on his part, we think that Mr. Darwin’s speculations directly tend.

Mr. Darwin writes as a Christian, and we doubt not that he is one. We do not for a moment believe him to be one of those who retain in some corner of their hearts a secret unbelief which they dare not vent; and we therefore pray him to consider well the grounds on which we brand his speculations with the charge of such a tendency. First, then, he not obscurely declares that he applies his scheme of the action of the principle of natural selection to MAN himself, as well as to the animals around him.

\* ‘A Discourse on the Studies of the University,’ p. 153.

† Speech of Dr. Chalmers at the Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, June, 1833.

Now, we must say at once, and openly, that such a notion is absolutely incompatible not only with single expressions in the word of God on that subject of natural science with which it is not immediately concerned, but, which in our judgment is of far more importance, with the whole representation of that moral and spiritual condition of man which is its proper subject-matter. Man's derived supremacy over the earth; man's power of articulate speech; man's gift of reason; man's free-will and responsibility; man's fall and man's redemption; the incarnation of the Eternal Son; the indwelling of the Eternal Spirit,—all are equally and utterly irreconcilable with the degrading notion of the brute origin of him who was created in the image of God, and redeemed by the Eternal Son assuming to himself his nature. Equally inconsistent, too, not with any passing expressions, but with the whole scheme of God's dealings with man as recorded in His word, is Mr. Darwin's daring notion of man's further development into some unknown extent of powers, and shape, and size, through natural selection acting through that long vista of ages which he casts mistily over the earth upon the most favoured individuals of his species. We care not in these pages to push the argument further. We have done enough for our purpose in thus succinctly intimating its course. If any of our readers doubt what must be the result of such speculations carried to their logical and legitimate conclusion, let them turn to the pages of Oken, and see for themselves the end of that path the opening of which is decked out in these pages with the bright hues and seemingly innocent deductions of the transmutation-theory.

Nor can we doubt, secondly, that this view, which thus contradicts the revealed relation of creation to its Creator, is equally inconsistent with the fulness of His glory. It is, in truth, an ingenious theory for diffusing throughout creation the working and so the personality of the Creator. And thus, however unconsciously to him who holds them, such views really tend inevitably to banish from the mind most of the peculiar attributes of the Almighty.

How, asks Mr. Darwin, can we possibly account for the manifest plan, order, and arrangement which pervade creation, except we allow to it this self-developing power through modified descent?

'As Milne-Edwards has well expressed it, Nature is prodigal in variety, but niggard in innovation. Why, on the theory of creation, should this be so? Why should all the parts and organs of many independent beings, each supposed to have been separately created for its proper place in nature, be so commonly linked together by graduated steps? Why should not Nature have taken a leap from structure to structure?'—p. 194.

And

And again :—

‘It is a truly wonderful fact—the wonder of which we are apt to overlook from familiarity—that all animals and plants throughout all time and space should be related to each other in group subordinate to group, in the manner which we everywhere behold, namely, varieties of the same species most closely related together, species of the same genus less closely and unequally related together, forming sections and sub-genera, species of distinct genera much less closely related, and genera related in different degrees, forming sub-families, families, orders, sub-classes, and classes.’—pp. 128-9.

How can we account for all this? By the simplest and yet the most comprehensive answer. By declaring the stupendous fact that all creation is the transcript in matter of ideas eternally existing in the mind of the Most High—that order in the utmost perfectness of its relation pervades His works, because it exists as in its centre and highest fountain-head in Him the Lord of all. Here is the true account of the fact which has so utterly misled shallow observers, that Man himself, the Prince and Head of this creation, passes in the earlier stages of his being through phases of existence closely analogous, so far as his earthly tabernacle is concerned, to those in which the lower animals ever remain. At that point of being the development of the protozoa is arrested. Through it the embryo of their chief passes to the perfection of his earthly frame. But the types of those lower forms of being must be found in the animals which never advance beyond them—not in man for whom they are but the foundation for an after-development; whilst he too, Creation’s crown and perfection, thus bears witness in his own frame to the law of order which pervades the universe.

In like manner could we answer every other question as to which Mr. Darwin thinks all oracles are dumb unless they speak his speculation. He is, for instance, more than once troubled by what he considers imperfections in Nature’s work. ‘If,’ he says, ‘our reason leads us to admire with enthusiasm a multitude of inimitable contrivances in Nature, this same reason tells us that some other contrivances are less perfect.’

‘Nor ought we to marvel if all the contrivances in nature be not, as far as we can judge, absolutely perfect; and if some of them be abhorrent to our idea of fitness. We need not marvel at the sting of the bee causing the bee’s own death; at drones being produced in such vast numbers for one single act, with the great majority slaughtered by their sterile sisters; at the astonishing waste of pollen by our fir-trees; at the instinctive hatred of the queen-bee for her own fertile daughters; at ichneumonidæ feeding within the live bodies of caterpillars; and at other such cases. The wonder indeed is, on the theory of natural selection, that more cases of the want of absolute perfection have not been observed.’—p. 472.

We think that the real temper of this whole speculation as to nature itself may be read in these few lines. It is a dishonouring view of nature.

That reverence for the work of God's hands with which a true belief in the All-wise Worker fills the believer's heart is at the root of all great physical discovery; it is the basis of philosophy. He who would see the venerable features of Nature must not seek with the rudeness of a licensed roysterer violently to unmask her countenance; but must wait as a learner for her willing unveiling. There was more of the true temper of philosophy in the poetic fiction of the Pan-ic shriek, than in the atheistic speculations of Lucretius. But this temper must beset those who do in effect banish God from nature. And so Mr. Darwin not only finds in it these bungling contrivances which his own greater skill could amend, but he stands aghast before its mightier phenomena. The presence of death and famine seems to him inconceivable on the ordinary idea of creation; and he looks almost aghast at them until reconciled to their presence by his own theory that 'a ratio of increase so high as to lead to a struggle for life, and as a consequence to natural selection entailing divergence of character and the extinction of less improved forms, is decidedly followed by the most exalted object which we are capable of conceiving, namely, the production of the higher animals' (p. 490). But we can give him a simpler solution still for the presence of these strange forms of imperfection and suffering amongst the works of God.

We can tell him of the strong shudder which ran through all this world when its head and ruler fell. When he asks concerning the infinite variety of these multiplied works which are set in such an orderly unity, and run up into man as their reasonable head, we can tell him of the exuberance of God's goodness and remind him of the deep philosophy which lies in those simple words—'All thy works praise Thee, O God, and thy saints give thanks unto Thee.' For it is one office of redeemed man to collect the inarticulate praises of the material creation, and pay them with conscious homage into the treasury of the supreme Lord. Surely the philosophy which penned the following glorious words is just as much truer to nature as it is to revelation than all these speculations of the transmutationist. Having shown, from a careful osteological examination of his structure, from his geographical distribution, from the differences and agreements of the several specimens of the human family, and from the changes which step by step we can trace wrought by domestication and variation in the lower animals, that man is not and cannot be an improved ape, Professor Owen adds:—

'The

'The unity of the human species is demonstrated by the constancy of those osteological and dental characters to which the attention is more particularly directed in the investigation of the corresponding characters of the higher quadrumana. Man is the sole species of his genus, the sole representative of his order and subclass. Thus I trust has been furnished the confutation of the notion of a transformation of the ape into the man, which appears from a favourite old author to have been entertained by some in his day :—

"And of a truth, vile epicurism and sensuality will make the soul of man so degenerate and blind, that he will not only be content to slide into brutish immorality, but please himself in this very opinion that he is a real brute already, an ape, satyr, or baboon; and that the best of men are no better, saving that civilising of them and industrious education has made them appear in a more refined shape, and long inculcated precepts have been mistaken for connate principles of honesty and natural knowledge; otherwise there be no indispensable grounds of religion and virtue but what has happened to be taken up by over-ruling custom, which things, I dare say, are as easily confutable as any conclusion in mathematics is demonstrable. But as many as are thus sottish, let them enjoy their own wildness and ignorance; it is sufficient for a good man that he is conscious unto himself that he is more nobly descended, better bred and born, and more skilfully taught by the purged faculties of his own mind."\*—*Owen's Classification of Mammals*, p. 103.

And he draws these truly philosophical views to this noble conclusion.

'Such are the dominating powers with which we, and we alone, are gifted! I say gifted, for the surpassing organisation was no work of ours. It is He that hath made us, not we ourselves. This frame is a temporary trust, for the use of which we are responsible to the Maker. Oh! you who possess it in all the supple vigour of lusty youth, think well what it is that He has committed to your keeping. Waste not its energies; dull them not by sloth; spoil them not by pleasures!

'The supreme work of creation has been accomplished that you might possess a body—the sole erect—of all animal bodies the most free—and for what? for the service of the soul.

'Strive to realise the conditions of this wondrous structure. Think what it may become—the Temple of the Holy Spirit!

'Defile it not. Seek rather to adorn it with all meet and becoming gifts, with that fair furniture, moral and intellectual, which it is your inestimable privilege to acquire through the teachings and examples and ministrations of this seat of sound learning and religious education.'—p. 50.

Equally startling is the contrast between the flighty anticipations of the future in which Mr. Darwin indulges, and the sober

\* Henry More's '*Conjectura Cabbalistica*,' fol. (1662), p. 175.

philosophy

philosophy with which Owen restrains the flight of his own more soaring imagination :—

‘In the distant future I see,’ says Darwin, ‘open fields for far more important researches. Psychology will be based on a new foundation—that of the necessary acquirement of each mental power and capacity by gradation. Light will be thrown on the origin of man and his history.’—pp. 488-9.

‘Judging from the past, we may safely infer that not one living species will transmit its unaltered likeness to a distant futurity, and of the species now living very few will transmit progeny to a far-distant futurity. . . . We may look with some confidence to a secure future of equally inappreciable length. And as natural selection works solely by and for the good of each being, all corporeal and mental endowments will tend to progress towards perfection.’—p. 489.

‘There is grandeur in this view of life, with its several powers, and having been originally breathed by the Creator into a few forms or into one; and that, whilst this planet has gone cycling on according to the fixed law of gravity, from so simple a beginning endless forms most beautiful and most wonderful have been and are being evolved!’—p. 490.

Surely there is a far grander tone of vaticination about these words of caution from a far greater philosopher :—

‘As to the successions or coming in of new species, one might speculate on the gradual modifiability of the individual; on the tendency of certain varieties to survive local changes, and thus progressively diverge from an older type; on the production and fertility of monstrous offspring; on the possibility, *e.g.* of a variety of auk being occasionally hatched with a somewhat longer winglet and a dwarfed stature; on the probability of such a variety better adapting itself to the changing climate or other conditions than the old type; of such an origin of *Alca torda*, *e.g.*;—but to what purpose? Past experience of the chance-aims of human fancy, unchecked and unguided by observed facts, shows how widely they have ever glanced away from the gold centre of truth.’—*Owen on the Classification of Mammalia*, p. 58.

‘Turning from a retrospect into past time for the prospect of time to come . . . . I may crave indulgence for a few words. . . . There seems to have been a time when life was not; there may, therefore, be a period when it will cease to be. . . . The end of the world has been presented to man’s mind under divers aspects :—as a general conflagration; as the same, preceded by a millennial exaltation of the world to a paradisiacal state, the abode of a higher and blessed state of intelligences. If the guide-post of palæontology may seem to point to a course ascending to the condition of the latter speculation, it points but a very short way, and on leaving it we find ourselves in a wilderness of conjecture, where to try to advance is to find ourselves “in wandering mazes lost.”’—p. 61.



It is by putting such a restraint upon fancy that science is made the true trainer of our intellect:—

'A study of the Newtonian philosophy,' says Sedgwick, 'as affecting our moral powers and capacities, does not terminate in mere negations. It teaches us to see the finger of God in all things animate and inanimate, and gives us an exalted conception of His attributes, placing before us the clearest proof of their reality; and so prepares, or ought to prepare, the mind for the reception of that higher illumination which brings the rebellious faculties into obedience to the Divine will.'—*Studies of the University*, p. 14.

It is by our deep conviction of the truth and importance of this view for the scientific mind of England that we have been led to treat at so much length Mr. Darwin's speculation. The contrast between the sober, patient, philosophical courage of our home philosophy, and the writings of Lamarck and his followers and predecessors, of MM. Demaillet, Bory de Saint Vincent, Virey, and Oken,\* is indeed most wonderful; and it is greatly owing to the noble tone which has been given by those great men whose words we have quoted to the school of British science. That Mr. Darwin should have wandered from this broad highway of nature's works into the jungle of fanciful assumption is no small evil. We trust that he is mistaken in believing that he may count Sir C. Lyell as one of his converts. We know indeed the strength of the temptations which he can bring to bear upon his geological brother. The Lyellian hypothesis, itself not free from some of Mr. Darwin's faults, stands eminently in need for its own support of some such new scheme of physical life as that propounded here. Yet no man has been more distinct and more logical in the denial of the transmutation of species than Sir C. Lyell, and that not in the infancy of his scientific life, but in its full vigour and maturity.

Sir C. Lyell devotes the 33rd to the 36th chapter of his 'Principles of Geology' to an examination of this question. He gives a clear account of the mode in which Lamarck supported his belief of the transmutation of species; he 'interrupts the author's argument to observe that no positive fact is cited to exemplify the substitution of some *entirely new* sense, faculty, or organ—because no examples were to be found; and remarks that

\* It may be worth while to exhibit to our readers a few of Dr. Oken's postulates or arguments as specimens of his views:—

'I wrote the first edition of 1810 in a kind of inspiration.

'4. Spirit is the motion of mathematical ideas.

'10. Physio-philosophy has to . . . pourtray the first period of the world's development from nothing; how the elements and heavenly bodies originated; in what method by self-evolution into higher and manifold forms they separated into minerals, became finally organic, and in man attained self-consciousness.

'42. The mathematical monad is eternal.

'43. The eternal is one and the same with the zero of mathematics.'

when

when Lamarck talks 'of 'the effects of internal sentiment,' &c., as causes whereby animals and plants may acquire *new organs*, he substitutes names for things, and with a disregard to the strict rules of induction resorts to fictions.

He shows the fallacy of Lamarck's reasoning, and by anticipation confutes the whole theory of Mr. Darwin, when gathering clearly up into a few heads the recapitulation of the whole argument in favour of the reality of species in nature. He urges:—

1. That there is a capacity in all species to accommodate themselves to a certain extent to a change of external circumstances.

4. The entire variation from the original type . . . may usually be effected in a brief period of time, after which no further deviation can be obtained.

5. The intermixing distinct species is guarded against by the sterility of the male offspring.

6. It appears that species have a real existence in nature, and that each was endowed at the time of its creation with the attributes and organization by which it is now distinguished.\*

We trust that Sir C. Lyell abides still by these truly philosophical principles; and that with his help and with that of his brethren this flimsy speculation may be as completely put down as was what in spite of all denials we must venture to call its twin though less-instructed brother, the 'Vestiges of Creation.' In so doing they will assuredly provide for the strength and continually growing progress of British science.

Indeed, not only do all laws for the study of nature vanish when the great principle of order pervading and regulating all her processes is given up, but all that imparts the deepest interest in the investigation of her wonders will have departed too. Under such influences man soon goes back to the marvelling stare of childhood at the centaurs and hippogriffs of fancy, or if he is of a philosophic turn, he comes like Oken to write a scheme of creation under 'a sort of inspiration;' but it is the frenzied inspiration of the inhaler of mephitic gas. The whole world of nature is laid for such a man under a fantastic law of glamour, and he becomes capable of believing anything: to him it is just as probable that Dr. Livingstone will find the next tribe of negroes with their heads growing under their arms as fixed on the summit of the cervical vertebræ; and he is able, with a continually growing neglect of all the facts around him, with equal confidence and equal delusion, to look back to any past and to look on to any future.

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\* 'Principles of Geology,' edit. 1853.

- ART. VIII.—1. *Mr. Horsman's Speeches on the withdrawal of the Reform Bill, and on Lord Palmerston's Resolutions.* 'Times,' June 11 and July 7, 1860.
2. *Church-Rates and Endowed Schools.* A Charge. By Archdeacon Thorpe. London, 1860.
3. *Address on the present State of the Church-Rate Question.* By the Committee of Laymen. London.
4. *The Gazette of the Association for promoting the Repeal of Taxes on Knowledge, No. 30.* 1860.
5. *The Census and the Church-Rate.* A Charge. By the Archdeacon of Barnstaple. London, 1860.

THE comet which is supposed to have played such eccentric pranks with our weather during the last two years seems to have impressed some of its wayward influence on our politics as well. The changes of feeling have been so rapid, the turns of fortune so unexpected, that the most self-confident observers have almost given up the ingenious pastime of political prediction. Prophets, in these later days, have not been remarkable for infallibility; but time was when it took at least years to discredit a well-considered prophecy. We all know that war has not turned out to be an obsolete barbarism, as was predicted in 1847, and that Russia has not been crumpled up like a sheet of paper, as was foretold in 1848. The great Western alliance, too, which was to have done so much to roll back the advancing wave of Cossack conquest, has hardly answered the confident expectations of its authors and eulogists. Lord John Russell has not been extinguished by the Vienna bungle, nor Mr. Gladstone by his opposition to the Russian war; though in 1855 no doubt upon either of these two points was entertained by the wisest of our seers. But these changes, however little they may have been foreseen by over-sanguine spirits, at least took time to work. The revolutions of the wheel are far swifter now. What is uppermost to-day is undermost to-morrow. The movement outstrips the efforts of observers and critics to keep pace with it; and any writer who should be rash enough to prophesy will find his prophecy belied almost before it is in print. The dominant sentiment or the dominant popularity of the day is no longer the result of a slow growth, and destined to a gradual decay: like the gourd of Jonah it shoots up in one night and withers in the next. The features of public opinion, the political position of individual statesmen, still stand out as distinct and clear, and seemingly as fixed as ever; but they are a dissolving view, whose outlines begin to fade and change before you have fairly made out what they are. Take, for instance, the successive editions

editions of his own political belief which Mr. Gladstone has presented to the world during the last year and a quarter. Fifteen months ago the Ionian mission had announced him to the world as the reclaimed Conservative. This approximation to his original party was followed up shortly after his return to England by an elaborate defence of Gattton and Old Sarum. Four months later he represented the Conservative section of a Coalition-Cabinet, and was looked upon as the guarantee for a moderate Reform Bill, and for the extinction of the hated Income-Tax. Another half-year, and he rode high upon the crest of a boisterous popularity, the saviour of the Ministry, the gifted heir of the mantle of Peel, the idol of Chambers of Commerce, the champion of Income-Tax as against Customs and Excise. And now, the popularity, the Conservatism, the love of rotten boroughs, the hatred of the Income-Tax, have all alike 'melted into air, and, like an unsubstantial pageant faded, left not a rack behind.' He votes, on the greatest constitutional questions, alone with Lord John Russell and Mr. Bright; he heads the Radical assault upon the rights of the House of Lords; and he is claimed by friends, and stigmatised by foes, as the avowed leader of the Manchester school, is honoured by the dearly-bought homage of its narrow clique, and shares with it the general opprobrium it merits and receives. A political Hogarth might draw the picture of a new Rake's Progress, full of warning to unsteady politicians, from the rapid stages of Mr. Gladstone's downward course. Changes so rapid, and apparently so causeless, from one pole of the political compass to the other, will certainly puzzle the future historian as much as the contemporary observer. Some antipodean Niebuhr in distant centuries, grubbing up the files of the 'Times' from the ruins of the Museum, will surely come to the conclusion that the almost simultaneous representative of so many schools of thought could not have been one and the same person, but that 'Gladstone' must have been some title of office symbolical of the affable sternness required of a Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The fortunes of his tutor and advocate, Mr. Bright, have been equally fickle; though his views, except as regards the frankness of their avowal, have been unchanged. None of Mr. Gladstone's vicissitudes can exceed the contrast between the cowering and soft-toned apologist, painfully, and at the cost of much fluency, curbing the native insolence of his tongue, ostentatiously disavowed by the Ministers who have endorsed his policy, and the menacing tribune of two years ago, the supposed *Cæolus* of agitation, who was believed to control or let loose its tempests

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at his will, and whose favour rival parties offered emulous sacrifices to gain. We only wish we could flatter ourselves that the wheel of fortune would cease revolving, and that we could rely upon its leaving these two statesmen at the nadir of influence to which at present it has happily conveyed them.

With these examples before our eyes of the mutability of our political climate, we perhaps ought not to feel astonished at finding ourselves in the unwonted position of discussing political affairs in the midst of a Conservative reaction. It is quite a new sensation, though a very satisfactory one; and we will venture to say that it has taken our antagonists quite as much by surprise as ourselves. Year by year gentlemen have been slipping over, with more or less loss of reputation, to positions of what they thought safer proximity to the camp of Mr. Bright. It must be an intolerable vexation to them to find that they have taken the wrong side after all. How disgusted the statesmen must be who, with heavy hearts, have been competing with each other in offering higher and higher terms to the democracy to find that a widely-extended suffrage is exactly the thing that the nation will not endure! But, on the whole, our heartiest commiseration is due to the four Whig ministers who, in avowed despite of their own convictions, offered their flexible services to Sir John Trelawny, precisely at the moment when Sir John Trelawny's star was on the wane. We are far, however, from counting on the permanence of this reaction. We know too well the treachery of the political sky under which we live; we know too well the incurable fitfulness of the exertions which Englishmen make to uphold the institutions which they love. If victory could be secured by a mere comparison of forces, moderate Conservatism ought always to be in the ascendant. No man, outside the classes who live from hand to mouth, can really wish to exchange our freedom of action and safety of property for the mob-law of America. But those with whom the world has gone well are naturally indolent, and are slow to believe that political changes can possibly trouble their repose till danger is actually at the door. Unless Providence should in mercy send some awkward demagogue who shows the hook under the bait, they will always be ready to nibble at fine sentiments about confidence in the English people until they are caught and landed beyond escape. A thoroughly blundering adversary is indeed one of the choicest gifts of heaven; and Englishmen have reason to be thankful that, at a crisis so eventful, they have received the blessing in so complete a form in the person of Mr. Bright. Probably the continuance  
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of the reaction which has already rescued the Paper-duty and the Church-rate, and has given a good account of the Reform Bill will depend entirely upon the continuance of his salutary exertions. It is very nearly all his doing, and he deserves the chief credit of its wonderful rapidity. It is no small success to have won for a Conservative minority victories on three measures of the first class in the course of a single session. No one who was not possessed of Mr. Bright's unequalled powers of irritation could have effected it. We would not be understood to say that he carried off all these triumphs without help. Such an assertion would be very unjust to several estimable men, whose opinions are quite as extravagant and have been quite as artlessly disclosed. Dr. Foster no doubt shares a large part of the glory of saving Church-rates; Mr. Gladstone's weakness for the Peace Society, and his anxiety, by dint of a crushing finance, to keep down the military spirit of the English people, were naturally valuable aids in upholding the Paper-duty; and Mr. George Potter has rendered service not to be despised in discrediting Reform. But it is evidently from Mr. Bright that this indiscreet school of revolutionists have taken their cue in abandoning the slow undermining method which was previously in favour, in attacking by storm instead of by sap. They are merely the staff of devoted imitators and lieutenants, whom a great strategist will always form around him.

Of these three successes, no doubt the division on Church-rates has been the most signal and the most unexpected. Mr. Bright has saved the rate for this year, perhaps for many years to come. If he does ultimately succeed in setting it on its legs again, it certainly will be the most wonderful achievement he has yet performed. There is no point in the whole position of the Established Church, which is so open to assault, or which has so grievously tried the resources of her defenders. It is not that there is any difficulty in defending the principle of the impost. So long as men live in organised communities, and admit the right of a majority to dispose of revenues collected from the whole, it is ridiculous to claim that the rule shall be set aside in respect to any particular species of expenditure. The same argument that justifies a nation in making war with Quaker money or applying Lord Haddo's taxes to support a 'Life school,' justifies it in building churches out of Dissenters' rates. The whole theory of a common fund is at an end if each individual who contributes to that fund is entitled to a veto on its application. And the veto is not one whit the less noxious because the objection which it expresses is a very strong one, even

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even to the extent of being founded on religious feeling. But what is vaguely termed a 'conscientious' objection—as if all objections on secular grounds were unconscientious—is scarcely urged seriously at the present day. It belongs to an earlier phase of the dispute. Few persons now contend that conscientious objections—i.e. objections based on the fancied commands of God—can be pleaded against a church-building tax and that alone, or ought to be respected in that case when they are respected in no other. But it is the rotten and unworkable machinery by which the tax is levied that constitutes the real blot in the Church-rate system, and the real difficulty of its maintenance. It depends for its motive power on a jurisdiction that is happily extinct in England. The machine worked smoothly enough when spiritual censures were really terrible, and when the Bishop was ready and willing to launch them against the contumacious rate-payer or parish. But excommunication is a rusty enough weapon now, and the hand is nerveless that wielded it of old. Except when pronounced by a judge who is secular in all but the name, and weighted with secular penalties, we are not aware that the sentence would have any effect at all except the amusement of its object; and a prelate would turn the colour of his own lawn who should be asked to face the odium of pronouncing it. And even these legal penalties which remain in the armoury of the spiritual courts are so hampered by obscure law and costly proceedings that they can scarcely ever be practically applied. The effect of this lifeless condition of the spiritual courts is not only that the vestry may, as is well known, refuse the rate at pleasure, but that any single rate-payer may escape the payment of it, when voted. He has only to declare that he appeals, and he goes practically scot-free. The rate, therefore, as distinct from a voluntary contribution, has no vitality in it, except what springs from the ignorance of the rate-payers and their inert acquiescence in tradition. If all the parishes in England were as wide awake as the people of Birmingham or Sheffield, the rate would never be paid anywhere under compulsion. And this is a species of enlightenment which the agitators against the rate spare no efforts to diffuse. The Church party, therefore, during the long Church-rate struggle, have laboured under the discouragement of feeling that the ground for which they were fighting was slipping under them as they fought. Merely protecting it from the violent hands of Sir John Trelawny could not save the impost from mouldering silently away.

Such a state of things was a terrible encouragement to deserters. Every year, as the discussion of the question was renewed,



renewed, though the balance of parties remained materially unchanged, the Church-rate division grew worse and worse. As the prospect grew more and more desperate, members showed more and more inclination to run from the leaky ship. Conservatives of the illuminated school, bent on popularising their creed, shook off the question as an entanglement that might hinder them in their career. Whigs who had been brought up in constitutional doctrines cast a fond and farewell look at the theory of an Establishment, and voted with their party. Year after year the debate was always closed by the candid avowal of somebody or other 'that, for his part, he yielded to no one in his attachment to the Established Church, but that he had come to the painful conclusion' that it was not safe any longer to disregard the menaces of the agent of the Liberation Society in his county or borough. Even those who did not like an open tergiversation often thought it expedient at least, to stay at home; and thus, between deserters and absentees, the majority of the abolitionists grew with every division. It is idle to blame the members for this result. According to the accepted code of political morality, a member is only a sort of meter, that registers, with more or less delicacy, the power and direction of the forces that prevail in his constituency. This view of a member's functions may not be exactly consonant to the theory of the Constitution; but many an agitation has taught us, to our cost, that it is precisely the view taken by the members themselves and by the voters on whom they depend for their seats. The condition of Parliamentary morality is hardly high enough to allow us to expect that it should be otherwise. When so many men purchase their seats for hard cash, it is not to be looked for that they should disdain to purchase them by the less costly and less substantial sacrifice of their opinions. It is as idle, therefore, to rail at a Member of Parliament for apostacy as it would be to rail at the weathercock for an east wind. Churchmen were wasting their indignation in lamenting the degeneracy of the Legislature, which was in truth only the index of their own apathy. While the agitators were sparing neither toil nor money and putting into practice every artifice that could make a few adherents do the work of many, the Church sat quietly inactive, rummaging law-books and invoking the Constitution. The clergy of the Church of England—happily for the spiritual interests of their flocks, but less happily for their own temporal fortunes—are a body who have yet to learn the art of agitating. The Dissenting chapels scattered over the country are not merely institutions for propagating and preserving the faith of Brown, or Fox, or Muggleton; they are earthworks and blockhouses for the maintenance

maintenance of an untiring political guerilla. A large proportion of the Dissenting ministers are ready-made electioneering agents. They are natural adepts in all the lower stratagems of political warfare, and are unequalled in the art of dressing-out grievances and manufacturing discontent. Their forces are numerous in few constituencies, but they are scattered over all; and wherever contests are close, their perfect organisation, and the utter unscrupulousness with which every other consideration is sacrificed to the single aim of damaging the Church, gives them a power of intimidation which candidates or members have seldom virtue to resist. But the clergy—in this alone perhaps of any land in Europe—do not cultivate a political influence over their flocks. The high class from which they are drawn, the refinement of their education, the fear of hindering their loftier calling, and perhaps a century and a half of unquestioned favour with the depositaries of power, have all indisposed them to encounter the labour and the odium of mingling in political conflict. In the position they hold, and in the wealth and number of their adherents, they ought easily to overmatch their assailants; but with no leader to command them, and no political drill to give unity to their strength, they fight under all the disadvantages of a mob against trained troops. The results during this Church-rate struggle have strikingly shown the marvellous value of training in this as in every other kind of warfare. The basis of opinion on which the Dissenters have had to work was anything but formidable. Out of the whole number of parishes in England only five per cent. had declared against the rate. To a person who was ignorant of the comparative prowess of the combatants, it would have seemed that in a struggle where there were five on one side and ninety-five on the other the victory could not be doubtful. But while the Liberation Society economised every ounce of pressure which their strength enabled them to bring to bear, the clergy took no single step that could even remind their representatives that such an institution as the Church of England was in existence; and members, who are apt to look upon the polling-clerk as the safest exponent of right and wrong, showed little inclination to defend a body which could not in their need defend them. At the end of last session, even so sagacious a tactician as Lord Palmerston thought the moment had come for a general *saute qui peut*. Even the Lords were beginning to show signs of panic, and had begun to consider various possibilities of compromise. The lessons of a very recent experience were warning enough that to rely upon the Lords' dislike of a Bill sanctioned by a large and growing majority of the Commons was to rely upon a broken reed. Everything

thing seemed to bode the immediate fall of the Church-rate, and the agitators, already secure of their triumph, were openly discussing a new programme of violent demands wherewith to improve their victory. At this moment a splendid blunder—one of those rare gleams of candour lighting up at distant intervals the dark course of an astute and insidious agitation—changed the whole aspect of affairs. The *via prima salutis* came from the unexpected quarter of the Liberation Society. A few words, spoken by an obscure individual in a small room in the Palace of Westminster, succeeded—always with the powerful assistance of Mr. Bright—in waking the clergy from their fatal torpor, and changing the triumphant majority of seventy to a nominal majority of nine.

The general tenor of the evidence of Dr. Foster, one of the chairmen of the Liberation Society, before the House of Lords, is pretty well known to our readers. He plainly avowed that the success of Sir John Trelawny's bill would not still the agitation or disband the organisation that had raised it. They were resolved upon extorting concessions, compared to which the abolition of Church-rates was a mere crumb. He laid down that all property given at any time to the nation for the maintenance of religion, whether by ancient thane or king, or by modern philanthropist, was public property; that with public property the nation might rightfully do what seemed good to it; and that the object of himself and his friends was to induce the nation at all events to take it from the Church. There was nothing very new in all this. Speakers in Parliament had always discreetly kept these ulterior objects to themselves; but no person who was conversant with the question seriously believed that all this machinery had been set in action merely to slaughter an impost which was at that moment extinct in every parish that disliked it. But the formal avowal of intentions universally understood always has a disproportionate effect on English minds; and churchmen took this disclosure of Dr. Foster's very seriously to heart, as if it had never occurred to them before that the Dissenters might possibly be casting sheep's-eyes upon the tithes. Something, no doubt, of this new activity was due to the fact that their natural leaders, the archdeacons and other dignified clergy, stepped forward for the first time to initiate a movement, and something to the unremitting zeal displayed by a certain Committee of Laymen—of whom Mr. Colquhoun and Mr. Knott were the moving spirits—in pressing upon all ranks of the clergy the imminence of their danger. But by whatever agency this clerical reawakening was produced, its effect was unmistakeable and immediate. Members were brought to recollect the elementary fact,

fact, which they had apparently forgotten, that a Church vote is as heavy as a Dissenting vote; and they began to see that that great judge of truth, the polling-clerk, might possibly before long modify his award. Accordingly the first result of Dr. Foster's operations on the archidiaconal mind was a reduction of the majority against Church-rates from seventy to twenty-nine. At this point it might possibly have remained but for the timely assistance of Mr. Bright. That gentleman's sinister reputation had been gradually growing to the rank of a great power in the State. He had earned many titles to unpopularity in the House of Commons. They harboured against him no small grudge for his success in frightening their leaders into pledges which were not only humiliating but superfluous: he had at once aroused their pride and their contempt by the bluster on the platform, which he dared not repeat in the House of Commons; and they owed him little love for his patronage of democracy. But all these causes of dislike belonged to them only as a class. There was another, compared to which these sank into insignificance, which affected them as Englishmen capable, like all Englishmen, of sympathy with the weak and the oppressed. Thorough scorn was the only name that can be given to their feeling for the professed Liberal, who, to serve an Imperial patron and sell an extra bale of cotton, could taunt the Orleans family with the sorrows of their exile—could fawn upon the shameless tyranny that crushes all that is true and loyal-hearted in France—could dismiss with a cynical sneer the plaint of a free and ancient race, sold like merchandise in the market to deck a despot's triumph. That an act of wrong perpetrated among the Cottian Alps should have affected the right of a Somersetshire vestry to mend their church-spout out of parochial funds, is almost as eccentric an instance of the interconnexion of human affairs, as the fact, of which we were gravely told, that the China war has stopped the Reform Bill. Between the two extremes of the chain, Mr. Bright was the golden, or rather the brazen, link.

His championship was a fatal blow to the already tottering cause he volunteered to defend. Two years before the majority against Church-rates was passionate, and even tyrannical, in the energy with which it swept away the obstacles which Churchmen sought to interpose. To all arguments urged, and all appeals for justice, or at least for respite, their only response was the House of Commons version of *Væ victis*—howls, and coughs, and shouts for a division. But two years passed in the contemplation of Mr. Bright had entirely tamed down this furious love of Nonconformity. Many who had been hottest for abolition now

voted only under the coercion of their former pledges, and went into the lobby with the avowed hope that their adversaries would win. Others, a degree or two bolder, before the division-bell rang, retired to their beds, the constitutional asylum of the converted partisan flying from the vengeance of his whip. The result was the practical defeat of a majority of nine. The bill went through the formality of being sent on to the Upper House to receive the inevitable *coup-de-grace*, which it is the function of their Lordships, as it is unquestionably their pleasure, to inflict on so many mangled victims of the concealed and irresolute dislike of the House of Commons.

What next? with respect to Church-rates, is a question which we fear those who have undertaken the defence of the Church are inclined to answer in rather too summary a manner. They have evidently resolved to abide by the *status quo*, leaving the existing chaos of obsolete law and clashing grievances to work itself into order if it can. If the present state of things were unmixed good, this would be a wise decision. But while they are saying that the Church-rate shall not be altered, it is mouldering away of itself in parish after parish—the process of decomposition in each case generating fresh feuds, and keeping an ever-ready supply of fuel for a new agitation in more favourable times. If by some arrangement, to which disappointment and weariness may possibly bend the Dissenters, the Church, by giving up claims that have become unreal, could be enabled to put the privileges she retains into such a form that they shall be at once effective and enduring, she might find more profit in the exchange than would ever be yielded by the unworkable and dwindling powers she enjoys under the present law. A right to impose a tax on parishes, unless they object, and to collect it from rate-payers, unless they resist, is a hollow privilege after all; and it is said that the Liberation Society is now engaged in the task of making its hollowness patent to the world. We understand that preparations are being made on an imposing scale which shall carry a message of war and ill-will into every vestry-room in the kingdom. Local malcontents, who, owing to the neglect of agitators, have been suffered to relapse into peace and quietness, are to be forthwith screwed up to the standard-level of religious bitterness maintained by the Liberation Society; and where malcontents are not ready to hand, they are to be borrowed in the neighbourhood, or bought up on the spot. In short, the autumn and winter are to be occupied in laying a train that shall explode next Easter in every parish in the country. Whether this amiable plan for the promotion of religious truth, and for the increase of that harmony whose praises flow so glibly from the

the tongues of the abolitionists, shall succeed or miscarry, will chiefly depend on the perseverance with which the powerful though tardy remonstrances of the clergy are maintained. We trust that the Archdeacons, who alone are really able to rouse the clergy, will not allow their energy to sleep. But whatever is wanting in our own strength will, we make no doubt, be supplemented by the involuntary allies who have before this succoured us in our need. With all the confidence of those who have not trusted in vain, we look to Mr. Bright.

The maintenance of the Paper-duty was the next achievement of the Conservative alarms, which Mr. Bright's unguarded tongue has roused among the people. This triumph was all his own; for Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Cobden were less in the position of allies co-operating for a common end than of agents executing his commands. And it was the cruellest blow of all: for the repeal of this tax was his own darling project, the object for which he had steadily menaced and flattered, coaxed and cowed, succeeding administrations through the vicissitudes of a dozen eventful years. It had given to the budget the stamp of his paternity, and enabled him to claim what once seemed its glory for his own. Its success was his sole hope of really obtaining that following among the people which hitherto he has commanded only in the imaginations of desperate competitors for place; for nothing but the arts of the most expert political puffers can ever procure for tenets like his the adhesion of any but his own narrow class. To breathe into the nostrils of his subsidised organ the breath of a genuine circulation was a necessary condition of maintaining the position of Parliamentary umpire into which he had dexterously struggled. It was a cruel freak of fate, or rather it was a just Nemesis upon his unbridled and unscrupulous tongue, that his own should be the hand to frustrate, upon the very verge of victory, the dearest object of his political career. For, in this case, he has only himself to thank for the aid he received from others in ruining their common enterprise. The infection of his principles or the hope of his support must bear the blame of Mr. Gladstone's sweeping doctrines and Mr. Cobden's blundering haste. No doubt there were, under existing circumstances, grave objections to the proposed remission which would have made it a burdensome task even for a Minister of unquestioned popularity and assured power. It was clearly rash, with so slight a margin of surplus and so many clouds on the horizon, to hazard the irretrievable loss of so rich a tax. But Parliament has often run greater risks than this to avoid the censure of a Minister of whose

general policy they approved. The tax is not an unexceptionable tax, though its incompatibility with the existence of penny-papers is far from being its most serious disadvantage. It is open to some of the objections which had been successfully urged against the duty upon glass. The mere belief that preferential claims might be urged on behalf of tea or sugar or malt would hardly have inclined Parliament, under ordinary circumstances, to depart from the deference which on these questions it habitually observes to the Ministry of the day. But they were no ordinary circumstances under which the proposition was made. The project was condemned by the company in which it appeared. It was a part of a budget which even three months had proved to be a mass of miscalculation; it was the pet scheme of a cosmopolitan school who love England little, and whom England loves less, whose sympathies are half-American and half-French; and it was the first application of a theory of combined taxation and reform, according to which the poor were exclusively to fix the revenue which the rich were exclusively to pay. A wiser project would have sunk under the discredit of such companionship as this. *Noscitur a sociis* is a summary logic with which the senatorial mind, bored with blue-books and bewildered with the din of conflicting argument, is apt to solve the passing problems of the day. Mr. Ingram, who, on this very question, woke from placid slumbers just in time to follow a deserting Liberal into the lobby against the measure he had specially come down to support, is not an inapt type of the sort of reasoning by which the Parliamentary conscience is habitually guided. It is not strictly logical, but it strikes a rough average of justice in the long run. That our Imperial Ally, having bought up our scruples by exchanging claret for calico, should have taken advantage of our good-humoured blindness to drive a hard bargain with the credulous Italian enthusiasts whom he had offered to serve gratis, could hardly be said to bear directly on the merits of the Paper-tax. Still less pertinent was the fact that was daily creeping out, that Mr. Cobden had succumbed to the cajoleries to which professed diplomatists are callous, and had been flattered and coaxed into selling England's concessions in the cheapest market and buying France's gratitude in the dearest. Nor, taken by itself, could the question have been logically influenced by the discussions on the Reform Bill, or the growing dislike inspired by the six-pounder upon a closer view. Yet the first of these considerations had a visible share in dragging down Mr. Gladstone's majority from 116 upon the Budget to 53 upon the second reading of the repeal of the Paper-duty; while the two latter decidedly deserved almost all the credit of further contracting it upon the third reading from 53 to 9.



No one doubts that this narrow majority really expressed an anxious desire on the part of the House of Commons that the bill they were passing should not pass. The instructors under whom of recent years the House of Commons has made such rapid progress in hypocrisy have improved upon the lessons of Talleyrand. They have made not only a courtier's words, but the long debates and solemn resolutions of a popular body, into masks for disguising thought. When they adopt a bill by a narrow majority, they mean that others are to smother it; when they pass the second reading without a division, they mean to express unqualified dissent. In fact, their unanimous support is almost as fatal to an important measure as the *Vade in pace* of monastic tribunals. The nine that saved the measure, and possibly the Ministry, were hardly to be scraped together; and at one time it was doubtful if they were to be found. But there were angry party-feelings as well as reasonable alarms to counteract the spreading consternation at the progress of Manchester finance. Many members thought that the Government—though thirteen out of sixteen were notoriously averse to the bill—would make it a point of honour to stand or fall by its fate; and the dread of another change of command, with such wild weather ahead, was felt by many who love the Whigs little and Mr. Gladstone less. A very combative speech with which Mr. Disraeli closed the debate had the effect of making other adversaries of the bill from the Liberal side feel their partisanship too much stirred within them to give their votes against it. He is very apt to fall into the error from which few great masters of sarcasm are exempt, of preferring the glitter of a brilliant display to the gold of solid victory. On this occasion his strictures lost him several votes on the division.

Perhaps, however, there were advantages in the nominal victory gained by Government in the Commons. It was as well that the Lords should have had the opportunity of taking up the challenge that had been so often offered them. They had been so often defied and browbeat by the Manchester school, and had shown so little disposition to resent it, that their attitude might well have been imputed to impotence instead of to contempt. They have now tried conclusions with Mr. Bright and his clique on his own ground, and with his own weapons. The act they have done is one of those exceptional acts of power which shatter a hollow or worn-out authority, but prove and strengthen one that is genuinely strong. They have established by a most searching test, not only that the Manchester school is weak in all but bluster, but that their own power is a living power, wielded freely by themselves, and recognised instinctively by the people.

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If Mr. Bright could have raised an agitation to coerce the Commons or overthrow the Lords, assuredly he would have done it to save his own peculiar project. If it had been possible to raise the nation against the House of Lords, 'the aristocracy taxing the people' was the cry to do it with. None of the usual stimulants have been spared. If platform-harangues and frantic leaders could have rescued the penny-paper interest, it would not now be mourning its defeat. Mr. Sergeant Parry has called the Lords an 'anomaly,' which is nearly as formidable an epithet as Daniel O'Connell's parallelopiped; Mr. James White, whose cheery memory is still cherished in the House of Commons, has alluded to what he calls 'a surgical operation which took place two hundred years ago in front of Whitehall,' in connexion apparently with the fate which he destines for Lord Lyndhurst and Lord Chelmsford; and the 'Star,' in a similar spirit, has broadly intimated that the *veto* of the House of Lords is likely to come to much the same bad end as the *veto* of Louis XVI. In fact, for many weeks the columns of that enthusiastic journal have furnished a daily repertory of Republican heroics. Nor has Mr. Bright lacked backers worthy of him in the House of Commons. Mr. Digby Seymour has lent his legal erudition and disinterested eloquence to the good cause; and it has received the support of Mr. Whalley's well-known influence in that assembly. This latter gentleman has even expressed a doubt whether his dignity as a Member of Parliament remains the same after this terrible affront as it was when he first graced the consultations of the House of Commons—a comparative investigation which will, no doubt, be interesting to the students of microscopic science.

But all these well-meant irritants, applied with all the dexterity of veteran agitators, have failed to elicit any expression of feeling from the nation, except that of thankful acquiescence. They have been still less successful in awakening even a distant echo of resentment in the bosom of the outraged and affronted House of Commons. To those who have read of the terrible cry of 'Privilege,' and have been taught to consider the House of Commons as a body jealous of the veriest punctilio of legislative etiquette, the night after the Lord's vote was an instructive historical occasion. The anxious crowds who lined the lobbies and filled the galleries with all the eager anticipation of spectators at a prize-fight were doomed to a severe disappointment. Mr. Bright happened to be away, and no other member of the slightest note could be induced to disturb the profound satisfaction obviously felt by the whole House at what had happened. Mr. Digby Seymour

Seymour and Mr. Whalley were the only champions of an outraged people that could be found to face the titters of their audience; and nothing beyond the curtest repartee could they extract from the Ministers in return to their fiery appeals. It was in vain that they turned for sympathy to the House. The members occasionally indulged themselves with a laugh at the furious earnestness of the new self-elected Gracchi, but were evidently much more bent upon settling with each other the relative chances of Umpire and Wizard for the next day. Mr. Gladstone took no pains to banish from his expression the sadness that depressed his spirit. It was not wonderful that gloomy reflections should have taken possession of his mind, if he was indeed engaged in taking stock of his position. It was the first positive check he had received in the company of his new allies and in the pursuit of his new policy, and it was a good opportunity for reviewing, in the commercial spirit of their philosophy, the balance of its cost and its return. Though he has undoubting confidence in the particular bend of the zigzag along which he is at the moment travelling, the retrospect, even to a man of his sanguine temperament, must have been saddening and cheerless. His single reward up to this time had been the special politeness of Mr. Bright and the unbounded and untiring eulogies of the 'Star.' Probably even his modesty had not accounted it as a reward that Mr. George Wilson, of League celebrity, had bracketed him with Mr. Milner Gibson as the 'indoor members of the firm' that was 'doing a roaring business.' For this he had sacrificed many past convictions and former allies, perhaps even the adhesion of the staunch constituents who had borne without flinching so many trials of their faith. He had denounced and doomed the Income-Tax: he was now its great supporter. He had inveighed against the China war with eloquence that still rings in the ears of those who heard it; and he is engaged in carrying it on with larger demands and fiercer vigour than any that have gone before him. He was known to have earnestly objected to the extreme Church appointments of Lord Palmerston's former Ministry, and he is believed to have bargained—a belief on which the issue of his late election hinged—that the appointments should be more moderate in character. The only result of his bargaining has been that they have been more extreme than before. His financial reputation, which, whatever else was lost, was till this year undimmed, is now staked on the penetration of an amateur diplomatist and the faith of a doubtful ally. It is a long and terrible list of sacrifices—  
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and there is no set-off except that pearl of great price—the homage of the Rump of the League.

It is difficult to write calmly of the havoc which an unbridled imagination has made with prospects on which so many hopes were fixed, and with talents so fascinating and so rare. Short as political memories inevitably are, and high as the virtue of forgiveness stands in the ethics of politicians, it is not likely that Mr. Gladstone can ever again occupy the political position he once held, notwithstanding the reputation which his matchless eloquence must always command. His financial recklessness has long been the terror of the City. Winged by doctrines which anticipate the future budgets of Mr. George Potter, it is now the terror of all the property-classes in the other parts of the kingdom. Next year—apparently even this year—must see him, no doubt in tones unbendingly defiant, owning that his prophecies have been false and that his figures have broken down, and asking for an inglorious loan or a new crushing tax to replace the resources which heroic finance has flung away. Such a consummation of his splendid promises cannot be long delayed, and will probably be the term of his perilous Chancellorship of the Exchequer. A business-like nation, such as this, will not long be satisfied to take brilliant feats of eloquence as a substitute for a safe and solid finance. Yet few who prize the character of our public men will see without sorrow the fall which this year's errors have done so much to hurry on. We are not so rich in honest and intrepid statesmen that we can contemplate their political suicide without regret. It is the universal cry that at the present day insincerity is the prevailing type of political disease. There are some statesmen, no doubt, of all parties, who amid many vicissitudes have kept themselves unspotted from this stain. It is a strange perversity that the very structure of Mr. Gladstone's mind, the ill-adjusted balance of his many commanding qualities, should simulate the insincerity which genuinely taints the mass of those around him.

This very question was destined to bring into yet greater prominence the excesses into which he can be hurried by his headlong passion for what we must call a momentary crotchet. A Tax Committee was appointed in due course to inquire into the complaints to which the act of the House of Lords had given rise. The Committee gave a pledge at starting that no partisan spirit should inspire its deliberations, by appointing Mr. Walpole as its chairman. Members of the House of Commons are always forward to recognise Mr. Walpole's fairness and integrity,—qualities which they look at with a wondering admiration that implies

implies no slight sarcasm upon themselves. The Report to which they ultimately agreed was not unworthy of this beginning. It entered into no controversy on vague matters of opinion. By a simple recital of indisputable precedents it laid bare the falsehood of the pretence that the Lords had overstepped the prescriptive limits of their power. It was not for want of exhortations on the part of their more passionate advisers that they adhered to this course. Mr. Gladstone's vehemence had increased with each refusal to entertain the violent motions of himself and Mr. Bright. At last, when he found that he could not induce even the Cabinet to stir one inch further than the Committee, and that they were resolved to bury the controversy beneath a selection of the tritest truisms they could devise, his resentment would no longer brook the trammels of official etiquette. When he came into the House on the night of Lord Palmerston's resolutions, it was evident that a storm was in store. Probably, Lord Palmerston's speech, moderate and constitutional in its tone, did not soothe his feelings. But no one was prepared for what they were to hear when the torrent of words did burst out at last. It was strange enough that he should reply to the arguments and denounce the policy of the Premier in whose Cabinet he still consented to remain. Still no one had expected that, out of excess of zeal for his own financial scheme, he would take the last sacrament of Radicalism by joining the band that has sworn to effect the overthrow of the House of Lords. It is generally admitted that the test-point of Conservatism is the desire to uphold, in opposition to American theories, an hereditary Second Chamber, and it excited equal wonder and regret that the entire tone of Mr. Gladstone's speech on Lord Palmerston's resolutions should give such unmistakeable evidence of the rapid strides with which he is advancing to the precipice that is Mr. Bright's goal.

But neither Church-rates nor Paper-duty have been the prominent failure of the session. No one can fully appreciate the gratitude due from Conservatives to Mr. Bright who does not take into account his effective aid in resisting the Reform Bill. The danger of a democratic degradation of our constitution seemed at one time to be one on which we must inevitably drift. No class of importance called for reform, and there was no sort of indication that the desire for it which agitators imputed to the working men was genuinely felt. No one exactly knew why it was to be granted; but a vague fatalism had possessed itself of the public mind, and it was a generally unquestioned dogma that a lowered suffrage was a mere question of time, and that it was safer to settle it in fair weather than in foul. The

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mass of men, according to their wont, followed this teaching sheepishly; those who cared to inquire deeper than their neighbours professed to extract it from the precedent of 1832. The slightest instalment of Reform had been refused from year to year during peaceful times, and at last it was extorted in a tempest that shook the aristocratic part of our institutions to its base. The analogy was, in truth, quite imaginary. The two periods of 1860 and 1832 had nothing similar either in the alleged abuses that were assailed or in the character of the assailants. Before 1832 certain classes and parties in the country enjoyed a preponderating share of power; and the contest of which that year saw the close was a struggle on the part of the excluded portion to wrest a larger share of influence from the other. The contest with which we have recently been menaced could not have been waged by any portion of the property-classes, for they all stand now upon an equal footing. It would have been a struggle on the part of poverty to wrest from property the power of raising from itself its own taxes, and disbursing them according to its own pleasure. It was idle to attempt to foretell the dangers of the one struggle from the experience of the other. Nevertheless this and many other similar sophistries obtained a wide currency under Lord John Russell's auspices. Again and again, in many a leading article and many a hustings-speech, was that metaphor repeated about increasing the safety by widening the basis of the constitution, which, if any one takes the trouble to analyse it, has not even the semblance of a meaning. One layer of bricks in the pyramid to which the metaphor points has no opportunity of squeezing or plundering any other layer of bricks; but, in the social pyramid, the possession of the suffrage will unquestionably give to the poorer millions the power of plundering the wealthier thousands. Another favourite commonplace was that 'the working classes had shown themselves worthy of our confidence:' as if any sane man had ever taken the bars out of his windows, and proposed to dismiss the police, because of the general amiability of the neighbourhood. But the sentiment suited the philanthropic tone of the age; and to disbelieve what history has to tell of the results of mob-rule, was looked upon as a mark of enlightenment—the shibboleth of a believer in the nineteenth century. The mass of moderate Liberals did not indulge in these fallacies because they exactly believed them or had thought much about them. It was enough that they pleased a section of constituents large enough in a close struggle to turn the scale, and that their practical results seemed far in the hazy future. Thus misled by pretty metaphors, by apathy, by the blind combativeness of the moment's struggle, Lord John's followers were induced meekly

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to insinuate their necks into the pledges to which in a moment of helpless despair he had submitted, in order to buy yet a brief respite of dear official life. Perhaps he and they relied on the Conservatives to rescue them from their self-imposed chains. How gratuitously, how madly, the Conservatives, imitating instead of profiting by the errors of their opponents, fitted those same chains round their own limbs, is still freshly graven on the memory of us all. All vied in yielding to the clamour of a weak minority; just as in a run upon a bank, or a panic on a field of battle, everybody gives way, because he holds it for certain that his neighbour is going to give way too, and he dreads to be left in the lurch. Seeing all its leaders upon both sides committed to a belief in this undefined and unproved necessity, the public resignedly did its best to sympathise in the belief. Every organ of opinion, every possessor of public confidence or political power, seemed to have combined to force upon others a policy which none desired, but which all were too languid in their convictions to break through party ties and pledges to resist. All seemed drifting, mastered as by some secret spell, blinded by some inexplicable delusion, helplessly and inertly towards the fatal rocks. When Lord Derby prorogued Parliament in 1858, and his Cabinet set itself down to the formidable task of giving a Tory meaning to a Radical watchword, it seemed as if there was no force in the country strong enough to save it from Reform. No doubt the movement was so gentle that it could have been at once arrested, if the property-classes could be awakened to their danger. But who was to arouse them from their torpor? Who was to make them see that a democratic suffrage was incompatible with English institutions? Who was to make them feel that the power of imposing income-tax, in the hands of those who do not pay it, would be a mere machine of confiscation? It needed a man of great energy and attractive eloquence, who should put into their most startling form, and not shrink from the labour of reiterating, the truths which it was wholesome that the nation should hear. Mr. Bright was one of the few men who united the requisite qualifications; and, in the hour of her necessity, Mr. Bright was not wanting to his country.

There is no need to recount the labours, the triumphs, and the results, of Mr. Bright's two years' campaign. It is superfluous to dwell on the budget of Liverpool, or the slanders of Huddersfield and Birmingham. It is sufficient to say that he thoroughly succeeded in rousing the middle classes to the consciousness that nothing short of unchecked democracy would content the clamourers for Reform, and that Reform was only desired for the purpose



purpose of laying the whole burden of taxation on the shoulders of a single class. The result is before the world. The least that Mr. Bright professes that he will accept is more than Parliament will grant. Lord John Russell has been ignominiously compelled, by the mere pressure of adverse criticism, to withdraw, unscathed by a single hostile vote, the measure on which he appealed to the country, and on the strength of which he returned to power. He has withdrawn it; and while the educated community universally rejoice, 'the people,' as they are called, decline to rise. The classes of whose wrath Mr. Bright claims to be the mouth-piece, are not generally over-languid or over-patient, or dulled in their sensibilities by the prosperity of trade. They are active enough, on trifling provocation, to organise gigantic strikes, which carry ruin to numberless hearths, and to none so surely as their own. They can unite on a large scale to form sagacious combinations for fasting till mutton falls below the market-price. But they do not seem eager, at the bidding of one of those master-manufacturers, whose tenderness for their class they know so well, to embark on a struggle which must be either desperate or futile. If the benefits of a Reform Bill be merely the empty honour of a vote, or the problematical chance of a better government than they have now, they know it is not worth the waste of an hour to obtain. If, on the other hand, they are inclined to accept Mr. Bright's unblushing proposal to transfer all taxation from themselves to their employers, they know it will invoke a struggle of mere numbers against capital, in which, at least, the first combatants must be crushed. And therefore, in spite of all the indignation and resentment their patrons freely express in their behalf, they themselves remain mortifyingly mute. Whenever Mr. Bright goes starring it in the provinces they will readily pay him the same compliment of supplying crowded audiences, which they would pay to the bottle-conjuror: but the days of 'Bristol and Nottingham in flames' are over now. Such scenes belong to times when there are real sufferings to allay, and genuine claims to satisfy.

Mr. Bright is not inclined lightly to part company with this phantom of physical force, which has alone lent a value to his denunciations, and has formed the lurid background of all his threatening pictures. He is never tired of being found out. He is not satisfied with the past success of the political ventriloquism with which he has indefinitely multiplied his single voice. It is no small thing for a master-manufacturer to have overawed calm and inquiring statesmen with the audacious boast that he could wield at will the classes with whom he is always at variance, and who know him as their natural enemy. If those statesmen could have known, as they know now, what real weakness lies behind his

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his boastful words, how little they would have heeded his menaces, how lightly they would have esteemed his aid! How gladly they would now, if it were possible, wipe out from the past that ignominious auction for his supercilious and worthless patronage, in which they have purchased only embarrassment and dishonour! But he is naturally disinclined to renounce the deception that has worked such wonders. He clings to it as O'Connell clung to Repeal, as Napoleon clings to universal suffrage. After all that has passed, after two weary seasons spent in flogging the dead horse, he still dismisses the Reform question with the menace, that before next winter has gone by we shall wish undone the doings of this session. To predict with certainty that the labours of the demagogue may not at length reap some harvest, that ingenuity in garbling the speeches and the writings which this controversy has produced may not at last enable him to build up that wall of hatred between classes on which alone he can rear an enduring fabric of power, would be as hazardous in these uncertain times as to foretell hot weather in the dog-days. But so far as the ordinary sequence of cause and effect enables us to judge, we cannot profess to attach much value to his threats. Bad harvests, commercial pressure, the epidemic of revolution issuing and spreading from countries worse governed than our own, are, no doubt, a demagogue's trustiest allies. Mr. Bright enumerated them, and appealed to them with prophetic exultation. But all the indispensable conditions of insurrection are wanting in this country. Revolutions have been such frequent spectacles in later times, that we have learned almost to classify their phenomena into a science. It is abundantly clear that any government which excludes the middle classes from power, or lays the burden of practical oppression on the lower, is built upon the sand. And in governments like that of France which are intensely centralized, where the reins of power are all gathered into one knot, a mere chance-riot will suffice to toss them from one hand into another. If the life of a state is contained in a group of bureaux, of course that life is easily endangered. But there is no instance as yet recorded in which the multitudes who live by the daily labour of their hands have overthrown or even seriously threatened any government not absolutely centralized, unless some bitter practical grievance has inspired them. Except when fired by genuine oppression, the working-classes alone cannot make a revolution. The middle-class has often fought its way to power by their help; and on such occasions very democratic theories have found their way into very exclusive company. But as soon as the middle-classes are inside the citadel instead of outside, their former allies find

find that democracy goes with marvellous rapidity out of fashion. Of course great abuses resulting in great suffering may drive the multitude to a despair, which neither middle nor upper classes are strong enough to curb. We have heard a good deal during the last two years about the abuses under which the people of England are groaning, and probably by this time we know all that the heartiest investigation can rake together. Mr. Bright has dwelt on them so often that we have them pretty well by heart. We much misdoubt the lower classes rising in insurrection, for the prevention of war, or for the partition of Scotch deer-forests, or even for the abolition of the Customs upon tea and sugar. We cannot persuade ourselves that any of these categories of crying oppression will call into life another Political Union ready to march on London, or kindle anew the flames of Nottingham and Bristol. We even question whether this result will be hastened by the news that a portion of revenue has gone into the Exchequer, which the penny-paper owners destined for—themselves. Mr. Bright is fond of referring to the terrors of 1832. He appealed to them at Liverpool at the close of that fierce peroration with which he inaugurated his proposals for taxing the rich through a legislature of the poor; and they have furnished him with many a sinister prophecy besides. Doubtless he would buy with a large price a tithe of the tempting topics which were then at the pick of any declaimer. It is a favourite but not a very creditable trick of rhetoric with him and with Lord John, to try and persuade timid politicians that the elements of combustion are the same now as they were then. A glance at a recent description, by a contemporary witness, of the state of suffering of which that terrible convulsion was the ultimate result, will best enable our younger readers to judge for themselves of the honesty of the analogy which it is attempted to set up. The picture is from the pen of a Radical novelist—Mr. William Howitt—and is, therefore, naturally overdrawn. But the wildest Radical would not dream of it as even possible in the present day:—

‘As to the truth,’ said Lawrence, ‘see here in several local papers which I have got. What do they tell us? See here—long accounts of incendiary fires in Suffolk. The labourers and their wives have not the patience of the poor famishing people here. They are up, smashing the threshing-machines, burning them in open daylight, and sacking the flour-mills. Here, again, at Bury and Norwich they are marching with banners, emblazoned with the words, “Bread or Blood!” Here, again, they are up in the Isle of Ely. The farmers have been ruined in spite of the Corn-Law, sold up under executions for rent, and no new tenants found to take their farms; the labourers thrown out of work, and the parishes unable to feed them; they are marching  
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out and plundering butchers' and bakers' shops; sheep are roasting, potatoes and wheat boiling, in the open air. The public-houses are filled with rioters drinking the cellars dry. The magistrates' houses are attacked. Littleport on the river Lark is in the hands of a hungry mob; the frightened inhabitants are flying in terror, and troops are marching in: there must be blood and death here. And what is the news from Staffordshire and Warwickshire? The iron and coal trades are at an absolute stand; all stagnation in business, all agitation in the minds of the people. Coalpits have ceased to work, furnaces are blown out, factories are closed, and the famishing exasperated colliers and iron-workers are dragging waggons of coals to London to show their misery, and demand free corn and eased taxation, and, as a consequence, revival of trade. And what are they doing in my own district? Destitute of work, General Ludd is abroad again: and, believing that machinery is the cause of their suffering, his midnight legions are gutting cotton-mills, demolishing power-looms, and scattering fragments on the high roads. Compare this with what was publicly stated in Parliament not two months ago, that the poor in some districts have deserted their abodes. "Whole parishes have been deserted," said Mr. Brand, "and the crowds of paupers, increasing in numbers as they went from parish to parish, spread wider and wider this awful desolation, discharged soldiers and disbanded militiamen swelling their ranks. If they have gone to the towns, there they encountered fresh battalions of the unemployed, and have been driven back by an opposing tide of destitution to the country." Do you now believe the fiery diatribes of William Cobbett?—*Man of the People*, vol. ii.

It is a marvel that compressed forces such as these did not result in a far more desolating convulsion. But do Lord John Russell and Mr. Bright seriously mean to persuade us that the return of such a state of things is a probable contingency in these days? or that if it should come back, its perils will be averted by passing now a 'moderate' or an immoderate measure of Reform? There were many things to blame in the government and legislation of that day; but it was idle to lay on them the evils which were the fruit of a twenty years' struggle for national existence. We are not saying that no reform was needed; but though the cry for it might have issued from the calm convictions of many minds, and the party-greed of many more, with the mass of the nation it was a mere shriek of the misery that blindly clutched for relief at any scheme which was novel or untried. The convulsion of 1832 was the symptom and sequel of countless evils—not their cure. Neither Mr. Pitt's Reform Bill of 1785, nor Lord Grey's Reform Bill of 1793 would have availed to avert the visitation. Time has healed at last the wounds of that long war; and the cries of 'Reform,' and of 'the People's Charter' have lost their power. It may be that a new aggressor may  
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force us into a new struggle, and demand of us fresh sacrifices; and that a second political tempest may be the result. If such should be our destiny, it will profit us nothing to have tampered in the day of our security with the breakwaters of the constitution. A demand for political change may be again the form in which the nation's cry of anguish may be uttered: and the duty of assuaging its misery and resisting its madness may again be the ordeal to try to the uttermost the mettle of our statesmen. Against such dangers, if they be in store for us, we can make no preparation, except to provide ourselves with truer hearts and stouter nerves than belonged to those who scudded helplessly before the storm of 1832. But we can no more avert a cry for Reform in such a crisis by a Reform Bill now, than a sailor can avert a gale by cutting away his masts in a dead calm.

Mr. Bright's valedictory menaces have had no effect in diminishing the universal satisfaction at the disappearance of the little bill. But still there is an uneasy feeling that the triumph is not wholly without alloy. Chivalrous is not exactly the epithet which we should apply to the tactics by which the measure has been done to death. Considering that the six-pounders were a body to be feared, and those who opposed their admission risked some loss in the attempt, it would have been pleasanter to have recorded that the revolutionary proposal had been met by open defiance, and in open battle repelled. We are far from blaming the conduct of the Conservatives on the occasion. They had to dispose of the embarrassments which this year has inherited from its forerunners: they had to deal with fettered leaders, and opponents who dared not speak their mind. Under these circumstances they had no choice but to confine their candour to their speeches, and submit patiently to the equivocal constructions to which their acquiescence in the second reading might give birth. The blame lay with the past policy from which the embarrassment arose. But whatever the validity of the reasons which justified them in relying upon delay for their defence, the effect has been not less unfortunate. The House of Commons has not many shreds of character to lose: and a Reform Bill talked out as much by faint praise and fair-spoken ill-will as by open censure, is an impotent conclusion to so many years of loud profession, so many speeches of boiling zeal, which has reduced that body to something very like nudity in this respect. Such exhibitions breed a deep-seated distrust, which lasts long after the occasion which produced them is forgotten. The hypocrisy of leaders, the vanity of pledges, the suppleness of the consciences which inspire the professions and the policy of great parties, are becoming rapidly proverbial. It is

is no light evil that speeches in Parliament are coming to be looked upon as conventionally insincere, to be trusted as much as lovers' vows or imperial oaths. Statesmen who in the heat of debate or the eagerness of party-race adopt a cry they do not believe in, or hint a pledge which they never can redeem, little think that they are dealing a heavier blow, not only at their own or their party's fame, but at the Constitution they would preserve, than any mere open treason could inflict. Perhaps, however, their own interests will have taught them what a higher morality would have preached in vain. If anything can persuade them that 'Honesty is the best policy' is something more than a maxim for copy-books, it will be the progress and the issue of this Reform Bill struggle. Precisely in the degree in which they abandoned their own creed to kneel before what they imagined to be the popular idol, in that degree the retribution of their insincerity has overtaken them. Lord John Russell's step from finality to a new Reform Bill was a comparatively slight one: and therefore his punishment has been limited to the ignominy of twice withdrawing his bills upon fictitious grounds, in deference to the execrations which his followers and colleagues only dared to mutter in his ears. Mr. Disraeli in his unhappy pilgrimage to the shrine of this same misleading deity had to traverse the whole interval that separates one extreme of political opinion from the other; and, therefore, it has thrust him from office, alienated his party, and paralyzed his power at the very moment when Conservatism is in the ascendant in the House of Commons.

In our last number we ventured to make some remarks upon the recent vagaries of Conservative policy in the House of Commons, which have been far from unacceptable to Conservatives in general, but which have created no little flutter among the organs whose function it is to minister incense at the shrine of the last-named statesman. They have affected a tone of surprise, as though the Conservative objections to the policy of 1858 were some new thing, unknown in private society, unheard of upon the back benches of the House of Commons. It is not our intention to re-open a painful history, or to renew warnings that have done their work. But the remonstrances in which we have expressed the deep and widespread feelings of Conservatives throughout the country is no new language on our part. We have never held but one conviction as to the incongruity of Conservatives democratising the franchise. If we may be permitted to cite our own words, which, it has been said, is the next most disagreeable thing to eating them, we can point to unavailing warnings, to which we

would that as much heed had been given as has been accorded to our more recent observations :—

‘ A readjustment of the representation may be unobjectionable, if, as we have before observed, the balance between the towns and the counties be not destroyed [which would have been effectually done by the ten-pound county franchise] ; *but the attempt will be attended with innumerable difficulties, and nothing will be gained in the end.* Anything approaching to a democratic measure would certainly fail to win the support of those who are seeking to overthrow the Ministry, and would as certainly provoke the opposition of a large section of the Conservative party. Parties cannot exist unless they show some submission to their leaders. Combination, without compromise, is an impossibility. It is only when the fundamental principles of the party are violated that *it becomes indispensable for its adherents to abandon those who have abandoned them.* The Conservatives have never displayed either a want of docility or a want of independence. They would not support Sir Robert Peel when he proposed his bill for Catholic Emancipation or the Repeal of the Corn Laws, and neither, without belying all their acts and opinions, could they support a Reform Bill which would diminish what remains of territorial influence. Recently broken up and split into sections, there is a natural desire to re-unite and to avoid every semblance of captiousness and dissension, but no set of men can continue to act in concert for the purpose of carrying measures opposed to their convictions. That a new Reform Bill will be proposed by the present administration in contradiction to the known principles of the Conservative party we do not believe. Lord Derby, who is as chivalrous in honour as he is brilliant in talent, is not the person to break through the obligations he has contracted by assuming the lead of a body who, before all things, are pledged to resist the encroachments of democracy.’—*Quart. Rev.*, Jan. 1859, p. 272.

Doubtless these warnings were too gently phrased for the dull ears to which they were addressed. Couched in language less reserved, they seem to have secured more prompt attention. Readers in this rapid age are too hasty and too thoughtless to give much heed to strictures which are not flavoured with the relish of a personal application. If merely general censure could have availed to awaken our leaders to the changes on which they were rushing, and the distrust they were arousing among the stanchest supporters of their professed creed, it could not have been expressed more forcibly than in the words used by Sir John Walsh, in his recent work upon Reform :—

‘ It is startling to reflect, if we cast our eyes at home, how exactly we are treading in the footsteps of those foreign assemblies, which seem to conduct representative institutions to their destruction.

‘ The present House of Commons would require to borrow a good many of the hues of the rainbow if it were to mark by a distinct shade all the party-divisions into which it is broken up. . . . Nor does the  
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course of events differ so very widely either. The same tactics are constantly employed to expel successive ministries from office, to be succeeded by others whose tenure is just as precarious. Sometimes the ill-cemented union of discordant materials within a cabinet falls asunder, and destroys it; sometimes an unholy alliance between opposite sections of its opponents throws it out of its seat.

'We are about to pass a new measure of Reform, which nobody wants, because the leaders of parties have entangled themselves by bidding against each other for a popularity they will not reap. The promoters are insincere, and the people are indifferent. The possessors and the candidates for office wish to get rid of a question which embarrasses both. Their utmost hope is that they may so dispose of it as to leave matters substantially pretty much as they are. They are going to pass a measure, the tendency of which, more or less, must be in a revolutionary direction, trusting that it may have no effect at all. Their inward misgivings are at variance with their outward expressions of confidence. Nobody is deceived by this. Every one must be aware that the result of a fresh alteration in the representative body must be uncertain, and that it is viewed with doubt and apprehension by those who stand committed to introduce it.'\*

We are not sorry to be able to record these words from the pen of an observer who has had every opportunity of judging both accurately and calmly. They show what are the feelings of an old and stanch Conservative, whose independence has never been compromised by the entanglements of office, with respect to the 'unholy alliances' by which party objects have been gained in recent years, or the conduct of the leaders in 'bidding against each other for a popularity they will not reap' by pledges of Reform. And they may be taken as a fair sample of the views with respect to Conservative policy, between the years 1852 and 1859, entertained by the larger and sounder portion of the party of which Sir John Walsh is an able and respected type.

We cannot think we have done evil service to the party, or even to Mr. Disraeli himself, by plainly speaking out what every one was saying of him in private, and no one would say in public. It is a serious misfortune both to the Conservatives and their leader that their organs in the press refuse to themselves that latitude of criticism which Liberal leaders have to undergo at the hands of Liberal writers. The result is, that the Liberal leaders always know from independent testimony exactly what all sections of their followers are thinking—a species of information which only bursts at fitful and stormy intervals upon the minds of their Conservative opponents. Those who adopt for their rule of criticism, in all cases and under all contingencies, to praise Mr. Disraeli, love him not wisely, though possibly too well. The

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\* Walsh's 'Results of the Reform Act of 1832.'

quality of flattery is twice cursed—it curseth him that gives and him that takes. It is no kindness to a statesman to persist in assuring him that he is keeping the right road, when he is marching straight into a bog. If we may venture to add to these criticisms upon those who have criticised us so liberally, we should be inclined to say that they make a mistake in displaying so unreservedly the irritation caused by our remarks. To borrow a phrase from the vocabulary which recent events have made so familiar, they ‘bruise’ too easily. It is a pity that they should do so, because it gives wicked people the opportunity of applying the proverb, *Ce n’est que la vérité qui blesse*. Extreme irritability on any particular subject is an eloquent symptom, to which it is never wise to call an enemy’s attention. As soon as they detected it, candid opponents of all sorts and sizes rushed in to the rescue. Lord John Russell was induced to devote a railway journey to the study of our remarks, and felt so uncomfortable when he had finished them, that he poured out his woes that very night into the bosom of a sympathising House of Commons. We should have thought he had been hardened by this time to the imputation of motives from ‘obscure writers’ or a ‘ribald press.’ It is seldom that a culprit shows so much uneasiness when he is for the twentieth time in the dock. But not satisfied with annihilating us by pointing out our obscurity, he proceeded to offer testimonials of character to Mr. Disraeli, which must have been highly gratifying to that gentleman, and still more satisfactory to his party. Lord John, no doubt, meant it kindly: but he should have remembered that the value of testimonials depends in a considerable degree on the character of the person by whom they are given. Their worth was somewhat diminished by coming from a statesman, who, since his official career began, has never stuck to friend or opinion a moment after they had ceased to be politically profitable. The man who destroyed Lord Aberdeen’s government by a ‘stab in the dark,’ and who threw England into a convulsion to pass the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, which he has never dreamt of carrying out, would do wisely to abstain from giving testimonials of loyalty to party or fidelity to principles. Mr. Bright pursued a far more considerate course. In the House of Commons he lamented feelingly, and seemed to impute to our malign influence, the backslidings of the tyro whom he had hoped to train up in the paths of Radicalism; and out of the House of Commons he did him the still greater service of abusing him in good set terms. If he wishes to befriend his ancient ally in many a hard-won fight, he cannot do it better than by continuing these philippics. There is no surer way of restoring to him the confidence of Conservatives: we do not profess to be insensible

sensible to it ourselves. His eulogies have ruined Mr. Gladstone ; his invectives will go far to restore Mr. Disraeli. A little more thunder in the style of the meeting in St. Martin's Hall will work the last-named statesman a double service: it will take away a stone of stumbling from the path of his followers, and a temptation that has hitherto been too seductive from his own.

The Liberal Press also rushed in to his rescue as chivalrously as the quondam Liberal leader. The 'Times' devoted an article of great ability and some warmth to the rehabilitation of its principal opponent. Anything that appears in the 'Times' is a matter of at least as much public interest as anything that is said by Lord John Russell, and therefore we shall make no apology for quoting some passages from this defence. Admitting it to be serious, and not ironical—a large admission, we confess—it is a striking illustration of the damage which the recent conduct of public men has inflicted upon public morals. Our political ethics must be in evil case when the following is the standard instinctively applied by a shrewd and practical critic to measure the comparative deserts of statesmen :—

'Lord John Russell introduced into the debate on the Reform Bill two topics which have seldom heretofore formed the staple of discussion in the House of Commons. He invited the Legislature to consider the merits of an article in the *Quarterly*, written he said, by 'some obscure individual,' whose obscurity, however, did not shelter him from censure, and he threw out a still more delicate question for a leading member of the Government to handle,—Who is at present the leader of the Opposition? Lord John seemed to be in as much difficulty as an old-established government in contact with a country undergoing the fever of a revolution, which knows not to whom to give a diplomatic recognition—whether to treat as the existing power the old sovereign or the young aspirant—whether to offend the friends of the old order of things by recognizing revolution, or the friends of the revolution by still adhering to the old order of things. Lord John has a dim kind of consciousness that all is not right within the Tory camp, that sedition is abroad, and that it is not the Liberals only who have seen fit to change their leader. Though Mr. Disraeli is not the only Parliamentary chief who has met with rough usage from the political periodical of his party, Lord John seems discomposed by the phenomenon, and anxiously inquires upon whom has devolved the leadership of the Tories, which passed by so strange a caprice of fortune from Sir Robert Peel to Mr. Disraeli. The question has remained unanswered, except so far as Mr. Disraeli's modesty permitted him to answer it in his own favour. The party did not respond heartily to the challenge of their opponents, and the question thus thrown out still awaits its solution.

'We have as little right to answer for the Conservative party on a matter so peculiarly relating to their own internal police as Lord John

John Russell himself, but we confess it would be to us a matter of the most profound astonishment were it possible that the Conservative party should depose their present leader. . . . The Tory party, when Mr. Disraeli first took the lead of them, were in a position of the most marked and violent hostility to the material interests of the whole country, and embarked on a career which seemed to tend to something little short of political annihilation. With untiring patience Mr. Disraeli set himself to bring order out of this chaos; he soothed their passions, he deferred to their prejudices; he even condescended to speak their language; he fought their losing battle for them with heartiness enough to conciliate their confidence, and dressed up the jargon of an exploded financial creed with rhetoric, metaphor, and epigram. It may be that these are not the portions of his past life upon which Mr. Disraeli looks back with the greatest satisfaction; but, whatever the consistent advocates of Free Trade among his contemporaries or the philosophical historian who shall sit down to weigh his conduct in the balance of a rigid and impartial criticism may think of him, it would be unjust, ungrateful, and ungenerous in the party, which he has redeemed from absolute disorganization, and made once more a real and effective power in the state, to forget for a single moment its signal obligations to him. Gradually, almost imperceptibly, Mr. Disraeli has weaned his party from their most flagrant errors. He has taught them a lesson which they have been slow indeed to learn, but at which they are proficient indeed, compared with what they were in the glorious days of Lord George Bentinck. He has taught them to profess, at any rate, and probably to feel, a sympathy for the great body of their countrymen, and to recognise the necessity of looking to opinion for support. When he found the Tory party they were armed in impenetrable prejudice; under him they have become no longer an impediment, but competitors with the Liberals in the career of progress. Twice has he led them into office, and, if they were not on either occasion able to find good anchorage for their storm-tossed vessel, the fault was not his, but rather that of his colleagues, who seemed on both occasions indefatigable in proving their incapacity for the management of affairs of state. It is Mr. Disraeli's misfortune, and not a little also his fault, that he has been acting ever since he became a party-leader with men whose mediocrity has been no safeguard against the most extravagant mistakes, and who have uniformly contrived, by some gross and easily detected job, to draw down upon themselves the indignation of the country. But for Mr. Disraeli himself it must be said, that, having uniformly to fight an uphill battle, and to sustain a losing cause, he has acquitted himself in a manner to gain the sympathy of those most keenly opposed to his policy, and to prove that he possesses talents which, under happier circumstances, might have made his administration eminently creditable to himself and useful to the country.'

If anything can aggravate the misery of an Eton boy under the depressing circumstance of 'having to stay,' it is the information which

which the head-master invariably tenders to him, that 'it is all for his good.' We doubt if a similar answer to the complaint of the Conservative party that their principles have been bartered for office will have a much more soothing effect upon their feelings. They will have been surprised, no doubt, to learn from this powerful advocate that his client 'deferred to their prejudices, and even condescended to speak their language,' in order to 'to wean them from their errors,' and make them 'competitors with the Liberals in the career of progress;' and perhaps they may be inclined to murmur at having been made to undergo this process of dirt-eating for their own good. At all events, they may doubt whether it was necessary to deceive them so much in order to attain this happy consummation. Perhaps, if some ten years ago they had obtained an inkling of the 'condescension' which was going on, and which is now so candidly avowed, they would have passed their own opinion upon the 'signal obligation' it conferred, and the course of subsequent events might have been different. A great party would have been 'weaned' from its opinions—if so it was to be—on Protection and Reform, in some position more honourable for a change of creed than the Treasury bench, and one contribution, at least, to the general bankruptcy of good faith would have been spared. The writer of the article has felt it necessary to press one or two historical novelties into the cause which is defended by ethics so intrepid. We never heard before that Mr. Disraeli 'soothed the passions' of the Tories in their last contest with Sir Robert Peel. Nor should we have designated the process by which he succeeded to the leadership of Sir Robert Peel exactly as a 'caprice of fortune.' Mr. Disraeli did not trust on that occasion to any caprices of the fickle goddess: *Aide toi, Dieu t'aidera*, was his wiser motto. Still more strongly must we demur to the assertion that it is to his colleagues' errors that his two falls from office have been due. One adverse vote was the result of his Budget, and the other was the result of his Reform Bill.

It would have been difficult to treat as serious this strange defence if it had not been that the same apology, in less cynical terms, had been put forward by champions whose earnestness there is no room to question. One writer justifies Mr. Disraeli's introduction of a Reform Bill, on the ground that to have refused it would have been 'to put himself in opposition to the House of Commons.' Another defends him on the ground that he could not help himself, and that 'to say that the Tories ought never to have proposed a Reform Bill is to say simply that the Tories ought never to have taken office,'—which, in the writer's view, is evidently a *reductio ad absurdum*. This is a style of advocacy

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more damaging than any accusation. That last phrase accurately formulates the degrading error which has squandered away the fair fame of parties and made a byword of the honour of public men. That the Tories, or any other party, are to think chiefly how they may 'take office;' that this is the paramount aim to which all other objects are to yield, and for which the complicated structure of a party-organization has been created; that it is for this only, or mainly, that men who take part in public affairs are to vote and speak and canvass and spend: this it is that has oftentimes, in recent years, made bodies of honourable men act like the veriest adventurers. It is a doctrine born of mere selfish greed, and reeking of corruption. It strips the political contest of all that is inspiring and ennobling, and reduces those who take part in it from the rank of crusaders for a principle to the level of political caterans foraging for booty.

We will not pay the Conservative party the bad compliment of believing that their leader is now prepared to act on the principles which his thoughtless advocates avow. Whatever his past errors may have been, no reproach of this kind can be urged against his policy upon the important measures that have distinguished the session now drawing to a close. He has shown no inclination to flinch from the assertion of Conservative principles; he has made no attempts to boil them down to suit the palates of Radical allies. Mr. Bright's ferocious denunciations betray his misgiving that the reckless ambition on which he once hoped to climb to power will serve his turn no more. We have a right to assume that the change is permanent, and that Mr. Disraeli has abandoned for ever the 'unholy alliances' and the trimming tactics of which events have proved the hollowness and the shame. The 'Times' has been over-hasty in arguing as if any question of change of leadership were in agitation among the ranks of its opponents. The Conservative party applies its own principles to its own internal government. It loves not depositions and revolutions more within its own body than in the world outside. The organization and discipline of those who compose it has been often admired by their antagonists, and has sustained many a searching shock that would have shattered to atoms a Liberal combination. It is not political reverses or years of exile from the Promised Land of office that excite their murmurs or weaken their allegiance. While the course along which they are guided is true to their creed, they do not inquire much to which side of the Speaker's chair it leads. They only ask to be led as men who are fighting, not that a few may enjoy the fleeting notoriety and the poor apology for power which office can confer, but for mighty principles, to which

which the happiness of millions yet unborn and an ancient empire's glory are indissolubly bound.

It is not too soon that the Conservative leaders have entered on their new course. Times are approaching when factious opposition would be a party's utter ruin. We may be permitted to recognise that some respite from an inveterate partisanship has recently shown itself on both sides of the House, without undertaking to maintain any optimist belief in the perfectibility of partisans. The aspect of the political horizon might account for even a greater improvement in the demeanour of public men. It is not wonderful that both parties and leaders should be silently rallying to their ancient standards, and renouncing for a time the ignoble scramble for place. It would be strange if the close mutterings of the appalling tempest which seems to be darkening over Europe did not awe even the most thoughtless into patriotism. If, as we are told, there is a time for everything, there may possibly be a time for unprincipled cabals, but assuredly that time is not when a fresh conflagration is threatening to burst from the treacherous and unquenched embers over which the fabric of 1815 was reared. Another Napoleon, again working the lever of revolution to unsettle neighbouring thrones, sowing variance among small potentates, offering bribes to large ones, and kindling discord everywhere by fanning into a flame the latent evil passions of all, are prognostics whose import it is difficult to mistake. It is curious to observe how little there is of ebb and flow in the alarm with which all nations are simultaneously inspired; how little there is of the nature of panic in the melancholy sternness with which all alike are girding themselves for a deadly struggle. Assurances of peace are spoken and forgotten, and spoken again; intrigues begin aimlessly and close fruitlessly; the weathercock from day to day veers incessantly between peace and war; but amidst all these varying appearances no single nation outside the confines of France doubts as to the reality of the dangers that impend. No protestations can induce trade to resume its accustomed flow, or governments to abate their unwonted preparations. Of course there are people who believe in the good faith of the Emperor Napoleon, just as there are people who believe in the humanity of the King of Naples. A great sharper's fame cannot be developed without a sufficient supply of pigeons. An eminent impostor implies dupes of extraordinary simplicity. In spite of all that has happened, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Cobden, and Mr. Bright, still believe in the Emperor, with all the touching faith which the members of the Agapemone exhibit towards Mr. Prince. It does not affect them that they have been already taken in; he cannot multiply his  
deceptions



deceptions faster than their credulity will grow. The second of December has not weakened their reliance upon his oaths; the war in Italy, with its results upon 'Savoy, has not damaged in their eyes his disclaimer of aggressive views. But happily there are not many men in England or Germany who have bound themselves, for the sake of a financial ideal, to call the false true and the evil good. Politicians of every shade, from Mr. Roebuck to Lord Lyndhurst, governments of every hue, from that of Vienna to that of Brussels, seem to be at one in the conviction that so long as 'the gloomy sporting-man' wields the power of 800,000 bayonets, and dreams of himself as the heir of all his uncle's conquests, so long there will be no repose or security for Europe. So long as such elements of disturbance are ready to his hand as the decay of Turkey, the aggressiveness of Russia, the success of revolution in Italy, its imminence in Austria, and the probability of its transplantation to Germany by the perverse selfishness of her horde of petty kings, so long Napoleon will find no difficulty in precipitating one of those general convulsions which have always yielded a rich spoil to France. And so long as his throne has no basis but military recollections, and no secure prop except military triumph, so long his policy, however masked for a time, must of necessity be war. It is true that accident may interpose to avert dangers which seem inevitable now. A probability which depends not only on one man's life, but on his continued possession of the favour of a fickle people, is of course somewhat precarious. But if he lives, and if fortune seconds him as she has done before, there are troubles in store for this generation which it will tax their spirit to the uttermost to surmount. It is likely enough that the bright dreams of unfettered trade and reduced taxation, in which we have been revelling of late, will be rudely broken by the imminent reality of ruinous armaments, crushing taxes, and overwhelming debt. These sacrifices are a kind of heriot which neighbouring nations have to pay whenever it pleases the people of France to change their form of government. But it may require all the patriotism and united energy of our public men to avert disaster even at this price. No one can predict what influence on the course of a future war new modes of transport, new engines of destruction, may exert. We only know that the stake is incalculable, and that the struggle will be almost a death-grapple. The whole nation, barring the Quaker and his proselytes, are of one mind, that the defence of our soil from the pollution of an invader's foot would be cheaply purchased at any price that the wildest projector can propose. 'It must never be,' are the now trite words that embody the feelings of every party and every class.

class. They are the language spoken by the vast and costly precautions we are taking with such anxious haste. They are implied in the enormous taxes we are cheerfully paying, in the incessant activity that rings in every dockyard, in the martial preparations resounding on every side, so solemnly significant in this land of commerce and of peace. They express the feeling of that ready and trusted patriotism—a marvel to every other European land—which at the mere call of the Government, without conscription and without cost, has placed the flower of the nation under arms; and they speak the true import of that gallant array which a fortnight ago an enthusiastic people brought as a free-will offering to their Sovereign's feet.

When such a crisis is at hand, when such a spirit is abroad, it would be sickening to return to the wallowing in the mire of factious manœuvres and intrigues. It would not only be an ineffaceable stain on the party that should attempt it, but it would be the suicide of their influence and their hopes. The nation would never tolerate the opinions that had borne such evil fruit. This is a matter in which it is not hard to read the future by the teachings of the past. There was a crisis once, more appalling than any that even we have to dread, in which the leader of a great party being called upon to choose between his parliamentary opponents and his country's foes, deliberately preferred the alliance of the latter. The great name of Charles James Fox is ready to shelter, as his fate is recorded to warn, any who may be inclined to imagine that there is no limit to the toleration which Englishmen show to the extravagance of faction. He was the true Amadis of the faction-fight, unapproachable in the grandeur of his selfishness by the puny mimicry of modern adorers and disciples. No confederacy came amiss to him that could by any possibility be troublesome to his opponents. He was equally ready to side with a bloody demagogue like Danton, or a bloody tyrant like Napoleon, if in such an alliance he could see a prospect of slaking his thirst of office or his hatred of Mr. Pitt. What was the result of this blind and greedy ambition? He so discredited by his own base policy the great party which he led, which had done before, and was destined to do again, good service to their country, that for forty years after the outbreak of the French Revolution, they paid by their own exile from office the penalty of his sins, and were absolutely nugatory in the State. It was not till newer interests and newer sufferings had effaced the memory of the great war that the Whig party resumed that position of consideration which they had held before the days of Mr. Fox.

There is no danger of this lamentable precedent being followed  
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in our day. Perhaps it is that we live in an age of wholesomer morality—perhaps it is that the party now in opposition are too closely linked with the nation's martial glories, and feel too sensitively their special obligation to loyalty, ever to dream of stooping to the tactics of dishonour that were levelled against the ministry of Mr. Pitt. Whatever the cause, there is no reason to fear that any factious trickery will shorten Lord Palmerston's tenure of power. Every Conservative owes a debt to him for his manly and patriotic bearing when the late vote of the Lords was under discussion, which it would be ingratitude, for mere party motives, to forget. Lord John Russell and Mr. Gladstone have a matchless skill in breaking up Governments which the most generous forbearance may be unable to countervail. But if his Government does fall we venture to predict that he will not be able to impute it to any 'unholy alliances,' or any of the ignoble arts of opposition. Lord Derby spoke upon this point with his usual unhesitating distinctness in the debate upon the Paper-duties :—

'I was glad that the initiation of this amendment should lie with the noble baron, who could not be suspected of being actuated by any feelings of hostility to the Government. But I will go further, and I will say that in supporting this amendment with the full conviction that I am performing a sacred and solemn duty, I can assure noble lords opposite, sincerely and distinctly, I do so with no desire whatever to embarrass, still less to disturb or overthrow, Her Majesty's Government. I can assure them I have no desire to relieve them from the responsibility which they have incurred. (Hear, hear.) Still less do I desire that any friend of mine should be so unfortunate as to have to replace them. (Laughter.) I don't hesitate to go further, and to say that in the present state of affairs—in the threatening state of affairs abroad, in the alarming condition of our financial prospects at home, I think it would be a national misfortune if to these causes for anxiety were added the complications and difficulties which might arise from the noble lord at the head of the Government being compelled to retire from its present position. I can assure you with all sincerity that it is with no spirit of hostility to the noble lord at the head of the Government that I am taking this course. I come forward because I believe that your lordships' interference is necessary to save the country from great present and much greater future financial difficulties.'

And as he has spoken so have his subordinates acted. Whatever party-rivalry there may be or have been elsewhere, there has been none between those who have managed and those who now manage the great executive departments on which the attention of the country is principally centred. In the debates upon military and naval affairs Mr. Herbert and Lord Clarence Paget have

have received from General Peel and Sir John Packington assistance at least as frank and cordial as any that they have received from those who sit behind them.

Every party, according to the conventional definition of its functions, has two tasks to perform. It has to maintain a certain set of principles, and it has to obtain office for a number of its principal debaters. The one function is among the highest to which a human being can devote himself; the other is at best a matter to be extenuated and apologised for by an appeal to the known weaknesses of mankind. Unfortunately these two objects are far from being attainable by the same course of action. Of course the possession of office, with a sure majority, is the best mode of carrying your principles into effect; but for all practical purposes this state of things may be set aside as too improbable to count upon for the present. The practical choice generally lies between a weak position in government and a strong one in opposition. We cannot better describe the humiliation and impotence of an ill-supported ministry than by again recurring to Lord Derby's words:—

‘To hold that high and responsible situation, dependent for support from day to day upon precarious and uncertain majorities, compelled to cut down this measure and to pare off that—to consider with regard to each measure, not what was for the real welfare of the country, but what would conciliate some half-dozen men here, or obviate the objections of some half-dozen there—to regard it as a great triumph of Parliamentary skill and Ministerial strength to scramble through the session of Parliament, and to boast of having met few and insignificant defeats—I say this is a state of things which cannot be satisfactory to any Minister, and which cannot be of advantage to the Crown or to the people of this country. But, my Lords, to enter on the duties of office not with a precarious majority, but with a sure minority of the other House of Parliament—to be aware that from day to day you were liable to defeats at any moment by the combination of parties amounting to a sure majority, and only waiting for the moment when it would be most convenient to introduce motions for such an end: to be a Minister on sufferance: to hold such a position without any security for enforcing your own views; with the fear of exposing your own friends and the country—your friends to perpetual mortification, and the country to constant disappointment, to undertake the responsibilities and duties of office under such circumstances and in such a state of things, would be an intolerable and galling servitude.’—*Speech of Lord Derby, Feb. 8, 1855.*

These were Lord Derby's views five years ago, and we feel convinced that his subsequent experience has not induced him to modify them since. In the present balance of parties, Conservatives have to choose between tampering with their principles  
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in office or upholding them in opposition. During the past session they have been able to expose and explode a Reform Bill, to save the Paper-duties, and to give to the movement against Church-rates the most damaging repulse it has received. Can they say the same for the year they were in office? In which direction did those three questions move during that short and disastrous triumph? The time may come—we trust at no distant period—when they may return to power, prepared to rule with the straightforward fearlessness which only an assured majority can give. Until that time arrives, office must be rather a matter of dread than of desire. It is only in opposition that they can maintain a free and independent bearing, and they owe it to their own honour not to submit again to the ‘galling servitude’ which Lord Derby has so graphically sketched. There is nothing in such an attitude to preclude them from doing the truest service to the institutions which it is their mission to defend. They can still check, as they have checked this year, the revolutionary theories which the four Radicals in the Cabinet have devoted themselves to carry out. By the help of the constitutional predilections which are always latent in the Whigs, they can still secure from danger all the more important points of their position. And they will do it without compromising their principles or hazarding their fame. By a manly refusal to seek power so long as they cannot wield it freely and yet hope to keep it, they will not only preserve their own honour intact, but they will do much to restore, in an age when it is sorely shaken, the public confidence in public men.

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# THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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- ART. I.—1. *Relatorio apresentado à Assembléa Geral Legislativa na Terceira Sessão da Decima Legislatura*, pelo Ministro e Secretario de Estado dos Negocios da Guerra. Rio de Janeiro, 1859.
2. *Relatorio apresentado à Assembléa Geral Legislativa na Terceira Sessão da Decima Legislatura*, pelo Ministro e Secretario de Estado dos Negocios Estrangeiros. Rio de Janeiro, 1859.
3. *Brazil and the Brazilians portrayed in Historical and Descriptive Sketches*. By Rev. D. P. Kidder and Rev. J. C. Fletcher. Philadelphia and London, 1857.
4. *The West Indies and the Spanish Main*. By Anthony Trollope. London, 1860.
5. *Voyage up the Amazon*. By W. H. Edwards. London, 1856.
6. *Les Républiques de la Plata et de Brésil*. By M. Charles Reybaud. Paris, 1859.
7. *Narrative of Services in the Liberation of Chili, Peru, and Brazil from the Spanish and Portuguese Dominions*. By Thomas Earl of Dundonald, G.C.B., Admiral of the Red and Rear-Admiral of the Fleet. London, 1859.
8. *Monarchy v. Republic: or, Has not Constitutional Monarchy in Brazil more tended to Prosperity, than Republicanism in the other South American States? A Political Tract for the Times*. Bristol, 1859.

THE early history of South America must for ever stand out pre-eminent in the records of human wickedness. If the discovery of the New World is the great romance of history, its settlement and conquest form one of its deepest tragedies, for the subjugation of some of the fairest regions of the globe, by the most advanced and powerful nation of Europe in the fifteenth century, unfortunately fell to the lot of men upon whom the 'multiplying villanies of nature' swarmed in unwonted profusion; and the countries which long formed the Transatlantic empire of Spain have, from the day on which she first planted her foot in the New World to the present time, never ceased to present the most painful contrast between the benevolent dispositions of Providence for the happiness of its creatures, and the power of man to counteract them.

When the New World was first revealed in all its fresh and wondrous charms to the Spanish adventurers, even their rough and callous natures were not unimpressed by the spectacle, but they were inspired by a passion that absorbed all others. Gold alone they desired, and gold they unceasingly sought. They had not left their own fair and fertile land, they said, to toil under a tropical sun, and to become tillers of the earth. A considerable period elapsed in fact before the Spanish government turned its attention to the permanent colonization of the country of which it had become possessed ; but gradually these provinces, which teemed not only with the precious metals, but with wealth in every form, became the grandest appanages of the crown. Populous cities rose, rivalling in magnificence those of Andalusia and Castile. The Roman Catholic Church lavished its wealth in the erection of gorgeous cathedrals, monasteries, and convents. The gold and silver of the great colonies of Spain flowed in abundant and apparently inexhaustible streams into the royal mint. The courtiers and dependents of the Spanish monarch looked to 'the Indies' as a place for making or repairing their fortunes, just as many in England were accustomed to regard India, under a régime that has now become one of the traditions of the past. New Spain was simply regarded as a place where the grandees of Old Spain could speculate and plunder without control ; and the native inhabitants, as well as the mixed races which resulted from colonization, were looked upon only as the hewers of wood and drawers of water for the aristocracy of pure Castilian blood, who condescended to make the new country their temporary abode. Although the Creoles, or American-born descendants of settlers, were not legally disqualified for public employment in the land of their birth, they were excluded by a rule of state which was very rarely departed from, but they never completely lost sight of their natural or acquired rights, or ceased to regard the Spaniards as usurpers of their rightful inheritance.

This spirit of freedom, however it may have slumbered, was never entirely extinct at any period of the Spanish domination. It asserted itself from time to time in unsuccessful and often bloody revolts. But when Spain ceased to be a despotic power in 1808, and the breath of freedom seemed once more to animate her languid frame, the people of Spanish America sympathised in the transformation, and naturally looked for an equality of rights and an emancipation from colonial restrictions. Never were expectations more unfounded. The popular assembly of the nation, although burning with patriotic enthusiasm, and ringing with declamatory speeches in favour of liberty, was found to be as strongly



strongly infected with the spirit of caste as the most insolent courtier of the ancient monarchy, and the petitions of the people of America were answered by threats, insults, and armaments. This disregard of the feelings and wishes of the colonists doubtless greatly increased their estrangement from Spain, and intensified the hatred which, in a few years, broke out into armed rebellion against the mother country. To what cause are we to assign the singular ill success which has marked almost every attempt to found a stable government on the *débris* of the great Spanish Empire in the west? We apprehend it must be attributed in a great degree to the jealous and monopolising spirit which governed the conduct of the monarchy towards its dependencies. It systematically degraded the colonists, by treating them as an inferior caste. It lowered their character, and wounded their self-esteem, by refusing to recognize them as equals. It planted the vices of slavery in their nature, by persisting in treating them as slaves; and when the day of liberation arrived, the moral safeguards were wanting which alone could safely conduct them through the perils of political emancipation. To one who has faith in the ennobling influence of freedom, the present condition of the greater number of the South American Republics can bring only the deepest mortification. When Mr. Canning, in that celebrated burst of oratory which awakened responsive echoes throughout England, declared that 'he had called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old,' little could he have suspected what kind of bodies he was looking to for the re-arrangement of the political universe. The long-oppressed colonies of Spain seemed, to his ardent imagination, to be the elements out of which a new system of states was to arise, which he could contemplate with serene satisfaction as, in a great degree, the work of his own hands. But these detached fragments of a great empire which he aspired to mould into symmetrical forms, and to give, as it were, the impulse which was to determine their independent motions and fix their future orbits, were soon discovered to possess neither coherence nor interdependence, and they have since become only perplexing political anomalies, baffling all the calculations of man.

These ruined countries were once the civilized and valuable possessions of the proudest of European States. Let us see the condition to which they have fallen, as described by one of the most recent observers:—'Even the inferior cities of these provinces were populous, flourishing, and, for that age, civilized. Now that the whole country has received the boon of freedom the mind loses itself in considering to what lower pitch of human

human degradation these people will ultimately fall. Civilization is retrograding; men are becoming more ignorant than their fathers; read less, know less, have less regard for truth and justice. At present it seems that Providence has abandoned it. Land is receding from cultivation, cities are falling into ruins, and men degenerate into 'animals, under the influence of unbounded liberty and universal suffrage.'\*—'Why did you come to visit such a region as this?' asked Bolivar, when dying, of a Frenchman to whom in his last days he was indebted for much kindness. 'For freedom,' said the Frenchman. 'For freedom!' exclaimed the 'Liberator';—'then let me tell you that you have missed your mark altogether; you could hardly have turned in a more unfortunate direction.'

The political influence of Spanish America upon Europe, since its independence, has been altogether inappreciable. Spain, too, without the Indies, has lost nothing of her weight, such as it was, in the European balance. Her colonies, mismanaged and oppressed, rather increased her embarrassments than added to her glory or her strength; and her galleons, freighted with the spoil of plundered provinces, only served to enrich her enemies whenever she was engaged in war, to corrupt her people in peace, and to retard her industrial development.

In truth, when some of the most eminent public men of this country were taking every opportunity of contributing to the cause of South American independence, the inhabitants of by far the greater portion of that division of the globe, speaking generally, were not qualified for free institutions, nor fit to govern themselves; therefore to encourage them to rise and shake off the dominion of Spain was, at least, unwise, as being premature, even if it was altogether consistent with public morality. In reading a description of the state of Mexico, as transmitted to his government by the Spanish General Calleja, in 1814, we seem to be only perusing a narrative which equally, as a picture of anarchy, serves for the year 1860. 'The military force now at my disposal,' he writes, 'is but just sufficient to garrison the capitals of the provinces, and to cover the large towns; but in the mean time an infinity of smaller towns are left at the mercy of banditti. The roads are our own only as long as a division is passing over them; and the insurgents, who are infinitely superior to us in number, are masters of the largest portions of the cultivated lands: the consequence is, that trade is at an end, agriculture languishes, the mines are abandoned, all our resources are ex-

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\* The West Indies and the Spanish Main, p. 52.

hausted,

hausted, the troops wearied out, the rich in dismay; in short, misery increases daily; armed bands wander over the whole country, eating and drinking where they can, and robbing, plundering, and devastating all that falls in their way.' Mexico has only exchanged the misgovernment of Spain for a worse evil—that of a chronic, interminable, and hopeless anarchy. The moral degeneracy and numerical decrease of the creoles of Spanish America, and the yearly augmentation and anticipated preponderance of the Indians, combined with their known capacity, almost justify the opinion that they may one day again be the predominant people in that desolated and afflicted land.

It is now a well-known fact, that during a portion of the French revolutionary war, between the years 1793 and 1801, the policy was more than once debated in the British cabinet of attacking Spain in America by encouraging the revolt of her colonies, and affording them active support; but it was discouraged by several of the leading members of administration under a strong conviction of the horrors that must necessarily have accompanied a revolution in South America: therefore in 1806, at the accession of the Whig party to office, the emancipation of Spanish America was distinctly disavowed as an object to the attainment of which the English government would give either assistance or encouragement. But instead of its liberation, the astonishing project was, for a time, seriously entertained of a British conquest of the country. Expeditions were accordingly sent to the eastern and western coasts; with what success is but too truly recorded in the military annals of Great Britain. All the arts of conciliation were tried upon the colonists in vain; proclamations profuse in promises and setting forth the advantages that would result from the substitution of British sovereignty for that of Spain were received with the utmost indifference. The people were anxious to throw off the Spanish yoke, but they had not the remotest thought of fixing another on their necks. Unfitted as they were for governing themselves, they resolved to follow the example of the North American provinces by founding another great Transatlantic republic or forming a confederation of democratic states. Again the British government, abandoning all selfish schemes of conquest, turned its attention to the emancipation of South America, and it is affirmed on good authority that the Spanish colonies had occupied the thoughts of the ministry before Sir Ralph Abercromby received his final orders to proceed to Egypt; and no doubt exists of the fact, that an expedition was prepared at  
Cork,

Cork, to be commanded by Sir Arthur Wellesley, the object of which was to co-operate with General Miranda, who at that time possessed great influence and popularity with his countrymen, in a project for the liberation of Spanish America.\* The French invasion of Spain, which completely changed the relations of England with that country, necessarily put an end to the project, and the troops which were intended to aid in a colonial rebellion, were, by a singular turn of affairs, sent to the assistance of the monarchy whose Transatlantic dominion they were at first designed to overthrow. The influence of these events upon the career of the great Duke is obvious. What services he might have rendered to freedom and civilisation, if he had directed his vast abilities to the guidance of a South American revolution, it would be vain to conjecture; he might possibly have fallen a victim to democratic jealousy, and have afforded another example of popular ingratitude.

The standard of colonial revolt was first raised in Mexico in 1810. The whole of Spanish America was shortly afterwards in a state of insurrection, but it was an universally-diffused anarchy rather than a great, sustained, national movement. The officers who collected a few troops and rabble, and called themselves generals, were in reality little better than chiefs of bandits on a large scale. Whenever a popular government succeeded in establishing itself for a few weeks, the members of the legislature, as their first act, invariably voted themselves enormous salaries. The character of this war of liberation became at last truly demoniac, and nothing can mark its enormity so strongly as the fact, that the principal destruction of life invariably took place after the excitement of battle had ceased. In actual fighting the casualties were inconsiderable. The Spanish royalist commanders were not behindhand in atrocities; one marched through a country four hundred miles in extent, from the banks of the Orinoco to the environs of Caraccas, did not spare a single human being, but butchered in cold blood all who refused to join him. Whenever a town was taken on either side, the common practice seems to have been to make an indiscriminate slaughter of the inhabitants.

The governments set up by the liberators, as they styled themselves, of an oppressed people, instead of being free republics, were in substance nothing more than military despotisms; and the presidents, or, as they may be more properly termed, dictators of those states, comprising, in some cases, territories

\* See 'Supplementary Despatches of the Duke of Wellington,' vol. vi. chap. ii. (1860).

equal in dimensions to a first-class European kingdom, have, since the expulsion of their Spanish masters, carried on an almost unceasing warfare with each other, animated by the fiercest passions and the most unprincipled ambition, and the sword is the only effective power in the state. Buenos Ayres was long oppressed by successive factions that displaced each other once a month or oftener. In 1825 that government commenced an unprincipled war with Brazil for the possession of Montevideo, and its whole policy has been one of aggression. It long aspired to reconstruct, under a democratic form of government, the old vice-royalty of Spain in South America. The history of independent Peru is made up of constant attacks upon its neighbours, civil wars, misappropriated finances, the exile and poverty of her few honest statesmen, and a general state of turbulence and insecurity. In Colombia the great liberator, Bolivar, narrowly escaped assassination in 1817. He was rejected to make way for a dictator for life, whose political existence terminated in a year. This great republic, shaken by incessant political convulsions, separated into three states, Ecuador, Venezuela, and Granada; but in these the restless democratic element only found new centres of activity, and broke out again and again with redoubled violence and devastation. In Chili, which proclaimed her independence in 1810, there were two popular revolutions in four years, and a prolonged civil war. In 1842 she engaged in a contemptible war with Peru, while all within was poverty, disorder, and faction; and in 1859 she was again involved in fierce disputes with Peru, and threatened with revolution at home. In Central America civil war immediately followed the first establishment of the republic; no quarter was given, and Flores, the ephemeral president, was murdered in a church by a mob. Every change of government in these republics, from Chili to Mexico, has been brought about by a fraction of the population, headed by an officer who had bribed a mutinous, ragged, unpaid, half-starved soldiery, and organised a junta paid for acting their disreputable part in the 'transaction.' Where wars do not at present rage factions abound. Public credit and financial honesty can scarcely be said to exist,\* and regions that, under a good government, would teem with wealth and happiness, remain, for the greatest part of their extent, in a state of material as well as of moral desolation. San Martin, the ablest and most honest of the Chilian patriots, declared that so convinced was he of the evils of re-

\* Chili is an honourable exception in this respect. She has dealt fairly with her foreign creditors; and the same may be said, with a little qualification, of Peru.

publicanism and the unfitness of that form of government for his country, that he would gladly have aided in placing a Spanish prince on a constitutional throne in Chili; and an intelligent eye-witness to the disorders of these popular governments, and the general dishonesty of their public men, thus records his opinion of their merits: 'I have had,' he says, 'the opportunity of witnessing the effect of a paid body of adventurers legislating for a country, and I believe it is only to be witnessed to be abhorred.'

In striking contrast to the greater portion of the territory that once formed the colonial empire of Spain, there stands out in grand proportions, and as an almost solitary exception to the general political degradation of the South American continent, one country which the constitutional statesmen of Europe and the free people of England can regard with almost unqualified satisfaction. The great empire of Brazil occupies an area nearly fourteen times larger than France, and contains within its borders 3,000,460 square miles. In extent it is second only to the colossal empires of China and Russia. The United States possess an area of 2,936,166 miles, therefore Brazil is 68,294 square miles larger than the territory of the American Union. European Russia has an area of 2,142,504 square miles, and the remainder of Europe occupies 1,687,626. It is only by such a comparison of figures that we can attain to even an approximate conception of the vastness of Brazil; and the colossal scale on which Nature exhibits herself in this portion of the American continent may be shown by a reference to the area drained by the river Amazon and its tributaries. The territory thus indicated consists of 2,330,000 square miles. All Western Europe could be placed within it without touching its boundaries, and it would contain the whole of our Indian empire. But a fact still more difficult to realise is that there exists in the Southern hemisphere a stable constitutional monarchy in the peaceful enjoyment of the institutions with which, nearly forty years ago, it first commenced its independent career. Its people stand in the same relation to the European state from which they separated as the descendants of the British nation in the United States do to England;—that is to say, self-emancipated colonists, in the enjoyment of perfectly free institutions. But, stranger still, this country has undergone the most extraordinary transformation that probably ever occurred in history, having become the seat of government and refuge of an ancient sovereignty, and sprung from a colony into an empire which dwarfs the parent state into insignificance. 'Discovered by chance,' says Southey, in the preface to that History upon which he employed so large an amount of laborious industry, and which contains a mass of information which he alone could have

have collected and arranged, as well as profound reflections and animated descriptions such as he alone was capable of, 'and long left to chance, it is by individual industry and enterprise and by the operation of the common laws of nature and society that this empire has risen and flourished, extensive as it is, and mighty as it must one day become; for its first colonists were ignoble men, carrying on an obscure warfare, the consequences of which have been greater and will be more durable than those produced by the conquests of Alexander and Charlemagne.'

There is nothing more instructive in history than to note the apparently trifling causes that have determined the ultimate form of nationalities, and led to the formation of states. Brazil had one narrow escape of becoming an appendage of France, and another of being a Dutch colony, or a Batavian Transatlantic republic. France, jealous of the colonial empires of Spain and Portugal, had often coveted their great South American possessions, and a French settlement was, for a short period, actually established in the Portuguese colonial dominions. A band of Huguenots was planted at St. Sebastian, now Rio de Janeiro, in the middle of the sixteenth century; and such was the prospect of complete success that attended the enterprise, that the aspiring adventurers looked to nothing less than the complete conquest of Brazil, and, with characteristic arrogance, they termed the country in which they settled *La France Antarctique*. It was a Protestant colony, founded on Protestant principles; but, neglected by France in the midst of her internal convulsions, and betrayed by its leader, it dwindled into insignificance; and the unfortunate community was either extirpated by the sword, or absorbed into the Portuguese population. France never made another attempt to colonize extensively on the South American continent, and her only possession in that part of the globe is Cayenne, where her red republicans and *forçats* mingle their groans and imprecations, and drag out a miserable existence amidst the fevers, agues, and intolerable heat of a pestilential tropical prison.

Holland was very near accomplishing the conquest of Brazil; and of all the rivals of the Portuguese, the Dutch alone have left permanent traces of their presence in the country. Their East Indian conquests had been made and consolidated by means of an exclusive commercial company, a favourite political institution of that period, and its great success and prestige suggested the establishment of a West India company: a charter secured a monopoly of the trade to America, and to the opposite coast of Africa, between the tropic of Cancer and the Cape of Good Hope. In 1624 a fleet was sent to  
attack



attack Brazil, but it met with only temporary success. Shortly afterwards a powerful armament was despatched, under an able leader, Count Maurice of Nassau; and in four years Spain, to which Portugal was then for a time annexed, lost nearly the whole of the north of Brazil. This officer proved himself an admirable political administrator, but a very unprofitable commercial servant, and, like some of our governors-general of India, he thought more of the character of his country and the welfare of the natives than of the ledgers of his employers and their dividends. He was recalled; but not until he had almost succeeded in founding a great empire by his wise and conciliatory policy. His successors increased the returns of the Company, but lost the country. Their remittances were as punctual as their private embezzlements were great. They oppressed and impoverished Brazil to keep up the value of the stock, and to augment their ill-gotten wealth. Their great predecessor had conciliated all classes; they injured and insulted all. Within a year from the recall of Count Maurice the Dutch were shut up in their fortifications; and in two years more they were obliged to renounce all right and interest in their Brazilian possessions. If the policy of Count Maurice had been carried out, Brazil would probably have been at this day a Dutch colony. Great zeal was shown by the Hollanders in propagating the reformed faith; but although the Government may have meant well, and had the good of the country at heart, the conduct of the Dutch settlers, both towards the Indians and half-castes, was marked by that deep depravity which characterised them in all their colonies. The animosity exhibited by the Portuguese towards the Dutch during their temporary possession of a part of Brazil was inconceivable. The churches resounded with anathemas against the heretical intruders. 'Holland,' said one of the great pulpit-orators who fulminated over Brazil, 'is the land which flows with milk, and Brazil is the land which flows with honey; and when the one is joined to the other they become wholly and properly the land of promise—a land flowing with milk and honey. But this sacred land of promise shall not long be in the power of the Amorites. The shepherds of the Low Countries will return to their cheese and their butter, and the honey shall be Samson's, who, when he has conquered the Belgic lion, will take the honey-comb out of his mouth.'

A French buccaneering expedition, projected in the hope of great returns from the gold discoveries, attacked Rio de Janeiro in 1710, but met with a disastrous repulse, which was avenged in the following year by a distinguished admiral, Duguay Trouin, who stormed the city, obtained an immense sum for its ransom, and

and retired. It was the last occasion on which any European Power placed a hostile foot on the soil of Brazil, and Portugal was left in the undisturbed and undisputed possession of her great colony.

The system on which Portugal ruled her great dependency was that of the most complete monopoly. The sole object of the Portuguese, indeed, in all their colonies was to enrich themselves, and all the acts and regulations of the government were subordinate to the great object of raising a revenue. All intercourse with foreigners was prohibited by the most rigid laws; and if a relaxation of jealousy was occasionally permitted in favour of nations in close alliance with the mother-country, the passengers and crews of such ships as were allowed to enter the waters of Rio, or any other of the Brazilian ports, were placed under the *surveillance* of a military guard. The colonists were not allowed to produce any article which the mother-country could supply. Of the manufactures of Europe they had scarcely any knowledge, and a country which could provide the altars of its churches and the tables of its wealthy citizens with gold plate in costly profusion, and furnish the world with the most precious gems, could obtain neither glass, cutlery, nor decent earthenware for its convenience. The common implements of agriculture were of the most primitive kind, and an axe of serviceable quality was not to be found in the country. There could be no real progress in a land almost as hermetically sealed to European enterprise as the empires of China and Japan. The importation of books, except books of Catholic devotion, was rigorously prohibited. A printing-press did not exist, and European ideas were as completely excluded as European commodities. The deficiency in some of the most ordinary accommodations of life was found side by side with the highest luxury, accompanied with the most lavish profusion. In Bahia, then the seat of government, the women wore only silk, and the men, even of inferior rank, walked the streets in breeches of satin damask. The swords and daggers of the higher classes glittered with precious stones, and the women were so profusely decked with jewellery, that it seemed, to use the expression of a British merchant who resided in the city, as if pearls, rubies, emeralds, and diamonds had been showered upon them.\* Those who were not served on plate were regarded as poor. The choicest delicacies of Portugal were imported for their tables. 'The place,'

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\* Dampier found an Englishman at Bahia established as a merchant, and in good repute, with a commission as English consul.

says a worthy ecclesiastical writer,\* who has recorded his impressions of the scene around him, 'hardly appeared like earth—it seemed rather an image of Paradise; as far as opulence, and,' he characteristically adds, 'as dissipation could make it so.' The same trusty chronicler says that he never saw silver so common in any city, and that it was smuggled from Buenos Ayres by an ingenious device. Sacks full of the precious metal were fastened to the anchor, which was not raised until the revenue officers had left the ship. The whale fishery was one of the greatest in the world; and the waters of Bahia were often alive with the gambols of the unwieldy creatures, which, when the tropical sun poured its flood of splendour over the majestic bay, were constantly throwing up from its dazzling surface fountains of sparkling foam. Nine or ten years' residence in Brazil was considered sufficient to realize a fortune. 'Men,' said an auditor-general of the province of Bahia, in a report for the information of his Government, 'return to Portugal full rich, who came out here full poor.' Corn, and wine, and oil—the necessities of life—were sold at six, or even eight, times their European prices, the value of money having diminished in proportion as specie increased. The Portuguese colonies were founded and supported by the state with the sole object of extending the dominion, increasing the power, and exalting the glory of the mother-country. She sent out the ablest and best of her officers to govern on the falsest of systems. At first the church and the government leant on each other for mutual support; the land was divided into dioceses, bishops and curates were appointed, and a portion of the produce of the soil was appropriated to their support; but after a time the union of the two powers grew less intimate, their interests clashed, and they finally became almost antagonistic orders in the community. The mass of the people sympathised with the priesthood, who took upon themselves often to rebuke both the corruption of the public officers and the laxity of the government.

There were, of course, enormous abuses incidental to this state of society. It was a gigantic monopoly, kept up for the benefit of the higher classes of Portugal and their dependents; and another of the great ecclesiastics,† who was always ready to expose and denounce the unprincipled and ruinous system, says, with that indignant satire in which he excelled, that the sucking-fish must have learned their habits since the Portuguese navigated the ocean; for every governor who embarked for the colonies was surrounded

\* Pyrard.

† Vieyra.

by such hangers-on. The moral nature of the Portuguese suffered from transplantation into a tropical region, more than their physical; but not, perhaps, in a greater degree than that of other men removed from the control of opinion, and trusted with remote power. Crimes that were common in Portugal, were probably more common in Brazil. It was a refuge for many of the outcasts of society, and occasionally for the most abandoned of mankind. Insolvents fled there; fraudulent debtors fled there; men who had deserted their wives fled there, as well as those who eloped with the wives of others. Africans were soon found to be better suited for the labour of the country than the Indians; consequently there was a large annual importation of natives from the opposite coast. In Bahia the proportion of black to the white population was as twenty to one; but it was greater there than in any other part of Brazil; and Frezier, a writer of the day, speaks with indignation of having seen negroes exposed for sale in the warehouses, to be handled like beasts, purchased like beasts, worked like beasts, and treated like beasts; for the treatment of their slaves by the Brazilian colonists of that day is said to have been most atrocious.

The seat of government was transferred from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro in 1763, which was the golden era of the Portuguese rule. The fleet which left the Brazilian ports in that year was the richest that had ever sailed from the colony, and it was believed, on a moderate computation, to have brought home a freight to the amount of three millions sterling. The royalties from the mines realized in that year 400,000*l.*, and the bullion and jewels which were sent to Lisbon were estimated at a million of moidores at least.

The great success of the Portuguese in trade; their extensive conquests and rich settlements in two quarters of the globe; and, not least, the splendour of their great American colony, turned the heads of the people, inflated the Government with pride, and gave a tone of incredible arrogance to its diplomacy. Holland and England, more especially, as their recent competitors in commerce, were the objects of their violent hatred and abuse. They had a suspicion that these two energetic nations were gradually supplanting them in at least one hemisphere. Their invectives were unmeasured. 'It is plainly seen,' says a Portuguese print of the day, doubtless a 'government organ,' 'that the more we seek those nations (England and Holland) with embassies and overtures the more insolent and unreasonable they show themselves, repaying our courtesy with rudeness and robbery, because such courtesy savours to them of cowardice; and they imagine that we are afraid of them, and plume themselves upon

upon it. If they, who are pirates and the canaille of hell, send no ambassadors to us, why should we, who are of the kingdom of God and the lords of the world, send any to them? There can be no answer to this argument; and that which some politicians give to it comes from raw cowards, who have not yet learned that dogs must be tamed by blows. But, they will say, we have not sticks with which to beat so many dogs. To this it may be answered, that a single galleon of ours sufficed to attack a large fleet, and spitting fire and darting thunderbolts, defeated the whole. We are the same people now, and therefore it is answered that we have sticks to beat them all.'

Brazil continued to be held in a state of abject dependence down to an early period of the present century, when events of startling importance followed each other with rapidity in the mother-country. It is to the aggression of the Emperor Napoleon on Portugal that Brazil owes its emancipation and the high rank it now occupies among the progressive communities of the world. The incidents of that period are too well known to need enumeration. It is, however, a remarkable fact, that two centuries ago the royal family of Portugal was on the point of emigrating to Brazil. The Spaniards were in hopes of crushing what they termed the rebellion of the Portuguese; and the Dutch, delivered by a peace from the enmity of Cromwell, renewed their demands upon a helpless country. The Queen was left Regent during the minority of her son, Alphonso VI. It was at this time the policy of France to prevent the absorption of Portugal by Spain, therefore Louis XIV. offered to act as mediator; but a paper was found in the deceased King's cabinet, signed by himself, in which he desired, that if Portugal should be unable to continue the arduous struggle, his widow would retreat, with his children, to Brazil; and so probable was it thought that the royal family would be reduced to that necessity, that instructions were sent out to prepare for their immediate reception. Brazil was thus nearly becoming the seat of an Imperial Government, at a time when the first British settlers were struggling with the early difficulties of colonization in our Transatlantic possessions, and laying the foundations of a mighty state.

On the flight of the Portuguese Regent from the kingdom, with the royal insignia, in 1808, he was welcomed by his colonial subjects, notwithstanding the many grievances of which they had just reason to complain, with transport, and the magnificent but misgoverned dependency of the crown was at once practically raised from its inferior position to the dignity of an integral part of the state. It seemed far from improbable that Brazil would become the seat of Imperial Government, and the mother

mother country fall to the position of a dependency of her former colony. The ports of Brazil were, by a *carta regia*, immediately opened to the commerce of the world. The printing-press was introduced; learning, the arts, and agriculture were encouraged; the unknown and scarcely imagined resources of the country were explored; foreign settlers were invited, embassies received and diplomatic relations entered into with foreign states of the first rank; new towns and cities were projected, and a fresh vitality seemed to be infused into all ranks and orders of the population.

A country thus suddenly roused from its long torpor, and dignified by its Sovereign's presence, could not, in the nature of things, remain a colony. A decree was promulgated in 1815, declaring it an integral part of the United Kingdom of Portugal, Algarves, and Brazil. This is the only example in history of a dependency having been admitted to an equality with the parent state, and made a constituent portion of the empire.

Notwithstanding the importance which Brazil thus acquired from having become the seat of sovereignty, there were, nevertheless, circumstances attending it which were calculated to engender a considerable amount of political discontent. The native Portuguese had hitherto possessed a monopoly of office and honour in the great colony of the crown, and it was submitted to by the Brazilians as, in a measure, the natural effect of their colonial subordination; but when Brazil became the residence of a Court, and immeasurably the most considerable and important part of the dominions of the crown, it was but reasonable that its people should feel that their position had essentially changed, that the former inequality no longer existed, and that they had entered into a full participation of all the rights and privileges of their European fellow-subjects. These expectations were not realised. With their Sovereign, arrived all the great public functionaries, and most of the employés of the Portuguese Government. Deprived of their official incomes and positions in Portugal, they naturally looked for an indemnity in the country to which they had transferred themselves. But, in addition to the regular Government officials, twenty thousand needy and unprincipled adventurers are said to have followed the Regent to seek their fortunes in the New World. All the dependents of a not very fastidious court congregated, as it were by instinct, for a simultaneous flight, and pursued their Sovereign across the sea. To the Brazilians it seemed as if their country was invaded by countless swarms of political locusts. To the Portuguese, who viewed for the first time the magnificent colony, it seemed to teem with an opulence which even their  
avarice

avarice could never exhaust. The soil was of an unrivalled fertility, and its produce was as varied as it was rich. The vast proportions in which Nature displays herself in these Transatlantic regions gave a boundless scope to their imaginations. The mountains and rivers they believed to be the sources of inconceivable wealth. Gold, and diamonds, and precious stones of every hue glittered incessantly before their eyes, and the very air was peopled with birds which could be likened only to winged gems. It was, moreover, a country for sinecures and high salaries. In Portugal they obtained only a beggarly remuneration for their services; in Brazil they would grow rich apace. These men, like their predecessors of old, cared nothing for the country of their adoption—their only desire was to fleece it. John VI. yielded to the importunity of the Portuguese, but incurably alienated the people of Brazil. It was one of those blunders in policy that have so often been pregnant with the most momentous results. In gratifying the natives of Portugal at the expense of the natives of Brazil, he brought about the separation of the crowns.

The constitutional revolution of Portugal in 1821, was followed by one in Brazil. The Sovereign, who had fled to his great colony when the troops of France were pouring over the heights of Lisbon, and had been welcomed with transports of loyalty, was now to return to his European kingdom. He left Brazil to work out its destiny for itself, after concessions which were extorted from him by an enraged people, and almost by the bayonets of his own troops. He nominated his son regent, and embarked on board a British man-of-war.

The Constitutional Government of Portugal was as little disposed to treat Brazil with liberality as the most absolute of its predecessors. The tone of the Cortes towards the colony, elevated as it had been to more than an equality with the parent state by the residence of the Sovereign, was, nevertheless, harsh, arrogant, and domineering. They seemed to be inspired with a mean and vindictive jealousy of the importance which it had acquired. They ordered the Regent to return, and at the same time gave a proof of their animosity by abolishing the royal tribunals at Rio de Janeiro. This was sufficient for the Brazilians, and the word 'independence' was on every tongue, and became the cry of every popular meeting. On the 7th of September, 1822, the Regent received important despatches from Lisbon. He read them in silence, and tore one especially into shreds in the presence of his Ministers, to whom he never made known its contents. After a few minutes of impressive emotion, the words '*Independencia ou morte*' broke from his lips, and the Brazilian Revolution was an accomplished fact. 'It was indeed,'



indeed,' says an able writer on Brazil, 'a great event, which has led to vast results. It was a grand revolution, begun by one whose very birth and position would have led the contemplative philosopher or statesman to pronounce it impossible that he should become the leader of a popular cause. He was the descendant of a long line of European monarchs, who inaugurated the movement which severed the last, the most faithful, of the great divisions of South America from Transatlantic rule.' The first constitutional Emperor of Brazil, Dom Pedro, was crowned, with extraordinary magnificence and rejoicing, within a few months of the declaration of independence.

Portugal made only feeble efforts to retain her great Transatlantic state. The dominion of the mother country was preserved for a short time in the north, and at one or two of the southern ports; but Portugal was too much exhausted by her conflict with Napoleon, and distracted by internal factions, to hope to regain her authority in Brazil. Her armaments were wholly inadequate for the purpose, and the naval forces of Portugal were defeated by the Earl of Dundonald, then Lord Cochrane, who has the glory of having greatly contributed to establish the independence of at least one South American state, whose condition and prospects he can contemplate with satisfaction. The exploits of the gallant Admiral were as remarkable, during the short period that he commanded the Brazilian navy, as at any period of his extraordinary career. With a force of only four ships, inadequately manned, and with crews partially disaffected, he maintained the blockade of Bahia, in which a large Portuguese military force was shut up, in spite of the enemy's fleet, consisting of one sail of the line, five frigates, five corvettes, and two smaller ships. He starved them into the necessity of leaving the province under the convoy of the Portuguese fleet; pursued the whole, with his single line-of-battle ship, baffling by skill, and superior sailing, every attempt to capture or impede him. He repeatedly broke their line, and, separating the rearmost ships, boarded them, cut away their main and mizen-masts, stove in their water-casks, threw their arms and provisions into the sea, and compelled their return to Bahia. Some thousands of troops were thus captured, and prevented from transferring their services to other parts of Brazil still held by Portugal. He moreover obtained the surrender of two provinces to the Brazilian Government by the terror of his name and a *ruse de guerre*, impressing them with the belief that his ship was only the most advanced of his 'fleet, which it had outsailed.' \* In

\* Lord Cochrane had, in fact, no fleet. Four small ships that made up his squadron had separated from him, and took no part in his operations. The capture

In three years from the declaration of independence, the Court of Lisbon recognised it as an accomplished fact, and received an accredited minister from the great Transatlantic kingdom.

Brazil has enjoyed an advantage in which none of the other South American States have participated. It did not pass at once from a position of colonial bondage into independence. It became for a short time an integral part of the monarchy, and when the revolution took place it had a Prince for its leader. It is impossible to over-estimate the value of this guarantee of order and unity which Brazil has had the good fortune to enjoy. While the states of Spanish America have been distracted by fifty years of political revolution, the Brazilian empire has had but two brief interruptions to its internal tranquillity.\* The perpetually recurring convulsions of nature, which are common to most of the old Transatlantic possessions of Spain, and which, as Humboldt says, in those regions awfully impress the mind with a sense of the instability of the earth's surface, are only paralleled by the never-ceasing strife of the social and political elements. If the earth is daily shaken by subterranean fires, the fiercest passions of human nature are perpetually bursting forth into uncontrolled fury, and the moral and material worlds would seem to be in close and sympathetic relation. But in Brazil, the action of Government is now as steady and almost as regular as that of the ordinary laws of nature. The head of the empire is one of the noblest representatives of the house of Braganza, and the Constitution is essentially the same as that which was established in 1824. The commerce of the country doubles every ten years, and education, intelligence, and civilization are spreading steadily over the country.

The principal provisions of the Constitution may be stated in a few words. The government of the empire is monarchical, hereditary, and constitutional. The religion of the state is Roman Catholic; but all other forms of Christianity are tolerated and protected. Judicial proceedings are public, and there is a law similar to our Habeas Corpus Act as well as the institution of trial by jury. The legislative power is vested in the General Assembly. It consists of a Senate and Chamber of Deputies. For the latter, every male citizen of full age, if he possesses an income of one hundred milreis (a little more than 10l.

of Para, and the submission of the province, "ere effected by a small brig under the command of our countryman, Captain, now Vice-Admiral, Grenfell, who holds that rank in the Brazilian navy, together with the post of Consul-General for Brazil in England. The gallant officer lost an arm in the service of the Brazilian Government.

\* The abdication of Dom Pedro I. in favour of his son, and the proclamation of the majority of Dom Pedro II. before the time fixed by the Constitution.

sterling),

sterling), is entitled to vote; but monks and domestic servants are excluded from the franchise. Senators for life are nominated by provincial electors in triple lists, from which three candidates are submitted to the Emperor, who selects one: the principles of popular election and crown nomination are thus combined in the constitution of the second estate. Although Brazil does not possess the materials of a territorial peerage, it has wisely constituted a second chamber as an element of vital importance in a popular Government. Nobility in Brazil is not hereditary; it is conferred for public services and civil merit alone. There are four titles, those of Marquis, Count, Viscount, and Baron. The Emperor possesses a legislative suspensive veto only.

The country is divided into provinces, and there is a Legislative Assembly for each province. The Presidents of the provinces are appointed by the Emperor, and his choice of officers is not restricted to the particular province to be governed—an arrangement which has been found to work well, as it provides a security against the influence of family connections and personal friendship in the distribution of patronage. Brazil, therefore, is a decentralised empire; the press is free, and there is no proscription on account of colour.

The dispensation of justice, although perhaps not so perfect or free from all suspicion of corruption as that of England, is conducted with becoming solemnity, and is, on the whole, said to be satisfactory. One of the legal institutions of the country merits particular notice. Courts of Conciliation are established throughout the empire; and no cause can be brought into any of the regular courts of law without a certificate from the district officer, that the parties to the suit have previously appeared before him and endeavoured to accommodate their differences. We commend this law for the consideration of our legal reformers, and to Her Majesty's Attorney-General more especially, previously to the elaboration of his next budget of law reform. The system is said to diminish immensely the amount of unnecessary litigation.

The Brazilians have devised a mode of obtaining the payment of debts before resorting to the courts, which is said to be very effective, and might be employed with considerable advantage to creditors in another hemisphere. It consists of an advertisement, of which the following is a specimen:—

‘Senhor José Domingos da Costa is requested to pay, at No. 35, Rua de S. José, the sum of six hundred milreis; and in case he shall not do so in three days, his conduct will be exposed in this journal, together with the manner in which this debt was contracted.’

The Brazilian Constitution has undoubtedly secured the blessing of good government to the country. The democratic element certainly preponderates, but its action is greatly modified by the complicated system of election. As a free state, it may not be always exempt from the animosities and rivalries of faction, but the nature of the Brazilian is not susceptible of very violent political emotion, and questions which in the great northern Transatlantic republic would throw the country into a state of frenzied excitement, in Brazil scarcely ruffle the smooth surface of political life. 'As a general rule,' says an observer of the working of the government, 'a Brazilian thinks the moral, physical, and political worlds will turn on their own axes without his interference.' It was doubtless with a view to this somewhat phlegmatic political temperament that a Brazilian statesman once proposed that a fine of five dollars should be imposed on every citizen who did not go to the poll at municipal elections and duly deposit his vote.

When the short period that has elapsed since Brazil established its independence is considered, and the difficulties that it had to struggle against are duly weighed, its progress is truly astonishing. Thirty-seven years ago this country—now admitted into diplomatic relationship with the greatest states—was still held in the iron grasp of colonial bondage. To form a code, liberalise its policy, consolidate its freedom, and build up a political fabric deserving the esteem of Europe, has been the work of less than forty years. How different might have been the condition of the country if the monarchical principle had not been happily retained to give unity to the nation! It would probably have been divided into a multitude of petty and hostile states, which would have had ages of misery and bloodshed to undergo before they could recover from the state of barbarism into which they would have been inevitably plunged. With a territory of boundless extent and where taxation is yet scarcely felt, with no violent factions to harass, and few foreign complications to distract, the people of Brazil can calmly and confidently apply themselves to develop the wonderful resources of their country. Population is its great want, and hundreds of years must elapse before that want can be supplied. Not one-fiftieth part of the empire has yet been surveyed, and a considerable portion remains even unexplored; consequently some uncertainty exists respecting boundaries, which may, at a future day, lead to troublesome questions with neighbouring states. Government surveys, on a large scale, are now about to be undertaken. A narrow strip on the coast is all that at present enjoys the benefit of civilization.

The

The Portuguese slave-establishments on the coast of Africa were always more extensive than those of any other nation. The mass of human misery for which this little kingdom is accountable might sink into irredeemable infamy the mightiest power of the earth. Portugal supplied the colonies of other powers with negroes, while importing into her own numerous settlements an immense and ever increasing number of slaves. Shortly before the severance of the colony from the mother-country, it was calculated that 50,000 blacks were annually shipped from the coast of Africa for Brazil, and it was considered cheaper in the plantations to use up a slave in five or six years and purchase another than to take care of him. It is, however, but fair to the Portuguese to state that England was, for a long period, an accomplice in their crime. By means of the factory at Lisbon a great part of this trade was really in the hands of British merchants. The 'peculiar institution' imparted to her colony by Portugal, the Brazilians long retained in full vigour after their independence, and the slave-trade was as effectually prosecuted as it had been by the Portuguese. The traffic was carried on with more or less activity until the year 1850, when measures were adopted for its suppression; and it is gratifying to be able to add that no Government could have acted with better faith than that of Brazil in its efforts to completely put an end to it. It is still more satisfactory to know that public opinion in Brazil soon became fully enlisted in support of the State, and a general conviction now prevails that a total abolition of the trade was the true national interest. In 1849 the number of slaves imported amounted to 54,000; in 1852 it fell to 700; and in 1853 there was not a single disembarkation; and as a proof that the Brazilians have thoroughly abandoned the traffic, it may be stated that a slaver taken, in January 1856, into Bahia and condemned, had touched at five places along the coast previous to her detection, but had not succeeded in selling a single slave.

The condition of slaves in Brazil is highly creditable to the country. Almost all agricultural and manufacturing industry had long been based on slavery and the slave-trade. Doubtless, since the traffic with Africa has ceased, the selfish motive for taking care of the slave has increased with his commercial value. But in Brazil the elevation of the negro race is progressive. The facilities for the purchase of freedom are great, and, when emancipated, if he should possess the requisite qualification, there is scarcely an office in the State to which a liberated negro may not reasonably aspire. So too in private life, if an individual of African descent possesses merit he will command respect. By the Brazilian law, a slave can, at any time,

time, appear before a magistrate, have his price fixed, and purchase his freedom; and many instances are related of pure Africans having advanced themselves to considerable social positions. They are often inspired by a generous ambition to distinguish themselves in literature and public life, and some of the most persevering students in the national library at Rio are mulattoes or blacks. The moral aspect of slavery as it still exists in Brazil is in striking contrast to that of the United States. In the one it is an admitted evil, to be got rid of as speedily as practicable; in the other it is an 'institution,' identified, in the opinion of a large party, with the interests and prosperity of the country. It is probable that before many generations have passed away slavery will cease to exist in Brazil; it exists now in a very mitigated form. There is a system of colonization in progress intended to supply the gradually diminishing quantity of slave-labour, and the statesmen of the empire are said to be devoting much time and attention to discover the best means of promoting immigration. Germany, Portugal, the Azores, and Madeira are constantly supplying labourers, attracted by the prospects which Brazil holds out to them, and there seems to be no doubt that the free African population will eventually fully suffice for those occupations in a tropical country for which Europeans are necessarily unfitted.

In no portion of South America has the Roman Catholic religion been supported with greater splendour than in Brazil. In the year 1581 Bahia possessed sixty-two churches,—an astonishing ecclesiastical establishment for an European population then numbering only 880 souls. The city of Rio with its suburbs contains fifty churches, some of them of considerable architectural pretension. Dr. Walsh, an American missionary, estimates that seventy-five thousand dollars are annually expended at Rio in gunpowder and wax, the two articles most in request for religious festivities, of which fireworks are generally the indispensable close; and he dwells on the imposing magnificence of the great altar of the Candellaria church, when illuminated by a thousand perfumed tapers, shedding their light amidst vases of gorgeous flowers. The pomp of the Church of Rome in Brazil is unsurpassed even in Italy. If the allegiance of the Brazilians to the 'successor of St. Peter' could be secured by the lavish display of all that can affect the senses, they ought to be the most devoted of his subjects. The reverse, however, is notoriously the case. The principle on which the Roman Catholic system is based is altogether abjured in Brazil. Religious toleration is one of the fundamental principles of the Constitution. All have full and entire liberty to profess and exercise any religion whatever, and to erect religious edifices, with the single restriction that they

must

must not have steeples and bells. The Emperor is recognized practically as the temporal head of the Church ; he nominates the bishops, and the legislature provides for their support. The provincial assemblies, too, have full power to legislate for ecclesiastical objects. No bishop can confer orders without a special licence from the Emperor, and neither bishops nor priests can leave their dioceses or parishes without the special permission of the Government. On several occasions the General Assembly of Brazil, like our own Legislature before the Reformation, has enacted laws to restrain the interference and curtail the authority of the Pope : at one remarkable crisis a complete separation from Rome was imminent, which would have been hailed, it is believed, with general satisfaction by the people ; there cannot be a doubt that the ties which bind this great country to the Papacy are now of the slightest character, and might, with very little provocation, be snapped asunder in a day. The Emperor, in imitation of the piety or custom of his predecessors, walks bareheaded, with a taper in his hand, in the procession in honour of St. George, and it is not probable that his subjects will cease to find their gratification in religious displays while they are thus countenanced by their Sovereign's presence. These festivals appear to be regarded in Brazil rather as popular festivities than as religious observances. The clergy endeavour to make them as attractive, and therefore as profitable, as they can. We have seen an ecclesiastical advertisement announcing that 'brilliant horse-racing' will terminate the solemnities of the day ; but the religion of the Church of Rome has no root in the land ; the priesthood are said to be diminishing year by year, and to have been recently so reduced in number that the Government was under the necessity of sending to Italy for a supply to keep up the regular ministrations of the Church. We cannot but regard it as an auspicious fact that the reformed faith, as made known to the western continent, was first proclaimed (under the Dutch *régime*) within the territory of Brazil.

Until the year 1808 the ports of Brazil were strictly closed to the commerce of all nations but Portugal, and so jealously was the monopoly guarded that Humboldt, although he was travelling through the South American provinces for purely scientific objects, was not permitted to enter any portion of the Brazilian territory. Since the establishment of the Empire in 1822, the country has made a steady and uninterrupted progress in developing its resources and augmenting the commerce of the world. A large and most valuable foreign trade has sprung up ; and there is scarcely a civilised country that does not gladly exchange its manufactures and commodities for the valuable productions of Brazil. The great demand for the principal staples, coffee and sugar,



sugar, as well as for many other important products, has caused the investment of considerable British capital in an extensive system of internal improvements, more particularly railroads, in the encouragement of which the Imperial government has displayed great and judicious liberality. The coffee and sugar plantations are rapidly increasing in number, and regions which, a few years since, constituted a vast primeval wilderness, are now making ample returns for the capital expended on them. In cotton and tobacco, Brazil competes largely with the United States in the European markets; it supplies two-thirds of all the coffee that is consumed in the world; and it is highly probable that the production of tea will, before long, be considerable, and that instead of drawing our supplies of the leaf from China, and transporting it in a four-months' voyage across the seas, we may, in time, obtain it in equal perfection and abundance from a country distant less than a three-weeks' voyage from our shores. Brazil now grows a considerable quantity of tea, and Mr. Southey mentions the plant as indigenous. The experiment was at first a failure, but after much perseverance the cultivation has become remunerating. The demand is said to be increasing, and much tea that is grown in the provinces is sent from the plantations to Rio to be packed in Chinese boxes and sold as Chinese tea. A proof of the good quality of Brazilian tea is given by Mr. Fletcher:—

'A few years ago a grower of the province of San Paulo sent some tea from his plantation to his relatives in Rio de Janeiro. This was prepared very carefully, each separate leaf having been rolled by the slaves between the thumb and forefinger, till it looked like small shot. It was thus invested with a foreign appearance, packed in small Chinese tea-caddies, and shipped at Santos for the capital. When the caddies arrived they were seized at the custom-house, as an attempt to defraud the revenue. It was on the other hand insisted that the boxes contained *chá national*, or home-made tea, although by some neglect it did not appear in the manifest. The parties to whom the tea had been sent offered to have it submitted to inspection. The caddies were opened, and the custom-house officials screamed with triumph, adding to their former suspicions the evidence of their senses,—for the sight, the taste, the smell of the nicely prepared tea, proclaimed emphatically that it was *chá da India*, and that this was an attempt to defraud his Majesty's customs. It was not till letters were sent to Santos, and in reply, that the certificates of that provincial custom-house had been received, that the collectors at Rio were satisfied that there was no fraud, and that the province of San Paulo could produce as good tea as that brought round the Cape of Good Hope.'

The commerce of England with Brazil since the establishment of the first steam-line in 1850, has increased more than a hundred

dred per cent. The United States take about one-half of the coffee crop and nearly the whole of the India-rubber which Brazil produces, from which are manufactured and exported to England millions of pairs of shoes of that material. The country annually consumes an enormous quantity of cotton cloth, plain and printed; its manufacturing resources at present enable it to produce only about three millions of yards, the remainder is supplied chiefly from England.

We have alluded to the greatly-increased demand for the principal staple of Brazil—coffee; the same may be said of almost all her other important natural productions. These consist of sugar, molasses, cotton, tobacco, rice, India-rubber, hides, cocoa, sarsaparilla, precious woods, dye woods, nuts, fruits, tapioca, annatto, clove-bark, balsam-copaiba, vanilla beans, diamonds, gold-dust, bullion, and several ores and paints. We append two tables\* which will suffice to show both the commercial progress and decennial

* The Exports of Brazil.	1844-5.	1854-5.
	Contos.	Contos.
Great Britain and Possessions ..	11,306	29,274
France and Possessions .. ..	2,462	8,171
Portugal and Possessions .. ..	4,216	4,649
Spain and Possessions .. ..	697	877
United States .. .. .	9,201	23,807
Hanseatic Cities .. .. .	4,844	6,675
River La Plata .. .. .	2,427	4,175
Belgium .. .. .	1,612	2,783
Chili .. .. .	165	1,479
Sardinia .. .. .	1,072	1,217
Austria .. .. .	3,125	1,624
Others .. .. .	5,918	5,838
	47,054	90,570

The Imports of Brazil.	1844-5.	1854-5.
	Contos.	Contos.
Great Britain and Possessions ..	30,503	45,450
France and Possessions .. ..	7,441	9,978
Portugal and Possessions .. ..	4,552	6,468
Spain and Possessions .. ..	737	1,230
United States .. .. .	5,703	6,991
Hanseatic Cities .. .. .	2,725	4,884
River La Plata .. .. .	1,711	4,217
Belgium .. .. .	868	1,671
Chili .. .. .	92	1,125
Sardinia .. .. .	328	755
Austria .. .. .	475	200
Others .. .. .	2,093	1,648
	57,228	84,780

increase

increase of the trade of Brazil, together with the relative importance of the trade with different countries. The money value is estimated in contos, a conto de reis being equivalent to 112*l.* 10*s.* sterling. Of the different Brazilian imports, those of cotton manufacture, wool, linen, silk, mixed manufactures, and flour have increased most rapidly. The value of coffee exported has increased more than one hundred per cent. since 1850, while the exports of India-rubber advanced in eight years seven hundred per cent. The Americans formerly monopolized the manufacture of this article, but both this country and France now import and manufacture it largely. The British imports of coffee up to 1852 were nominal, and Brazilian coffee enters now very little into home consumption, being re-exported chiefly to Germany; but the importation rose from three million pounds in 1852 to one hundred and twelve millions in 1855. Brazil takes from Great Britain goods to the amount of 54 per cent., France 12, the United States 8½, Portugal 10, Hanse Towns 6, and La Plata 5 per cent. of the whole imported. Brazil competes largely with the United States in the European markets in cotton and tobacco, and will be able to supply, in increasing abundance, many of the most important articles of commerce. The exports, according to the returns for 1859, amounted to 12,012,999*l.*, and the imports to 14,317,671*l.*

The population of the empire is steadily but not rapidly increasing. Immigration from Southern Europe and from Germany has, since the abolition of the slave trade, been encouraged by liberal grants from the imperial and provincial treasuries. The experience of the last few years has so thoroughly satisfied the Brazilians of the general superiority of free to slave labour, that on economical as well as on moral grounds they would resolutely oppose, even if practicable, any revival of the trade. The population of the empire was, according to the Government returns, published in 1856, 7,678,000. Millions of acres of the richest soil in the world remain yet unappropriated and without any occupant but the jaguar, and land can be obtained on the easiest terms.

Before the discovery of the Californian and Australian gold-fields, Brazil, next to Mexico and Peru, furnished the largest amount of bullion to the commercial world. The extent of country in which gold occurred was very considerable. It was found in grains intermingled with iron ore, wherever that metal was worked. The soil containing the gold rested generally on gneiss or granite, and the stratum containing the richest deposits consisted generally, as in Australia, of water-worn gravel incumbent on the solid rock. It was found sometimes in grains, sometimes in crystals, and occasionally in considerable masses. Many of the  
river

river beds also are still auriferous, and washings are carried on, to a considerable extent, on the banks of some of the principal streams. The theory of the miners as to the formation of the gold was a curious one. If they thought the ground promising, they dug three or four feet, at which depth the *cascalho*, a compost of earthy matter and gravel, was usually found; but when this reposed upon a bluish soil they considered their labour lost. The substratum which they wished to find was yellow; this they thought was gradually dried, hardened, and *aurified* by the operation of the sun, and the metal, as it *ripened*, separated into grains and dust. The gold deposits of Brazil, when first discovered, were not rich, and the expectations of great wealth not having been immediately realized, they were for a long period neglected. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, however, the gold production had become so considerable that the Government was obliged to place the mining districts under stringent regulations. Claims were marked out and royalties enforced. The gold discovery had much the same result in Brazil as in our great gold colony in giving an immense impetus to immigration, in opening up the country for permanent settlement, and conferring increased importance on the great dependency. In Brazil the gold frenzy, for a time, infected all classes to as great an extent probably as in Victoria or New South Wales. In the British colony, high functionaries at least resisted the fascination of gold digging, but at Rio the governor suddenly decamped to seek a fortune at the Brazilian 'diggings.' In perusing a narrative of the discoveries of gold in Brazil, we seem to be transported to the familiar scenes of Ballarat or Bendigo. The same social phenomena were displayed in Brazil as in Australia—insubordination amongst the miners, defiance of the Government, a general lawlessness, and *émeutes* requiring military repression. There was the same rise of price in most of the necessaries of life. There was the same dissoluteness of morals, but the most turbulent portion of the population is said to have been the clergy, who flocked to the district for purposes not certainly connected with their profession. One vicar was sent out of the country for being the foremost in all tumults and insurrections; another, at the head of a mob, released from the public gaol prisoners whom the camp-master had incarcerated; and a third having carried off a mulatto girl in insolent contempt of decency and law, when arrested summoned all his brethren in the district to his assistance, who resolved to resist force by force. The gold mania considerably affected the general industry of Brazil. The cultivation of the sugar-cane diminished, many valuable estates were abandoned, and a temporary falling off in the supply

supply of an important necessary of life gave the first impetus to the production of sugar in the British plantations.

We have no means of ascertaining the quantity of gold raised in Brazil since the discovery of the mines. The supply is now, if not decreasing, certainly not on the increase. We apprehend this is not caused by any exhaustion of the deposits, but by the superior attractiveness of other fields of labour. That the country is highly auriferous in several of its provinces no doubt can be entertained, and, with increased population, renewed searches and discoveries will probably be made. We find the exports of gold from Brazil for two periods—the one from 1844 to 1849, and the other from 1849 to 1854—thus stated in a public document:—for the one period 24,351 ounces, for the other 24,649 ounces. This would indicate almost a stationary condition of the gold production.

The only extensive gold mine now worked in Brazil is the great St. John del Rey Mine, which, since the year 1834, has been the property of an English company. So regular and constant is the yield that, since the year 1832, 50,320 lbs. of gold, realizing 2,012,840*l.*, have been amalgamated, leaving a net profit of 466,874*l.*, after providing plant, machinery, materials, and provisions, at a cost of more than 100,000*l.* per annum.\*

The Diamond Mines of Brazil were, for a long time, among the most interesting, if not the most valuable, of its resources. Up to the commencement of the eighteenth century this gem was wholly derived from India, where it was found in a particular district in detached crystals, accompanied with grains of gold, amongst metallic sand washed down from the neighbouring mountains. In 1728 a similar territory, rich in the two most valuable substances in nature, was discovered on the southern continent of the New World. In the pursuit of gold, crystals were often found by the miners, but, being ignorant of their value, they laid them aside as curiosities. A foreigner who arrived in Brazil at this time is said to have first directed attention to them. The district soon attracted the notice of the Government, which shortly afterwards took possession of it in the name of the crown. Men believed it to teem with riches; and a resolution was adopted to reserve the diamond country, and to limit the extraction in order to keep up the price. A contractor worked the mines, paying an annual poll-tax on the slaves employed. The tract which possessed a romantic interest from the known abundance of the most

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\*The Company employs 1660 people on the mine, of which 110 are Europeans, 450 natives, and 1100 blacks. There is no present indication of a failure of the lode, or of a diminution in its productiveness. We are indebted for the above details to the courtesy of the Managing-Director of the St. John del Rey Mining Company.

coveted of gems, was protected from unlicensed intruders by the most terrible of penalties, which were inflicted without compunction or remorse ; yet such was the fascination which the forbidden region exercised over the surrounding population, that diamonds to the amount of at least two millions sterling are said to have reached Europe through secret channels. The district in which the diamonds were found was nearly circular in form, and in diameter about fourteen leagues. Mr. Southey says :—

‘ In entering the comarca of Serro de Frio from Sabara a remarkable difference is soon perceived. The soil, which had before been a red fertile mould, becomes scanty and covered with small stones ; the trees have no longer the same luxuriant growth ; and the mountains which rise in the distance, instead of the dark verdure with which they are clothed in other parts of the captaincy, are bare and black. On the summit of these uninviting fells the air is cold and the winds violent, whence the comarca derives its name ; and the surface of the earth is hard and full of embedded stones. Here the forbidden district of the diamonds is in sight, and its appearance is such as might form a fit description in Eastern romance for the land where the costliest and proudest ornaments of wealth and power are found. Innumerable peaks are seen—some of prodigious height, mountains of bare rock and perpendicular elevation ; others of more perishable materials, and in a state of dissolution, like the alps of Savoy, with brushwood growing among the grass, and a sort of grey moss which clothes the surface wherever it is not newly scarred or covered with recent wreck,—a scene of alpine grandeur and alpine desolation, and of more than alpine beauty, for the waters are beautifully clear, and they fall in sheets, in threads, and in cataracts, and work their way, sometimes by subterranean channels, to the four great rivers that carry off the waters of the district.’ \*

At first discredit was thrown upon the accounts from Brazil, and doubts were entertained of the genuineness of the stones ; but all scepticism as to their purity was soon removed, and they acquired a value little inferior to the productions of Golconda. The value of the diamonds remitted to the Court of Portugal in the most productive year amounted to 130,000*l.*, but the net average produce fell short of half that sum. The specific gravity of Brazil diamonds is 3.513, of Indian diamonds 3.519 ; so that in point of hardness the difference is trifling, although they may differ somewhat more in the lustre. The supply from Brazil, according to a good statistical authority, during the eighty-four years from 1730 to 1814, was at the rate of 36,000 carats per annum, but the return from the registers of the administration of the diamond mines from 1800 to 1806 showed only 19,000 carats. Of late years the production, although much less than at an earlier period, is understood to be on the increase. From 1844 to 1849 the

\* History of Brazil.

diamonds exported amounted to 632 oitavas, from 1849 to 1854 to 6304 oitavas, and in 1854 and 1855 to 12,459 oitavas.\* Large stones do not abound in Brazil, but some have been found of considerable dimensions. The crown monopoly has been long abandoned. The washings, with the exception of a few that are little known, are confined principally to the district of Minas Geraes, and are carried on more systematically than in India. The stones are found in a conglomerate composed of rounded quartz-pebbles and a light-coloured sand. It is very similar to the deposit in which the diamonds of India are found. It is not a little remarkable that the diamond, both in the Old and the New World, is confined to the limits of the tropics. Does the language of the poet involve a scientific truth, and since it is in the power of the sun to volatilise the diamond, has it contributed in some inscrutable manner to its production?—

‘ Though the same sun, with all-diffusive rays,  
Blush in the rose, and in the diamond blaze;  
We praise the higher effort of his power,  
And justly rank the gem above the flower.’

The ruby, the sapphire, the topaz, and the opal, are also among the productions of Brazil. But so much greater are the vegetable riches of the country than those derived from the precious metals, or from precious stones, that the annual sum received for the single article of coffee exceeds the sum produced by eighty years’ yield of the diamond mines. From the year 1740 to 1822—a period which is believed to have been the most productive in diamond-mining—the number of carats obtained were 232,000, worth not quite three and a half millions sterling. The value of the coffee exported from Brazil, in the year 1859, amounted to 5,638,528*l*.

For nothing is Brazil more remarkable than the great stride it has made of late years towards a position of material prosperity. Its public credit, which was at one period almost as low as that of Portugal (and it could scarcely have been lower), is now of the highest character. The quotations of Brazilian securities are almost on a par with those of the most respectable European Governments, and a country of which, in the first year or two of its independence, the currency consisted chiefly of copper and the notes of an insolvent bank, may now present itself as a

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\* An oitava is one-eighth of an ounce. Mr. M’Culloch, in his ‘Dictionary of Geography and Statistics,’ gives the approximate value of the diamonds exported from Bahia alone in the year 1845 as 500,000*l*., but quotes no authority for the statement. It must be extremely difficult to ascertain with anything approaching to accuracy the quantity and value of the stones produced in, or exported from, Brazil, as the monopoly no longer exists, and they find their way out of the country through many channels.



borrower in the capitals of any of the monied states of Europe, with the assurance of a favourable reception. The public debt, compared with the boundless resources of the country, is quite insignificant, amounting only to 10,503,252*l*. And yet the young empire had its financial embarrassments and a severe struggle to overcome them. The parasites and bloodsuckers of the old Portuguese Court left Brazil, financially, little better than a gigantic anatomy; and in the first enthusiasm of their independence, both the people and the government indulged in an expenditure to which they were unequal. One hundred thousand dollars were lavished on a crown for the first Emperor, while the employés in the public departments were starving for want of pay. The total revenue of Brazil, in 1859, was 5,598,579*l*., and its expenditure 6,163,893*l*. The public income is almost entirely derived from customs' duties, and the other sources of revenue have as yet been scarcely opened.

In literature and social science the Brazilians are far more advanced than any people inhabiting the South American continent. The press is active and well conducted, and numerous societies for the advancement of knowledge are gradually raising the intellectual character of the country. Of these, the Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute, organized at Rio de Janeiro in 1838, has done more than any other society to awaken literary emulation. This society was established for the purpose of collecting, arranging, and publishing documents illustrative of the history and geography of Brazil. Many of its most important productions have been published, and none of its members take a deeper interest in its progress, or a more important part in its deliberations, than the Emperor. The country has the good fortune of being governed by a prince not only sincerely attached to the principles of constitutional freedom, but endowed with those literary and scientific tastes that reflect credit on his people, and contribute to his own dignity and happiness.

So, too, in regard to education. A very strong feeling prevails of its importance, and an opinion has been lately gaining ground that a common school education should be made obligatory:— 'Primary education,' remarks one of the Presidents of the Provinces, in his message to the Legislature, 'is more than a mere right of the child, a duty discharged towards him; it is a rigorous obligation. It is, so to speak, a moral vaccine, which preserves the people from the worst of pestilences—ignorance; from those thoughts which bring a man to the level of the brute, and make him a fit and facile instrument for crime and revolution. Primary education is more, it is a kind of baptism by which man is regenerated from the dark ignorance in which

which he is born, and alone fits him for an entrance into civil society, and for the enjoyment of those rights which are his heritage.' Sentiments such as these we might expect to hear in the British Association for the Advancement of Social Science; but when uttered by one of the most important functionaries of a Roman Catholic country, and on a solemn occasion, they cannot but be regarded as most encouraging. They are pregnant with even deeper meaning, if we consider the religious condition of the country, and obviously point to the probability of a future emancipation of the people from the superstitious bondage in which they are at present held. The political liberty of the Church is established; it will probably not be long before the spiritual authority of the Papacy is questioned in Brazil.

The moral condition of Brazil is not yet, we fear, such as can receive our approbation. The country is in a transition state, and it will require time to work itself free from the numerous corruptions of which it was long the seat. The character of the Emperor, the good example set by the court, and the free institutions of the country inspire the utmost confidence in the future. The influence of woman is not at present much felt, and there are still traces in Brazil of the somewhat Oriental distrust with which the sex was formerly regarded. The convent of Nossa Senhora da Ajuda, in Rio, was long employed for the purpose of locking up ladies whose husbands were on their travels—a practice which has, with equal gallantry and humanity, been forbidden by the present Emperor. Madame Pfeiffer, in her '*Journey Round the World*,' mentions a singular matrimonial arrangement, for the existence of which, however, we do not vouch:—

'A husband,' she says, 'never assigns his wife pin-money; but, according to his means, makes her a present of one or more female slaves, whom she can dispose of, as she pleases. She generally has them taught to cook, sew, embroider, or even instructed in some trade, and then lets them by the day, week, or month, to people who possess no slaves of their own; or she lets them take in washing at home, or employs them in the manufacture of various ornamental objects, fine pastry, &c., which she sends them out to sell. The money for these things belongs to her, and is generally spent in dress and amusement.'

The scenery of Brazil is a subject upon which it is difficult to restrain the inclination to expatiate at length, but a few remarks upon some of its prominent features are all that we can allow ourselves. Nature is there seen in her grandest proportions and arrayed in her most gorgeous hues; mountains clothed with majestic woods, rivers with tributaries large enough to irrigate a continent,

continent, a land disfigured by no deserts, but enriched by copious showers and fertilized by perennial streams. No earthquakes, as in other regions of America, destroy the sense of security, but a voluptuous and undefinable sensation of physical enjoyment pervades the whole of existence.

‘There eternal summer dwells,  
And the winds with musky wing  
About the cedared alleys fling  
Nard and cassia’s balmy smells.’

It requires only a glance at the map of Brazil to feel that it is a land formed by Nature for the sustenance of millions, and that Providence has designed it for the residence of a great people. The cause assigned for the bountiful irrigation of Brazil, to which it owes so much of its beauty and fertility, is its configuration. Of the two sides which lie upon the Atlantic, the longest, extending from Cape Horn to Cape St. Roque, is 3500 miles in extent, while the shortest, facing the north-east, has a length of 2500 miles. This immense extent of seaboard has, of course, a powerful effect upon the temperature and irrigation of the country. The two mighty streams—the Amazon and La Plata—result from it, and from those winds that constantly blow upon the two sides of the great triangle, and come laden with moisture from the ocean. Lieutenant Maury, the able American nautical surveyor, has clearly explained these phenomena, and has shown that the winds incessantly drive clouds surcharged with moisture over the vast forests and lesser mountains, and steep them in perpetual humidity until they are arrested by the lofty Andes, where their contents are condensed and fall in torrents which nourish the two greatest rivers in the world. The prevailing winds on the coast of the Pacific Ocean are north and south, consequently no moisture is borne from the sea to the great mountain-barrier which skirts its coast. The western coast of South America is consequently a desert compared with the more favoured eastern shore. It is a comparatively rainless region, or visited only by impalpable mists, just sufficient to support a scanty vegetation.

The whole empire of Brazil has an average elevation of 700 feet above the level of the sea. At Rio de Janeiro, according to Dr. Dundas, for many years a British resident, the mean temperature of thirty years was 73°. The heat of summer is never, in the opinion of an American traveller, so oppressive as that which he had often experienced at New York and Boston. The cool sea-breeze sets in at an early hour, and a land-breeze, laden with spicy odours from the woods, gently fans the earth

throughout the night. At a hundred miles from the coast the climate is essentially different.

American travellers have been heard to declare that nothing impressed them more forcibly or gave them more exquisite delight than the perfect finish of the landscape which was everywhere spread around them in England. Compared with the rude magnificence of Nature as displayed in their own country, where all is 'irregularly great,' England appeared one 'trim garden,' and every tree that met their eye seemed planted solely with a view to pictorial effect. This is one of the last results of high civilization and of cultivation carried to its utmost limits. In Brazil everything in nature is great. No 'little lines of sportive wood run wild' divide the country into those minute divisions which characterise England, but the whole vegetable world runs wild in unchecked and uncontrollable luxuriance. The largest trees bear brilliant blossoms; reeds a hundred feet high shoot their lance-like points into the sky from the banks of rivers; even the grasses sometimes attain a height of forty feet; and creepers, thick as cables, climb the lofty trees, descend again, rise anew, and weave the forest into one tangled mass of perpetual vegetation.

'In the months of April and May only the autumnal tints of the gorgeous North American woods can compare with the sight of a Brazilian forest. Then the various species of the *lauras* are blooming, and the atmosphere is loaded with the rich perfume of their snow-blossoms. The *cassia* then put forth their millions of golden flowers, while at the same time huge trees are in full bloom, and, joining the rich purple to the brightest yellow, present together, with gorgeously coloured shrubs,—

"Flowers of more mingled hue  
Than Iris' purpled scarf can show."

From time to time a silk-cotton tree shoots up its lofty hemispherical top, covered with thousands of beautiful large rose-coloured blossoms, which gratefully contrast with the masses of vivid green, purple, and yellow, that clothe the surrounding trees. Floral treasures are heaped on every side. Wild vines twisted into most fantastic forms or hanging in graceful festoons; passion-flowers, trumpet-flowers, and fuchsias, in their native glory; tree-ferns, whose elegance of form is only surpassed by the tall, gently-curved palmito, which is the very embodiment of the line of beauty; orchids, whose flowers are of as soft a tint as the blossom of the peach-tree, or as brilliant as red spikes of fire; curious and eccentric epiphytes draping naked rocks or the decaying branches of old forest-monarchs—all form a scene enrapturing to the naturalist, and bewildering, with its richness, to the uninitiated, who still appreciate the beauty and the splendour that are scattered on every side by the Hand Divine. The overpowering sensation which one experiences when entering an extensive conservatory

servatory filled with the choicest plants, exotics of the rarest description, and odour-laden flowers, is that (multiplied a hundredfold) which filled my mind as I gazed for the first time upon the landscape with its tiers of mountains robed in such drapery as that described above; and yet there was such a feeling of liberty, incompatible with the sensation expressed by the word overpowering, that it is impossible to define it. In the province of *Minas-Geraes*, from a commanding point, I once beheld the magnificent forest in bloom; and as the hills and undulating plains stretched far away to the horizon, they seemed to be enveloped in a fairy mist of purple and of gold.\*

One of the most interesting, and, as regards its future capabilities, probably the most important province of the Brazilian empire, is that of the Amazon. The inland navigation of this vast district, of which two-thirds remain uncivilized and almost unexplored, presents a field for steam-enterprise such as the world does not elsewhere afford. Not only is the river Amazon navigable for more than three thousand miles, but the Tocantin, the Chinga, the Tapajos, the Madeira, the Negro, and other tributaries, are together navigable for several thousand more, and all these rivers flow through the richest soil, laden with the most luxuriant vegetation. Nearly all the branches of the Amazon are navigable to a great distance from their main stream. There is an uninterrupted channel of ten thousand miles of steam-navigation below the falls of the Upper Amazon, and above them it is believed that steamers could be run for four thousand miles more. One-half of Bolivia, two-thirds of Peru, three-fourths of Ecuador, and one-half of New Granada, are drained by the Amazon and its tributaries; and, in the absence of steam communication, the trade of these countries, Mr. Fletcher informs us, is directed westward over the Andes to Callao, where it is shipped, and after doubling Cape Horn, and traversing eight or ten thousand miles of sea, then only arrives off the coast of the Amazon on its way to Europe or to the United States; whereas by taking advantage of the rivers, the produce of the interior could be landed at Pará for what it costs to convey it across the Andes to the ports of the Pacific. It has been ascertained that one of the tributaries of the Amazon is navigable for steamers of light draught to within three hundred miles of Lima. A railroad of that length, and a few locks, therefore, are all that is required to connect commercially the eastern and western shores of nearly the widest portion of the South American continent, and thus save the passage round Cape Horn.

In 1851-52 two officers of the United States' Navy † descended

\* 'Brazil and the Brazilians,' p. 278.

† Lieutenants Herndon and Gibbon.

the Amazon, one by its Peruvian, and the other by its Bolivian tributary. Their reports awakened the attention of the United States and of England to the great importance of the Amazon as a line of commerce, and the Brazilian Government was not neglectful of its duties in a matter so interesting to the world. Accordingly by a treaty with Peru it engaged to run steamers, under the Brazilian flag, from Pará; one ascending the Amazon, the other descending it from Nauta in Peru, a small town on the right bank of the Amazon. The Brazilian portion of the undertaking has been energetically carried out, and is succeeding remarkably well under the management of a public company. It has been the means of founding numerous colonies in the provinces of Pará and the Amazon. The Peruvian part of the contract, after a feeble and ill-directed effort to carry it out, has, it is understood, been abandoned for the present; but the Brazilian steamers have, within five or six years, almost revolutionized the commerce of the Amazon valley; their business is represented as continually on the increase, and the regular communication thus opened with the interior is creating new artificial wants, and a lively interest among the Brazilians in the remote and uncivilized districts of their country.\*

The region of the Amazon is that which the first Spanish adventurers believed to be the seat of the great *El Dorado*, or gilded king; and Gonzalo Pizarro, the brother and associate of the conqueror of Peru, set out from Quito in the year 1541 with a force of three hundred soldiers and four thousand Indians in search of the land of gold. This imaginary kingdom was believed to be under the rule of a monarch who was anointed every morning with a fragrant gum, to which the gold-dust adhered when blown over him from a tube. The wild imaginations of the Spaniards pictured this sovereign as residing in barbaric splendour in the great city of Manoa, in one street of which were three thousand workers in gold, constantly employed in the

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\* There is on the banks of the Upper Amazon one of the most extraordinary salt deposits to be found in the world. The banks of the stream for more than a league are one solid mass of rock-salt, hard and clear as ice, in some places of a bluish-red colour, and in others almost white; apparently on the whole very pure, and in sufficient quantity, it is said, to supply the whole of South America for centuries. Brazil possesses a mineral of far greater importance than salt—namely, coal. It was for a long time thought that no coal existed in the empire. Recent researches, however, have resulted in the discovery of a vast coal-field, sixty square leagues in extent, in the province of Rio Grande do Sul. The mineral is of a very good quality, and a portion of it has been found to be excellent steam-coal—a most important consideration in the future maritime progress of the country. The coal-field is about forty miles from the coast; a railway will, of course, be required to make it available, an undertaking which Brazil will probably find no difficulty in carrying out with the aid of British capital.

fabrication of the most costly articles. Pizarro discovered neither a golden city, nor a gilded king; but he found himself, after months of toil and suffering, with a small remnant of his expedition, on the banks of the river Napo, one of the feeders of the Amazon. Some of his followers, with Orellana at their head, declining to return with him to Quito, boldly committed themselves to the stream, and descended with the current to the sea. A recent traveller has satisfactorily accounted for the long-prevalent belief that this country was inhabited by a race of Amazons, an opinion which was obstinately maintained for two centuries, and supported by some plausible testimony. Mr. Wallace visited numerous tribes on the upper affluents of the Amazon in the course of his travels, and, in speaking of their habits and dress, says:—

‘The use of ornaments and trinkets of various kinds is almost confined to the men, who have their hair carefully parted and combed on each side, and tied in a queue behind. In the young men it hangs in long locks down their cheeks, and with the comb, which is invariably carried stuck on the top of the head, gives to them a most feminine appearance; this is increased by large necklaces, bracelets, and beads, and the careful extirpation of every symptom of beard. Taking these circumstances into consideration, I am strongly of opinion that the story of the Amazons has arisen from these feminine-looking warriors encountered by the early voyagers. I am inclined to this belief from the effect they first produced on myself, when it was only by close examination that I found they were men; and, were the front parts of their bodies and their breasts covered with shields, such as they always use, I am convinced that any person seeing them for the first time would conclude they were women. We have only therefore to suppose that tribes, having similar customs to those now existing on the river Naupes, inhabited the regions where the Amazons are reported to have been seen, and we have a rational explanation of what has so much puzzled all geographers.’

Within a three weeks’ steam-voyage from the shores of England there lies a portion of the New World, rich in everything that can delight the senses. ‘The giant gardens of the world,’ as the forests of Brazil have been aptly termed, must be well worth a visit; and the mountain-city of Petropolis, with its rich woods, cool cascades, and enchanting prospects, is only a morning’s excursion from the capital. The first introduction of any person to the beauties of the Bay of Rio de Janeiro forms, it has been said, an era in his existence. The able American writer to whom we have so often referred, declares that he has seen the most rude and ignorant Russian sailor, the immoral and unreflecting Australian adventurer, and the cultivated and refined European gentleman stand silent upon the deck in astonishment

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at the wonderful panorama before him, and that many have had to confess that their first day before Rio has been spent in a perpendicular position, with the eyes wide open. Although the moral features of the country may not be, at present, in perfect harmony with the favours which Nature has so lavishly showered upon it, there is yet much to command our admiration and esteem. There is tempered liberty, a constitutional Sovereign, a refined Court, a people slowly perhaps but surely emancipating themselves from spiritual bondage, and who have struggled with conspicuous success against oppression, and vindicated for themselves the enjoyment of political rights, and for their country a dignified position in the great community of nations.

The foreign policy of the empire has been marked by forbearance, moderation, and dignity. It has been involved, much against its will, in several conflicts with its neighbours; but has occasionally mediated with success in their quarrels. It is essentially a non-aggressive state. The communities of Spanish blood, however, regard the increasing prosperity and power of Brazil with feelings of undisguised jealousy and hostility, arising, probably, as much from difference of origin as of institutions; but the empire has no object so much at heart as to maintain the tranquillity of its frontiers, and to conciliate the turbulent states with which it is in contact. Buenos Ayres provoked a war with the empire by its unprincipled aggressions, and it was mainly owing to the energetic action of Brazil in defence of its rights, as well as in the cause of humanity and justice, that the bloody dictatorship of Rosas was overthrown on the field of Monte Caseros, where the Brazilian infantry proved its gallantry and prowess by taking fifty pieces of cannon at the point of the bayonet. The attitude of the Argentine Confederation towards Brazil, under the presidency of Urquiza, was one of hostility, and an incipient war between the two states was stopped by the mediation of England and France. It was the avowed policy of this unscrupulous man to form a combination of Spanish American States against Brazil, and to wrest from it a considerable portion of its territory. Brazil has now little to apprehend from any hostile confederacy; but should the empire be ever seriously threatened or attacked by its unprincipled neighbours, the moral and, should it be needed, we trust, the material support of England will be freely accorded to a power so closely connected with her by commercial relations as well as by political sympathies.

With the people of the great Transatlantic republic, our kindred, we trust we shall ever maintain a cordial and unbroken alliance; but, sincere as is our respect for their energy and virtue, we cannot look forward to the day when we shall approve of their  
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political institutions. The political sympathies of Englishmen, in the New World, are—after our own Colonies—fairly claimed by Brazil. The empire is now the second maritime power in America,\* and although it may never aspire to rival the great democratic republic on the seas, it will doubtless become sufficiently powerful to exercise an important influence on that continent. The respectability of Brazil, and its increasing prosperity and importance, are attributable to the form of government which was, happily, its choice. While the revolted states of Spain cast off, with their colonial chains, the institution of monarchy, the people of Brazil wisely retained the regal form of government, but surrounded it with constitutional restraints. The effect of a departure, however inevitable, from the monarchical principle upon the states which once constituted the Spanish Indies has been disastrous indeed, and the people of these unfortunate provinces have been writhing for nearly half a century under the scourge of their own untameable passions. The importance of royalty as a neutral and moderating power, raised above the accidents and struggles of political life, and only interfering in great crises, has never been more completely proved than by the different fortunes of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies in South America. 'There are times,' says Guizot, 'when selfishness dominates in individuals, whether from ignorance, from brutality, or from corruption. Then society, abandoned to the contests of personal wills, and unable to raise itself by their free concurrence to a common and universal will, passionately longs for a sovereign to whom all individuals may be forced to submit: this is what has been seen in the disorderly youth of nations when society desires to form and regulate itself, without knowing how to do so by the free concord of individual wills. There are times when royalty alone can hold together a society which selfishness incessantly tends to destroy, because it represents more clearly and powerfully than any other form the sovereignty of right, and is able to exert this power upon events. From whatever point of view, therefore, we consider this institution, or at whatever epoch, we must acknowledge that its essential characteristic, its moral principle, and its true meaning, is to be the image, personification, and presumed interpreter of this essentially legitimate will, which alone has the right of governing society.'† Imperialism is but the unbridled will and

\* The Imperial navy consists of 54 ships of war, of which 32 are steamers, the whole carrying 326 guns. The number of seamen afloat is 4161; and there is a reserve of 4780 men, partly employed in the arsenals and other Government departments.

† Guizot's 'History of Civilization in Europe.'

passion of the multitude transferred to and intensified in one. It is as the protector of public order, the symbol of universal justice, and the representative of the common interest, that constitutional monarchy is rightly regarded; it then bears the benignant aspect of a great magistrate, not the enigmatical expression of an uncertain despot, and it becomes the enlightened organ of society, of which it has appropriated the strength, by acquiring the veneration and attachment.

Brazil, by a fortunate combination of circumstances, has escaped the desolating evils of South American democracy. Happy in its admirable sovereign, its free institutions, its stable government, its increasing prosperity, and its probable future greatness, amidst the fierce political tempests that sweep periodically over a large portion of the great continent of which it forms so conspicuous a part, may it be a light by which the shattered States around may shape a safer course, as it indicates the only haven in which they can hope to find a secure and untroubled repose!

ART. II.—1. *Casparis Ziegleri de Diaconis et Diaconissis Veteris Ecclesie Liber Commentarius.* Wittebergæ, 1678.

2. *Sisters of Charity and the Communion of Labour: Two Lectures on the Social Employment of Women.* By Mrs. Jameson. London, 1859.

3. *Der Armen- und Kranken-Freund, eine Monatsschrift für die Diakonie der Evangelischen Kirche.* Herausgegeben von Theodor Fliedner und Julius Disselhoff. Kaiserswerth am Rhein, 1849-1860.

4. *Quelques Mots sur l'Œuvre des Diaconesses, en Réponse au Livre de l'Auteur du Mariage sur le Point de Vue Chrétien, intitulé 'Des Corporations Monastiques au Sein du Protestantisme.'* Par Madame A. L. Beck, née Bernard. Paris, 1855.

5. *Church Deaconesses. The Revival of the Office of Deaconess considered; with Practical Suggestions.* By the Rev. R. J. Hayne, M.A., Vicar of Buckland Monachorum, Devon. London, 1859.

6. *Deaconesses for the Church of England: also a Paper on the Supervision and Training of Workhouse-Girls.* By Louisa Twining. London, 1860.

SOME of our readers will open this page with the impatient inquiry, 'What is a Deaconess?' They will, not unnaturally, expect us to begin with a definition. Now one of our objects in this paper is precisely this, to cooperate with  
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our readers in seeking for and arriving at a definition. Our last wish, however, is that our discussion of a subject which we feel to be important should be entered on with suspicion and prejudice. We will so far, therefore, break through our reserve at the outset, as to define approximately what we mean, and to say, that by Deaconesses we understand something contrasted with desultory Lady Visitors on the one hand, and with strictly conventual Sisterhoods on the other.\* We desire to see women devoting themselves to the nursing of the sick, to the systematic care of the young, to the rescue of the degraded, to the details of parochial work, as the business of their lives; and yet we desire to see this done without ensnaring vows, without any breach of domestic ties, and without even the affectation of what is foreign to the English people and the English Church. How this due medium is to be attained and preserved is the practical question, towards the solution of which we wish to accompany those who are willing to travel with us. We do not forget that it is proper for us to show some reasons why the attempt should be made to realise what amounts, in some degree, to a social and ecclesiastical change; but we hope such reasons will come to view as we proceed.

It must be confessed that if some of the popular prejudices which encumber this subject are unreasoning and foolish, others are only too well founded. To the setting apart of women in England, professionally, for charitable and religious work, objections are occasionally made which hardly deserve the trouble of a grave refutation; but other objections rest on a natural timidity, derived from experience of the past. No faithful member of the Church of England can fail to recollect the theological history and the serious lessons of the last twenty-five years. It is true that our most imminent dangers now are from the direction which is most opposite to that of authority and superstition. It is true also that defections to Romanism have taken place not from any one cause, or through the faults of any one party in the Church. A conversion may be brought about by want of sympathy and by rude unfair antagonism, as well as by successive and gradual approximations. Still we cannot be surprised, when we weigh all the facts of the case, that there should be considerable hesitation regarding any movement which seems, even by possibility, to lead towards the dreaded quarter; nor can we deny that the organisation of women for religious work, under certain circumstances, and in the midst of certain influences and associations, does involve peculiar danger. We have lately been looking through a complete collection of the pamphlets which were published, some ten years ago, regarding the Devon-  
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port Sisterhood; and the impression left on the mind by this reminiscence of an old controversy is a very painful one. That controversy is old; but new controversies, not very dissimilar, may arise. They who have not been diverted by these occurrences from their conviction, that there are conditions under which women may be safely and most beneficially employed in the manner we have roughly indicated, must not be surprised if at first they are supposed to mean something which they do not really intend. We have no reason to complain of anything which reminds us that the subject before us requires great care in its theoretical discussion and practical handling. We accept all prevalent suspicions as salutary checks.

Other prejudices, such as those which arise from worldliness and love of ease, or from levity and carelessness—from mere fashion and the indolent apprehension of novelties, we do not think it necessary, at present, to notice. Whatever the total amount of reasoning and unreasoning prejudice in England may be with regard to this subject, no careful observer can have failed to notice, on the other hand, that during the last ten years a palpable change has taken place amongst us, both in feeling and practice, in the direction we have generally pointed out. The change of mere feeling is by no means imperceptible. There is less prejudice than there was. This is very evident to any one who has carefully noticed the books and pamphlets which have been published during this period, in description, and in justification, of the work of women.\* But the fact is made still more evident in another way. A vast amount of practical work has been recently done by women in ways hitherto unattempted. New enterprises have been bravely undertaken by them, and patiently and successfully pursued. The first topic which will occur to every one, on the threshold of this subject, is the Crimean War, in its connection with one honoured name, and with its great results, both present and expected, in reference to the care of the sick. Our Workhouses too, however necessary, used to be viewed with no little discouragement and fear by Christian philanthropists. But the fact has now been made palpable that, through the agency of religious women, these institutions present invaluable opportunities for

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\* Among recent publications we may particularly notice one 'On the Employment of Trained Nurses among the Labouring Poor. By a Physician.' (London, 1860.) He wishes to see 'an order of women' who shall be 'missionaries of health and domestic economy.' There are some things in the pamphlet with which we do not agree. But it is important to have such evidence to the helplessness, not only of the Clergyman and the Lady Visitor, in times of sickness, but of the Physician, 'if there is no one present who can form an intelligent comprehension of medical directions.'

the diffusion of good. We have invited attention to a pamphlet which relates partly to the training and supervision of workhouse-girls. The author has, on various occasions, placed this whole subject before the public with much judgment and perseverance. Other ladies, in many parts of the country, are labouring in the same cause; and it has now a journal of its own, which we wish to see largely circulated.\* A third and most remarkable illustration of the general progress which has been made is the work of the Bible-Women, described in our last number. The fact is now made evident, not only that among the poorest women most efficient agents may be found for the evangelisation of the lowest and most degraded, but that this agency may be organised, under due superintendence, on the most extensive scale. These, too, are only specimens. Efforts are now in progress for the spiritual benefit of women belonging to classes above the lowest, and the conditions of whose life demand a separate and specific treatment. For their temporal benefit homes are being established and societies formed under various auspices. We might give a long catalogue of undertakings which have reference to the protection of orphans, the training of servants, the influence over poor mothers in their own homes, the education of girls of the middle class, and the respectful care of gentlewomen in the time of age or misfortune. All these are especially within the province of female administration. And then there is the Penitentiary question, of which it is enough to say, that the lowest and most miserable are only to be recovered through the influence of the purest, and best, and most devoted of their sex. This, too, is very remarkable,—that the same thoughts regarding woman's work have occurred to many independent minds, and that the work itself has been begun and pursued under great diversities of social and religious condition. On the whole, it cannot be doubted that the English mind has become gradually familiarised with the operations of what we hope we may call, without offence, the Female Diaconate.

Again, with regard to the industrial employment of women, some startling truths have been brought to view by the last Census and by other modes of inquiry. In 1851 three millions out of our six millions of adult women laboured for their subsistence, and two millions out of six (that is, one-third of the whole) laboured thus and were also unmarried. It seems that 25,000

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\* 'Journal of the Workhouse Visiting Society:' London, 1859, 1860. In connection with this subject, we desire to mention three little tracts published last year by another lady:—'A Plea for the Helpless, or Timely Prevention;' 'A Few Words on behalf of Orphan Girls in Union Houses;' and 'The Brockham Home and Industrial Training School.'

women are professional nurses : \* these, of course, belong to the lower classes. Taking the higher classes only, which cannot amount to more than one-third of the whole, we find 15,000 governesses. Now there is no reason to expect any change in the general laws which regulate the employments of women. A complicated civilization has rather a tendency to increase the necessity and multiply the occasions of female labour, though often under circumstances of extreme suffering. Moreover there is a permanent excess of the female over the male population : in 1851 this amounted to 500,000. Are we to say that half a million of our women are superfluous? Is it not more reasonable to believe, as was suggested some years ago in a paper read before the Manchester Statistical Society, that 'the female sex, in Christian countries, are probably designed for duties more in number and importance than have yet been assigned them?' Two consequences are easily seen to follow from the consideration of these broad facts. In the first place, it is a fallacy to speak of marriage as though it were almost a matter of course in a woman's experience. It is easy to say that a woman appears nowhere to so great advantage as in her husband's house. We admit that this is perfectly true. But to reiterate this truism, in answer to serious arguments having reference to the occupations of the unmarried, is simply to urge theory against fact. Polygamy is the only logical result of such reasoning. A second inference is this, that it is a grave duty to take into consideration the employments which are suitable for women, to provide facilities for their entering upon them, and aid in preparing them for their happy and efficient discharge. It is no part of our business here to dwell on the purely industrial aspect of this question. Now that attention has been turned to the case, we have a confident hope that beneficial changes will take place both in opinion and practice. Our present inquiries relate to a narrow area of female employment, with regard to which this at least cannot possibly be alleged, that the work is not suited to the talents and dispositions of women, or that it would interfere with the work assigned to their more athletic brothers. Here, at least, in nursing the sick, in visiting the mothers of the poor, in caring for neglected children, women are not likely to fail, and men can hardly interfere with advantage. The charitable and religious work of women has its industrial and secular side. We have seen that the opening of new and easy paths of feminine occupation is desirable ; we shall see that payment is an important element in the organisation of female ministration

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\* This is exclusive of a much larger number of nurses employed in domestic service.



in the Church. Of those who are willing to labour, some will labour from pure love and the principle of piety; but these, too, must be supported. Philanthropic effort and Christian organisation must have a distinct and intelligent connection with the social state of the times, otherwise they will be theoretical and comparatively useless.

We have the best reasons now for inquiring what institutions of this kind have existed, and with what results, in earlier ages and in other countries. We desire to avoid all premature theories and all dogmatic assumptions. But we may, at least, bring some scattered facts together, and hope to present them usefully in combination.

Our aim, as we have said, is rather practical than theoretical; and certainly we have no intention of entering on any discussion concerning the Rights of Women. Yet we require, as a starting point, some general theory as to Woman's place in the social world. Now we believe that no definition is so true, none so honourable to woman, or so important for the other sex to recognise, as that her place is *to help*. Whenever the strong becomes weak, whenever mere strength is weakness, when it is not power that we need, but influence,—when prompt good sense is demanded, delicate tact, patience, cheerfulness, a gentle hand, a quick eye,—then it is 'not good that the man should be alone.' Woman's work is helping work. The truth which lies in this definition is precisely given in the Greek word \* from which the word 'Deaconess' comes, and which the Germans have made their own by adopting the word 'Diakonie.' It is still more important to notice, that we have here the principle and the word which are given to us from the highest source.† It would surely be a great mistake to limit the Divine law of woman's mission on the earth to the mere relation of marriage. The Scripture is far wider than our prejudices. Wherever helping work is to be done, there woman is in her place. Motherly and sisterly care are often most needed when they cannot be had within the sphere of domestic life. Home is indeed

\* The idea involved in the Greek word *διάκονος* is precisely that of helpful service. The derivation does not point, as is often thought, to labouring and slaving in the dust, but rather to the notion of alacrity and willing activity. See Buttmann ('Lexil.' 40), who adds that the word has always retained 'the free and honourable idea which it originally implied.' The *διάκονος* is never properly a slave. When Pliny speaks of the deaconesses of the Primitive Church, his phrase is 'ancillæ quæ ministræ dicuntur.' While engaged on the consideration of the term, we refer once for all to two articles in Herzog's 'Real Encyclopädie für Prot. Theologie u. Kirche'—one on 'Diaconissa,' by the editor; the other on 'Diakonen- und Diakonissenhäuser,' by Wichern, whose own organisation of the parallel ministry of the other sex is very famous in Germany.

† Gen. ii. 18.

woman's highest and most natural sphere ; but the outcasts of society cannot be reached by home-influences, unless those influences are brought to them ; and it is only a female hand that can bring them. These truths have been forcibly expressed by Protestant writers on the Continent, but we have at least equal need to consider them at home ; and Mrs. Jameson has bequeathed to us, in her 'Communion of Labour,' a treatise on the subject, for which we cannot be too grateful. 'The woman is not without the man ; nor the man without the woman.\* This is her principle : and she pursues its consequences through all the relations of life, and with every variety of expression. 'Men and women are by nature mutually dependent, mutually helpful : ' and this communion is not limited to one or two relations which custom may define and authorise, but 'must extend to every possible relation in existence, in which the two sexes can be socially approximated.' Mrs. Jameson proceeds,—'the man and the woman must continue to share the work : there must be the communion of labour in the large human family, just as there was within the narrower precincts of home.† Throughout she insists that the element of power and the element of love ought to be cooperative,—'the feminine nature to minister through love,'—'the masculine intellect to rule through power.‡ Perhaps the most forcible of all her illustrations are drawn from the influence which feminine gentleness and tact can exercise over rough and hardened characters in the other sex.§ All these instances she regards as only exemplifications of a general and essential law,—the same law which is the basis of domestic life.|| She urges that this law cannot be broken or neglected without disaster. And then she asks :

'It is granted as a principle that ample scope should be given to the man to perform his share of the social work, and ample means of instruction to enable him to perform it well. What provision is made to enable the woman to do *her* work well and efficiently ? ¶

It is very difficult to resist this reasoning. When we think of all the wounds of society for which healing is required,—of the evil caused by drunken nurses, who can be bribed to give their patients drink,—of the need of softening and elevating influences in our workhouses,—of the fate of the unfriended workhouse-girl when she goes to service in a household where she finds no sympathy,—of the dangerous position of female domestic servants when out of place,—of the female prisoner when she is just re-

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\* 1 Cor. xi. 11.

† Pp. 13, 14.

‡ P. 84.

§ Reports of the Deaconess-Institution of Saint-Loup.

|| Pp. 38, 98.

¶ P. 14.

turning to liberty,—of squalid homes, helpless mothers, and orphan children;—and when we remember that the work demanded for the alleviation of such evils, if it is to be effectual, must be *permanent, and patient, and pervading*,—that it requires system, organisation, preparation, and training,—it is very difficult to give credence to some of the conventional maxims of our times. We are forced to ask why some of our homeless women may not be educated for nurses, instead of filling the wretched ranks of needle-women; and we are unable to understand, if it is right that a girl should leave her home to be a governess, why it would be wrong for her to leave it that she may be a deaconess.

Every one has noticed, as a characteristic of the period in which we live, what has been called *a congestion to the metropolis*, in all the great cities of Europe; that is, the accumulation of dense masses of the labouring and distressed population in our larger towns. But there is a correlative fact which is not always observed with equal distinctness of view, namely, the *radiation outwards*, from our great towns, of the wealthy and educated. The railway-system, and other facilities of conveyance, give to those who are in competent circumstances the opportunity of placing their families and of finding a home for themselves in the midst of fresh air and country scenes, while yet they are not separated from the centre of their daily toil. Meanwhile the poor and degraded are accumulated, in increasing numbers, without any of that proximity of culture and gentle influence which is always found in a rural village, and which used to be found in old-fashioned times even in the places of dense population. Now it is evident that two things are needed,—contributions in money, steadily supplied, from those who live in green and spacious suburbs, for those who are crowded together in the dark and dismal heart of the city; and contributions, equally steady and continuous, of living human sympathy and labour. Of the former, however important, it is not our province to speak here. Of the latter we can say, without a risk of contradiction, where the sympathy which is most tender, and the labour which is most patient, is to be surely found. It is the gentle and assiduous care, the instinctive tact, the prompt good sense, of Christian women, which is most wanted in regard to the homes and the habits of the degraded parts of our population.

Instead of wandering through a forest of details, let us take a single illustration, by no means the most obvious and forcible, of the evil and its remedy. The Sunday-school, however inferior to domestic teaching, is one of the great and necessary instruments of the religious training of our poorer classes; but it ceases to have  
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its distinctive power and excellence, if Sunday-school teachers of higher station and culture, and of formed character, are utterly absent. Here it is that the evil meets us in one of its varied forms. Those who would be the natural teachers—the educated Christian women—are abundant in the suburbs: those who need the teaching—the squalid and neglected children—swarm in the courts and alleys at the centre. The workers and the work are separated from each other. We have heard the consequences of this state of things described by clergymen of experience in more places than one. Is it not evident that the continued presence of a few women of staid character, good education, and Christian mind, in such districts, would precisely supply the element of strength and bond of union which are needed in the Sunday-school, and also other parochial wants which are equally urgent? Those districts which are deprived of efficient Sunday-school teachers, are, by the same causes, deprived of efficient district-visitors: and even where there are district-visitors, willing, well-educated, and abundant, how much harm is often done by inexperience, wilfulness, want of judgment, and fitful irregularity! Miss Nightingale points out, with no little humour, in a well-known pamphlet, how hard a thing it is to visit well.\* How much strength would be infused into all these efforts of volunteers by the presence of the regular deaconess, trained to her work, and devoting all her time to it professionally and of course! And suppose, further, a pestilent fever to break out in the courts and alleys visited by the benevolent lady, who has young children or young brothers and sisters at home. Is it not evident that domestic duty requires her to withdraw? Thus the help is lost when the need is the sorest: but then is the time when the deaconess is most surely present, with the minister of religion and the physician, and perhaps far more useful than either of them. Let it be remembered that during a large portion of the day the poor cottage is ‘a woman’s house and a children’s house.’ The cooking of the dinner, the cleaning of the floor, the turning of an invalid in bed, the feeding of the baby, may be, to a religious woman, the introduction to and opportunity for the highest spiritual service, when the clumsy good intentions of men would be the cause only of irritation and sullen reserve. We have spoken of helping work. Who is so near to the strong man in his hour of sickness and despondency as the woman who nurses him? Who can ever have such means of reaching his heart with the encouragements and gentle admonitions of the Gospel? And then there is

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\* ‘Institution of Kaiserswerth for the Practical Training of Deaconesses’ (1851), p. 7.

the Penitentiary question with all its poisonous and insidious ramifications. Here particularly women are all-powerful. We rejoice to see that 'female missionaries' are now employed to reclaim those who cannot easily tell their griefs or describe their temptations except to one of their own sex. And especially is such agency required 'to take oversight of those who leave penitentiaries to go to their homes or into service. They often fall again for want of kind guardianship and a continuance of the religious influences they have enjoyed in the asylums.'

It will be observed, also, that many of these subjects are by no means limited to crowded parishes, but have an equal significance in relation to the rural districts. We are thoroughly persuaded that throughout the whole range of society, in town and country, we are deeply suffering from the want of organized female agency in works of charity and religion; and we believe that we shall be able to show, from an historical survey and a critical examination of the subject, that there is nothing in Scripture, nothing in Protestantism, nothing in Decorum, nothing in Common Sense, to prevent a very extensive change in this respect; but, on the contrary, that such a change is urgently pressed upon us, alike by a true appreciation of our own circumstances, and by the practice of primitive times, and the experience of continental countries.

In the first place, there is nothing new in what is here proposed. The *idea* of women set apart professionally, without vows, for charitable work, is not new. We might quote many who have written strongly on the subject; but there is one name above all others to which it is natural here to refer. It is almost exactly fifty years ago that Southey, in the first number of this Journal, forcibly pointed out the removal of the old reproach, that Protestantism has no missionaries. It is almost exactly thirty years ago that he told again how he had watched 'the unpromising commencement of the Protestant missions, their patient progress, and the success with which God was blessing them;' and then he added: \* 'Thirty years hence (*i.e.* about 1860) another reproach may also be effaced, and England may have its Sisters of Charity.' The thought had worked actively in Southey's mind from the time when he visited the Béguinage at Ghent, on his journey to Waterloo, in the year after the battle. In writing in that year to Sharon Turner, he says:—'The total absence of religion from our poor-houses, almshouses, and hospitals, is as culpable in one way as the excess of superstition is in another.' Four years later he is writing to Mr. Rickman, on the transference of 'female education' to some

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\* 'Colloquies,' ii. p. 330.



supposed English Béguinage; and five years later still he is in correspondence with Mr. Hornby, the rector of Winwick, concerning a scheme 'for directing the personal charity of females to hospitals rather than to prisons,'—for doing, in fact, in the former, what Mrs. Fry had done in the latter.\* But in the 'Colloquies' the theory of the subject is systematically treated:—

'Piety has found its way into your prisons; your hospitals are exploring it in vain; nothing is wanting in them but religious charity; and oh! what a want is that! and how different would be the moral effect which those medical schools produce upon the pupils educated there, if this lamentable deficiency were supplied! I know not whether they or the patients suffer most from its absence. Many are the lives which might be saved by it; many are the death-beds to which it would administer a consolation that is now too often wanted. . . . A School of Medicine ought also to be a school of Christian humanity. . . . Disease and wretchedness are as constant in their course as time; the compassion, the tenderness, whereby, in a far greater degree than by any human skill when these are wanting, they are to be alleviated and lessened, exist among us, but they are latent, and require to be called forth and put in action. . . . England is grievously in need of its Sisters of Charity! There is nothing Romish, nothing superstitious, nothing fanatical in such associations; nothing but what is righteous and holy; nothing but what properly belongs to that religious service which the Apostle James has told us is pure and undefiled before God and the Father.'—Pp. 318, 320, 330.

Nor is the thing itself, the *actual institution* of Deaconesses, new and untried. The institution is both a Primitive and a Protestant fact. There have been, and there are, Deaconesses in the Reformed churches of the Continent; and they occupied a recognised and rather prominent position in the Early Church. Thus we come immediately on a very important aspect of the subject. We separate it off at once from what is distinctively Roman Catholic.

The Primitive diaconate consisted of two co-ordinate branches, the diaconate of the men and the diaconate of the women. It was felt, as Neander well expresses it, that 'though public preaching be forbidden to women, yet they have peculiar gifts for service.'† This service of women, also, as he truly says elsewhere, had 'a special ground in the circumstances of the times.'‡ Among the Greeks even of that day the female sex lived in greater retirement than has been customary among Western nations. Christianity

\* 'Life and Correspondence,' iv. p. 156; v. p. 25; vi. p. 52. It seems that in 1829 an institution for training nurses was set on foot by Mr. Hornby in conjunction with Mr. A. Hodgson of Liverpool. The higher classes appropriated those who were thus trained, and thus the scheme came to an end (p. 72).

† 'Pflanzung u. Leitung,' pp. 211-213.

‡ 'Kirchengeschichte,' II. i. 221.

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would have been much impeded in its progress through families, as it is among Mahomedans now, without some kind of female agency. Thus we find the Deaconess a conspicuous figure in the Early Church, side by side with the Deacon. And it is by this parallelism that we shall probably apprehend her position most correctly. With us, indeed, the true diaconate may be said to be almost in abeyance; and it is perhaps represented more exactly by the Scripture-reader in some of our parishes than by the Clergyman in his first year of ordination. The primitive deacons were half laymen; and such was the position of the primitive deaconesses. Epiphanius says that they were broadly distinguished from the Presbyters, in that they were not allowed to officiate liturgically.\* They were, however, formally set apart to their office, and were required to go through a period of probation. They seem to have been divided into two classes, not very precisely distinguished from one another, one class of older women, one of younger. Widows were preferred, and especially widows who had been mothers, that (to quote the words of Tertullian)† 'having had a training in all human affections, they might know how to aid others both by sympathy and counsel.' The terms 'widowhood' and 'diaconate,' however, appear to have been used for the office indifferently. The ages were variously fixed at sixty, fifty, and forty, with a dispensing power in the Bishop, in case of a younger woman of proved discretion. The question of age would doubtless depend, in some degree, on the duties required of these women. Their general functions were connected with the nursing of the sick, the visiting of captives, and the exercise of hospitality. But they had especial reference to persons of their own sex. These officers were door-keepers for the women, and preserved order, at the times of public worship;‡ they were catechists of the female converts;§ they attended them at their baptism, and in certain cases were a medium of communication between them and the clergy.|| Of the numbers employed we can form some notion, when we hear that there were forty in connection with the great church of Constantinople, and six attached to a smaller church in the suburbs. We cannot doubt that a vast number of conversions in the early ages were due to

\* Epiph. 'Hær.,' 79, 4.

† Tert. 'De Virg. Vel.,' c. 9.

‡ 'Apost. Const.,' ii. 57.

§ The words of the Fourth Council of Carthage are well worth quoting at length:—'*Viduae vel sanctimoniales, quæ ad ministerium baptizandarum mulierum eliguntur, tam instructæ sint ad officium, ut possint apto et sacro sermone docere imperitas mulieres, tempore, quo baptizandæ sunt, qualiter baptizatori interroganti respondeant, et qualiter accepto baptismo vivant.*'

|| 'Apost. Const.,' ii. 26; iii. 15.

this source, and that it diffused a pure and spiritual influence through families in all ranks of society. Though the deaconesses could not teach publicly, they could be diligently and unceasingly occupied 'in the private ministry of the word.'\*

The means of information are various. They are not even limited to Christian sources. Pliny, in his well-known letter from Bithynia, speaks of the heroic constancy of two Christian 'ministræ,' who were tortured under his orders.† So Lucian alludes to the service of these devoted women in prisons.‡ But of course our chief information is obtained from the early writers in the Eastern and Western parts of the Church. Many of them make mention of the Deaconesses; those whom we have quoted, Epiphanius among the Greek writers, Tertullian among the Latin, being perhaps the most important for our purpose. Besides these authorities, we have decrees on the subject in various councils, from the meeting of the Nicene Fathers down to the sixth century. The same subject comes to view also, more than once, in the enactments of the Code of the Civil Law. But besides this, there is another authority, which has hardly yet received the attention it deserves with regard to many questions of early Ecclesiastical History. We allude to the remarkable series of documents which are known by the name of the 'Apostolical Constitutions.' Whatever their real value in detail may be (and there is no doubt that in their present form they are largely interpolated and have been frequently modified), we can hardly hesitate to accept the following prayer as representing the spirit and general feeling of the early Church in regard to Deaconesses. In fact, the prayer was probably used, on some occasions at least, when they were set apart to their office. Hence it is very important to quote it:—

'Eternal God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Creator both of Man and Woman,—who didst fill with thy Holy Spirit Mary, Deborah, Anna, and Huldah,—who didst not disdain that thy only begotten Son should be born of a woman, who also in the Tabernacle of Testimony and in the Temple didst appoint women as the keepers of thy holy gates, look now thyself on this thine handmaid, here set apart for the office of a deaconess; give unto her thy Holy Spirit, cleanse her from all impurity of the flesh and of the spirit, that she may worthily accomplish the work now committed unto her, to thy glory and the praise of thy Christ, with whom to Thee and the Holy Spirit be glory and worship for ever and ever. Amen.'§

\* 'In suo sexu ministrabant in baptismo et ministerio verbi.' Jerome on Rom. xvi. 1.

† Plin. Ep. x. 97.

‡ Luc., 'De Morte Pereg.' iii. 335.

§ 'Ap. Const.' viii. 20.

Two questions of considerable interest arise out of this cursory review of the primitive institution of Deaconesses. We feel it important to ask, in the first place, with what formalities they were set apart to their office; whether they were strictly ordained or not; whether they were considered as lay or ecclesiastical persons? And, next, we are impelled to inquire why and when the institution was abolished? That it did cease to exist is certain, and the circumstances under which the change took place are matters of considerable moment.

Some members of the English Church would say that, if we have deaconesses at all, they ought to be ordained and set apart with the utmost formality by episcopal authority. Others would contend that such an establishment of a separate 'order' of women in the Church would be fatal to the whole scheme. The dilemma seems formidable; but a true view of the primitive theory of the subject suggests an intermediate course. It has been questioned by some whether the deaconesses of early times were ordained by the laying on of hands. There is a certain ambiguity about the terms employed, nor are all the passages which touch the question closely, free from some doubt as to the reading.\* We are satisfied, on a review of the whole case, that these officers were set apart by the imposition of hands. But this ceremony might, according to circumstances, be a formal ordination, or simply express an act of solemn benediction. We are inclined to think that this distinction supplies the key to the difficulty. Supposing the imposition of hands to have been originally understood as applicable to women only in the lower sense, it was still evidently liable to abuse or misunderstanding. Deaconesses might place themselves, or be placed by others, in a false position. We cannot wonder if we find traces of this in the account given by Epiphanius of one of those strange Phrygian heresies in which female fanaticism was conspicuous.† So it is said in the Apostolical Constitutions that 'to ordain priestesses is heathenish.'‡ Thus we find stringent regulations made by Councils regarding the 'ordination' of deaconesses; and at last we come to some French Councils, by which it was altogether abolished. But it seems extremely probable that the practice fluctuated in different ages, and that there were variations of custom between the East and the West. On the whole, it may be fairly con-

\* Three of the most important passages are the 19th canon of the Council of Nice, the 40th of that of Trulla, and the 11th of that of Laodiceæ. *Χειροτονία* is primarily 'election,' and secondarily 'imposition of hands.' *Χειροθεσία* may be either 'ordination' or simply 'benediction.' In the 'Ap. Const.' viii. 19, the imposition of hands in the case of deaconesses is most distinctly mentioned.

† Epiph. 'Hær.' 79, 3.

‡ 'Ap. Const.' iii. 9.

cluded that in the general view of the primitive Church these female officers held a semi-ecclesiastical position. They were distinguished, by a very definite line of demarcation, from the clergy; they did not live in any monastic or conventual state; and yet, by reason of having prescribed duties connected with religion, they were, to some extent, separated from the laity.

It is evident, from what has been said, that we must be careful not to understand regulations having reference to details of 'ordination' as though they were directed against the 'order.' It is probable that even the decrees of the French Councils were intended not to extinguish the institution of deaconesses, but to provide against their relative position being too prominent.\* The abolition, probably, was gradual, and arose from more causes than one. We need not hesitate to admit that there may have been abuses in this particular institution, in an age when other ecclesiastical abuses were by no means infrequent. But we must remember that certain modifications of opinion and practice had been in progress which must necessarily have had an effect on an institution of this kind. Infant baptism, which had been the exception at the first preaching of the Gospel, gradually became the rule: and, with this change, one of the functions of the deaconesses with regard to the female converts of course disappeared, and especially in proportion as sprinkling with water began to take the place of immersion. Moreover, it must be remembered that as time advanced the clergy became predominant; superstitious feelings were more and more associated with the idea of ordination, and the setting apart of women to parallel official duties would become more and more offensive. But we ourselves imagine that the chief stress is to be laid on the progress of conventual monasticism, and that the system of free Deaconesses gave way before the more rigid Religious Orders which grew into strength in the later and more corrupt ages of the Church; and this view derives some confirmation from the fact that the institution generally ceased in the West about the sixth century, whereas it continued in the East till the twelfth. If this supposition is correct, we have clearly an additional reason for looking on deaconesses with favour. Under whatever circumstances the abolition took place, two general facts are evident, both important from the English point of view: first, that the female diaconate is treated with less respect as we advance downwards in ecclesiastical history; and secondly, that it was held in esteem in the East longer than in the West.

\* Ziegler's words, with regard to these councils, are:—'*Abrogata potius ordinatio, quæ invaluerat, quam diaconissarum officium.*' '*De D. et D.*,' xxxvi.

Approaching the subject in this historical way, we can hardly avoid the inference that the institution is Apostolic. In the first place, we cannot fail to be struck with the large number of women who were engaged in the work of spreading the Gospel, aiding the first Christian missionaries, or supplying the wants of the poor around them. In the Acts of the Apostles there are—*Dorcas*, of whom we know nothing except her good deeds;\* *Priscilla*, who travelled with her husband;† *Lydia*, of whom we cannot say whether she was married or not, but we find her at a considerable distance from her home;‡ and *Philip's daughters*, who were certainly unmarried.§ There are others noticed in the Epistles, some of whom we do not know by name, but who are generally described as ‘the women which laboured with the Apostle in the Lord.’|| There are others whose names we do know, such as *Chloe*, who was evidently a person of some consequence at Corinth;¶ *Mary*, *Tryphena*, *Tryphosa*, *Persis*, and others, saluted in the Epistle to the Romans;\*\* *Euodia* and *Syntyeche*, admonished, or, at least, advised, in that to the Philippians;†† and especially *Phæbe* of Cenchreæ, who has the official title—lost, indeed, in the English version, but in the original Greek the official title—of ‘Deaconess.’‡‡

Again, in the Pastoral Epistles, where we have the institutions of the Apostolic Church in their more mature state, there are three passages especially which invite our careful attention. In the Epistle to Titus, certain ‘aged women’ are mentioned,§§ whose qualifications are very much the same as those required elsewhere of presbyters and bishops, especially in regard to their being ‘apt to teach.’ This circumstance might at first sight seem of no great moment, but we are inclined to attend to it a little more closely when we notice that the word translated ‘aged women’ is not that which elsewhere in the Pastoral Epistles is rendered ‘elder women,’||| but is precisely one of the terms employed by primitive Greek writers as an official designation of those who did the work of deaconesses.¶¶ So of the ‘widows’ mentioned in the First Epistle to Timothy,\*\*\* as placed on a definite

\* Acts ix. 36.

† Acts xvi. 14, 15, 40.

‡ Phil. iv. 3.

\*\* Rom. xvi. 6-15.

†† Rom. xvi. 1. It is important to notice that she is called ‘a deaconess of the church of Cenchreæ,’ implying a local connection with a definite community. Cenchreæ was not a very large place, and it is natural to suppose that larger churches had several officers of this kind.

§§ *Πρεσβυτίδας*—Tit. ii. 3. ||| *Πρεσβυτέρας*.—1 Tim. v. 2.

¶¶ Here we cannot fortify our view by an array of commentators; but we believe this is because the point has not been duly noticed. Herzog agrees with us.

\*\*\* 1 Tim. v. 9.

'list' or 'roll,' we observe that their qualifications are remarkably like those required of presbyters. At first sight we might be disposed to think only of widows registered for the receipt of relief, such as those for whom Dorcas made garments,\* or those whose complaints are recorded in the sixth chapter of the Acts.† But when we look well at the whole context, when we notice the limitations of age,‡ and when we read that verse which speaks of danger, in the case of younger widows, of setting aside their 'first faith' or 'original pledge' given to Christ, we seem to see, along with the receipt of support from the Church, *correlative duties* also implied; we seem to discover traces (as we have observed in post-apostolic times) of an order of Widows, not identical, perhaps, with the Deaconesses, but belonging to a different department of the same kind of organisation.§ It appears to us, however, that the chief stress is to be laid on a third passage, the significance of which is often unnoticed. We mean the eleventh verse of the third chapter of this Epistle.|| This verse occurs in the midst of a long passage relating to the diaconate. The deacons are mentioned above, and immediately again below. We need hardly say that the expression 'wives' in the English version is of no authority. The word is simply 'women;' and the question is whether women in general are intended, or the wives of the deacons, or female deacons. It should be particularly noticed that in the early part of the chapter no such directions are given concerning the wives of the bishops or presbyters, though they are certainly quite as important as the wives of the deacons. We hold it almost certain that a *female diaconate* ¶ is here implied,—an order of deaconesses working

\* Acts ix. 39.

† Acts vi. 1. Here, however, Mosheim ('De Reb. Christ. ante Const.,' p. 138, n.) maintains the curious theory that the complaining widows were Hellenist deaconesses, and that the complaint arose from the fact that larger funds for the poor were supplied to the Hebrew deaconesses. He remarks that there must have been other poor besides widows, and asks why the widows only should have been neglected.

‡ It would seem hard to exclude all widows under sixty, however destitute, from relief. The description, too, of the 'widows' before us almost implies they were not always destitute. How strange also to advise a second marriage to the younger widows, and yet to exclude from the 'roll' all who had been twice married!

§ Professor Ellicott remarks that the duties of these 'widows' were probably 'presbyteral rather than diaconic.' We think it important to remark that he and Dean Alford and Dr. Wordsworth, the three best modern English commentators on the Pastoral Epistles, take entirely our view of this passage.

|| Here again our three commentators are in agreement with us.

¶ The word *διδάκοντος* is inclusive of both sexes: and we observe that the women are introduced in v. 11 as a new class by the same word (*διδάκοντες*) as the men in v. 8. In Phil. i. 1, it is quite possible that the generic term may include the women so pointedly mentioned in iv. 2, 3. In the Apost. Const. we find *ὁ διδάκων*

and



working co-ordinately with the deacons, though, of course, less prominently and publicly.

Such we conceive to be the Scriptural bearing of our subject. But the Bible is, on the whole, very silent as to ecclesiastical details. In matters of this kind it gives us rather principles for adaptation to circumstances, than rules which are to keep us in bondage. All that we contend for is, that we probably suffer loss, by being without one of the ecclesiastical helps which the Apostles sanctioned,—that, if Scripture is faint enough to excuse the dispensing with it, it is strong enough to authorise its renewal,—and that the burden of proof rests on the opponent, not the advocate, of deaconesses.

At various times since the Reformation attempts at the renewal of this institution have been made on the Continent, which, though not permanently successful, are of considerable value as supports of our argument.\* The following passage† from an American source is an amusing picture of an old Dutch Deaconess:—

‘In Amsterdam there were about three hundred communicants, and they had for pastors and teachers two admirable men (Smith and Robinson), and four venerable men as ruling elders; also three able and godly men for Deacons, and one aged widow for Deaconess, who served among them many years, though she was sixty years old when she was chosen. She filled her office worthily, and was an honour to the congregation. She sat commonly in a convenient place in the church, with a little birchen rod in her hand, and held the little children in much awe, so that they disturbed not the assembly. She diligently visited the sick and the infirm, especially those of the female sex, and called our younger women, in case of need, to watch over them at night, and to give other assistance that might be required: and, if they were poor, she made collections for them among those who were in a condition to give, or informed the Deacons of the

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and ἡ δiakonos side by side. The feminine form διακονίσσα appears in Epiphanius and the decrees of the Nicene Council.

\* The fullest collection of instances is to be found in two papers by Dr. Fliedner of Kaiserswerth, published in 1849 and 1854 respectively in the *Armen- und Kranken-Freund*, an excellent periodical.

† In the year 1575, even in England, this regulation was passed by an assembly of sixty ministers of the eastern counties, and remitted to their several parishes. ‘Touching deacons of both sorts, viz. men and women, the church shall be admonished what is required by the Apostle; and that they are not to choose men of custom or course, or for their riches, but for their faith, zeal, and integrity; and that the church is to pray in the meantime to be so directed, that they may choose them that are meet. Let the names of those that are thus chosen be published the next Lord’s-day, and after that, their duties to the church, and the church’s duty towards them; then let them be received into their office with the general prayers of the whole church.’—Neal’s ‘History of the Puritans,’ vol. i. p. 304 (ed. of 1793).

case.

case. She was obeyed as a mother in Israel and a true handmaid of the Lord.\*

The congregation of Wesel consisted of Protestant refugees from the Low Countries, England, and elsewhere; and we find that one of its first acts was to decide that women were to be officially employed among the poor and the sick. The word 'deaconess' was systematically used; and the formal choice of one and another, whose names are given, is recorded at frequent intervals. After 1610 all traces of this institution are lost. The causes of its decay were four in number,—the introduction of a system of State-relief for the poor in place of the free exertions of the Church,—the enactment of a new rule that none but women of sixty years of age should be chosen,†—the custom of very generally employing married women,—and, lastly, the near approach of the sad calamities of the Thirty Years' War.‡ But we hasten to give some account of a few of those Deaconess Institutions of the Continent, which are at this moment full of vigorous life.

The first place and the fullest description are due to KAISERS-WERTH. The Deaconess Institution in this Rhenish town was the earliest in point of time, and in most respects, though not in all, it has been the type and pattern of the rest. In the most featureless part of Germany, except indeed that the famous river is a grand feature which redeems from monotony even level corn-fields and formal rows of poplars—and in a small town which is as commonplace as any that could be found on the Continent—here it is, that, under Dr. Fliedner's auspices, the modest but conve-

\* 'A. und K. F.' for 1849, p. 15. A retranslation labours under some difficulties. The original passage is in Dr. Young's 'Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of Plymouth,' Second Edition, Boston, U.S. (pp. 455, 456). Dr. Fliedner met with this information in a journey which he took to America for the purpose of establishing some deaconesses in Pennsylvania.

† It is worth while to pause on this point. The 'widows' of 1 Tim. v. 9 must not (as seems to have been the case at Wesel) be absolutely identified with the 'deaconesses' of 1 Tim. iii. 11 and Rom. xvi. 1. The age of the former must have unfitted them for many laborious duties.

‡ We are far from saying that nothing is to be learnt on this subject outside the limits of Reformed Christendom. But we have purposely limited ourselves to what is unequivocally Protestant. For some interesting historical notices of the early organisation of female charity in the Latin Church we may refer to Mrs. Jameson, pp. 19-34. An account of the *Béguines* in Belgium will be found in Southey's 'Colloquies,' vol. ii. pp. 326-334. Nor can we in justice leave this point without referring to a comprehensive little book entitled 'Hospitals and Sisterhoods' (London, 1854), which contains a very full account of existing orders and institutions of women, both Protestant and Roman Catholic. In what we have here written ourselves, we have drawn entirely from our own inquiries, without using the materials in this book. But we know that it is a most useful manual, and that it ought to be well studied. We might also adduce important illustrations of the employment of female agency by the United Brethren, or Moravians.

nient buildings have gradually risen, which now embrace a hospital, a penitentiary, an orphan-house, an infant-school, a training-school for mistresses, an asylum for insane women, and a home for aged deaconesses; here it is that a remarkable scene is presented of Christian love, cheerfulness, simplicity, courtesy, wisdom, and work.

We must first remark that the enterprise has grown from the very smallest beginning, and that its extraordinary development has been the gradual result of new encouragements and suggestions. It is curious to observe, when we think of the Crimean War, that one encouragement in the midst of the early difficulties arose from the remembrance of the self-devotion of the German ladies in the war of 1813-15.\* Then came the thought of the primitive deaconesses.† From the time that the effort was fairly on foot, it is evident that there has been a very distinct conception in Fliedner's mind, not only that he was endeavouring to supply a modern want, but that he was restoring something which had existed in the early Church. He returns to this point again and again, in his numerous publications on the subject of deaconesses. The progress of the work itself was as follows:—In 1822 he was appointed pastor of the small Protestant congregation at Kaiserswerth. The bankruptcy of the manufacturing firm, upon which nearly the whole of this congregation depended, led him to make a journey to England for the purpose of obtaining funds. There he met Mrs. Fry, and became interested in the subject of prisons. On his return he established a society in Rhenish Prussia for the improvement of prison discipline. Thus he came in contact with the serious subject of discharged female prisoners. He began with one of this class, with a single lady to help him, in a small summer-house, with one table, two beds, and two chairs. This summer-house, which still stands in the parochial minister's garden at Kaiserswerth, is the true parent-house of all the deaconess institutions of Germany. From the female-prisoner the sympathising heart and organising mind turned to the destitute child, and from the destitute child to the sick and the dying. The obstacles were many; but the encouragements came gradually and often unexpectedly. So the tree grew from the smallest of seeds. From the last Report we find, that, besides the thirty-one sisters attached to the institutions on the spot, there are sixty in various parts of the Rhine-Province, thirty-three in the Westphalian, forty-eight in other provinces of Prussia, and fourteen in other parts of Germany; and besides these, twenty-seven others, who are distributed

\* 'Kurze Geschichte der Entstehung der ersten Evang. Liebes Anstalten zu Kaiserswerth,' p. 9.

† *Ib.*, p. 10.

far beyond the limits of Germany, at Constantinople, Bucharest, Smyrna, Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Pittsburg in Pennsylvania. It may be truly said of Pastor Fliedner that, 'with his staff,' he crossed the Jordan of his first difficulties, and that now he is become 'two bands.'\* His is a rare and happy lot. His hands 'laid the foundation' of this house. 'His hands also' have finished it.†

Dr. Fliedner has been careful to keep these institutions in close association with the ecclesiastical authorities. The Rhine Provinces and Westphalia, which are divided by the river, and are nearly equal in extent, seem to have a more free Protestant church-government than that of the northern and eastern parts of Prussia. This circumstance has perhaps been favourable to the formation of a 'Rhenish-Westphalian Deaconess-Society' of a distinctly ecclesiastical and almost official character. The civil government, however, has not been slow to recognise the value of the work which has its centre at Kaiserswerth. Important privileges were accorded in 1846 to the above-mentioned Society. Dr. Fliedner, and his son-in-law Dr. Disselhoff, have been formally appointed chaplains of the Deaconess-Institution; and in 1852 the King of Prussia himself laid the foundation of what we have called the Home—the *Feirabend-Haus*—the house where the aged deaconesses are to spend the 'holiday-evening' of their days.

The prevailing spirit and internal organisation of this Deaconess-Institution are of a strongly-marked religious character. Thus, while the inmates are trained in all that relates to teaching and nursing, they have a very minute and systematic course of religious instruction, and careful provision is made for maintaining and fostering an earnest personal devotion. We proceed to give an extract from the early pages of the Official Regulations.‡

There is what might be called, from its frequent occurrence in the official books, the Kaiserswerth formula, which presents to us the function of deaconesses in the form of a definition. They are to be, as their name implies, *servants*, and specifically (1) servants of the Lord Jesus Christ—(2) servants of the poor, the sick, and the young, for the sake of the Lord Jesus—(3) servants one among another. In explanation of this formula, as we have ventured to call it, the following sentences occur under the three several heads, fortified in each case by a series of texts from Scripture:—

\* Gen. xxxii. 10.

† Zech. iv. 9.

‡ 'Haus-Ordnung u. Dienst-Anweisung für die Diakonissen u. Probeschwestern,' pp. 2-5.

'1. The

'1. *The Deaconess as Servant of the Lord Jesus.* The love of Christ constrains every true Christian henceforth to live no longer to himself, but to Him who died for him and rose again: hence every Deaconess must care for and teach the poor, the sick, and the young, not for the sake of earthly reward or earthly honour, but out of thankful love to Him who also bore her sicknesses, and took her sufferings on Himself. She must strive to do all in the name of Jesus, for His sake, after His example, and in His service.

'2. *The Deaconess as Servant of the Poor, the Sick, and the Young, for the Lord's sake.* She must cherish towards them in her heart, pity, friendliness, gentleness, and patience, and even such humility as though they were her masters. But she must demean herself as their handmaid, not for their sakes, but for the Lord's sake; not therefore to obtain their praise, but out of love and humility towards the Lord, whose representatives she sees in them. Hence, in serving them, she must never so yield to them as to strengthen their obstinacy, daintiness, ill-temper, envy, or other evil disposition, but must ever keep in view the hope of winning their souls to the Lord.

'3. *Deaconesses as Servants one among another.* In living together and working together, they must be, after the example of the Lord, who became our servant, and according to His command, servants one among another, must do nothing through strife or vainglory, but with mutual humility esteem each the other higher than herself; and look not on her own things, but also on those of the others; so that whoever will be great, yea, the highest among them all, may be the handmaid of all.'

In further elucidation at once of the theological complexion and religious earnestness of the work conducted by Dr. Fliedner, we might adduce the beautiful intercessory Litany at the end of the Kaiserswerth Hymn-Book,\* the solemn appeal at the end of the Regulations,† the sensible and searching rules for self-examination,‡ the meditations preparatory to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper,§ and the answers which have been given on various occasions to different classes of opponents.¶ As to the internal government, it is altogether in the hands of Fliedner and his wife, who herself wears the costume of the deaconesses, and is their mother as he is their father. In character Fliedner is a calm, strong, devout man, thoroughly sensible, quite above the

\* 'Diakonissen-Liederbuch,' p. 312.

† 'Haus-Ordnung,' pp. 87, 88.

‡ *Ib.*, p. 81.

§ 'Liederbuch,' p. 311.

¶ To meet the prejudices of those who contended that the institution was inconsistent with Protestant principles, the Consecration-Service ('Einsegnung der Diakonissen') has been published, with a preface. See pp. i. and iii. As to more philosophical opponents, who, in fact, accused Fliedner of being too evangelical, an important passage, having reference to the Atonement, the old-fashioned orthodox view of which is held at Kaiserswerth, is found at p. vii. of the preface to the Collection of the Reports of the first ten years. In reference to the devotional habits of the place, one critic seems to have said, 'The Institution works wonderfully; but it is a pity they pray there so much.'

folly of running risks by imitating Popery, and equally above the folly of rejecting a really good thing because it may be called Popery. He purposely avoided such terms as 'novice' and 'superior.' When Mrs. Fry proposed an institution in London of 'Protestant Sisters of Charity,' he warned her that the designation would be dangerous. The dress worn by Roman Catholic 'sisters' being commonly black, he chose another colour. And no one who has seen the blue gown, plain white collar, and neat cap of the Kaiserswerth deaconesses will hesitate to say that they are in harmony with the happy faces and quiet self-possession of those who wear them.

It must not, however, be imagined that the discipline of the institution is loose or irregular. The conditions under which a Probationer is received are extremely strict. The time of probation itself is a considerable interval, involving various duties, and often ending in rejection.\* The consecration is most solemn, with the laying on of hands at a special service in the chapel, in presence of the whole community. Though there are no vows, obedience to those who have the direction of departments is expected and strictly required. Two ideas seem to have presided over all the working life of Dr. Fliedner: first, that a *female* Diaconate is required by the Church of modern times; and secondly, that this Diaconate, to be efficient, must be *trained*. In the case, for instance, of grievous sickness, 'How,' he said to us, 'unless she is instructed and prepared, can the Deaconess administer at night those spiritual drops which are often worth more than a whole sermon?' Though there are beautiful liturgical elements in the public services of the community,† the prayers used by the Sisters with those among whom they minister are extemporaneous; and for these prayers they are taught that they must prepare themselves, in order that the words may be suitable to each special case. Hence the importance of the early years of residence, involving, as they do, both a training of the character through methodical habits and opportunities of devotion, and a training of the mind by a methodical course of religious teaching. In connection with these parts of the Kaiserswerth discipline, we must particularly mention the admirable manual of Scripture reading (*Bibellesetafel*), one of the best we have ever seen, in which the sacred text is classified and arranged in two methods, according to the order of the ecclesiastical year, and according to the spiritual needs of various kinds of characters. In fact, if we

\* Pastor Fliedner's statement is that about one-half of his probationers retire.

† These are given at the end of the '*Liederbuch*,' and also printed separately.

were to single out one religious peculiarity of the place, as conspicuous above the rest, it would be the close and discriminating study of the Bible.

There exists a remarkable *esprit de corps* among the members of this community, wherever scattered. 'We have no vows,' said Pastor Fliedner to us, 'and I will have no vows: but a bond of union we must have: and the best bond is the Word of God.' This principle is practically realised by means of the above-mentioned Bible Manual, which is not only a companion to his course of instruction, and a classified arrangement of Scripture passages with a view to edification, but is used daily and simultaneously by the Deaconesses at all their stations. 'And our second bond,' he added, 'is singing.' The former link would be applicable to any association of Christian fellow-labourers in England. The latter would perhaps, in our case, hardly be strong enough to be really useful. But the stores of the Hymn Book and the habit of Vocal Music are powerful religious forces in Germany; and Kaiserswerth, as we have seen, has its own Book of Sacred Song to aid in binding together those whose fields of labour may be widely separated. Nor are these the only provisions for maintaining a loyal and affectionate feeling among the members of the community. Frequent conferences take place of the chaplains and sisters together, for discussing new plans, for ascertaining the success which has been attained, and for hearing tidings of the distant stations. The sisters themselves have a veto upon the election of each new Deaconess. Every birthday is carefully commemorated. Every year a calendar\* is published, which may be seen hung up at all the stations, and which notes under its own date each successive step in the past history of this remarkable work. Thus the corporate feeling is strong, though the members are scattered: and a happy and cheerful allegiance to the 'Mother-House' is everywhere maintained. The emblem of the dove with the olive-branch, the familiar woodcut on the printed papers of Kaiserswerth, is suggestive not only of the character and mission of those who are sent forth, but of the Home to which all of them belong.

The total number of stations, all subordinate to the central government at Kaiserswerth, all animated by the same spirit, is now seventy-four. If we combine these into one view, and remember further the great variety of work which goes on at the central institution, we see at a glance how great a provision is made for a widely-extended and penetrating Christian influence. We might, at first sight, be inclined to doubt the wisdom of

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\* 'Stationen-Kalender der Diakonissen-Anstalt zu Kaiserswerth am Rhein.'  
associating



associating so many different operations with the Mother-House. But they have grown up rather from circumstances than from any preconceived plan; and they are found to be sources of mutual strength. Thus, the orphan-school is a soil from which Deaconesses may be expected to spring; and this expectation is often realised. If the destination of the trained Deaconess is a hospital, she is none the worse for knowing something of children; if it is an infant-school, she is none the worse for knowing something of medicine. Each individual goes forth to her duties with a considerable variety of experience. But, what is still more important, these opportunities of diversified training enable the directors of the establishment to turn the energies of the Sisters into channels for which their dispositions are most suitable. One may have the vivacity which gives and receives continual happiness in the midst of young children, and yet may be wanting in the sustained patience which is requisite in watching the sick-bed. One may have the tact which enables her to exercise influence over the diseased in mind, and yet may have no strength to support the heavy labour of other employments. Meantime the same religious spirit runs through all this variety; the same discipline gives coherence to the whole. There is much machinery, but one moving power; one fountain, but many streams. This unity in variety results in a ramified diffusion of good, with strength to spread into all parts of social life in European countries, and powerfully to aid the work of missionaries in the East. Besides what we have been describing, there are about twenty other independent Deaconess-Institutions. To some of these we must now turn our attention.

At STRASBURG we find a second Deaconess-Institution. Its growth has been, as in the former case, from a small beginning. One expression used by Pastor Härter, the founder, was that 'the work always went faster than he did.' His work was not by any means a mere imitation of that of Pastor Fliedner, but independent in its origin, though parallel and full of sympathy with his in its progress. It was actually begun in 1842; but as early as 1817 the idea was germinating in M. Härter's mind. After many years of hard parochial labour, he found himself surrounded by a small group of young women, prepared by himself for confirmation, accustomed to the systematic visiting of the poor, and animated also by an earnest desire to devote themselves entirely to works of charity and usefulness. He began with three, and among them the admirable lady who now presides over all the branches of the Strasburg Deaconess-Institution. Its characteristic differences from that of Kaiserswerth are four. In the first place, the Sisters belong, on the whole,

to

to a higher rank of life. At Kaiserswerth the preponderating number are of the social grade from which domestic servants are obtained; here the majority are drawn from what may be called 'la bonne bourgeoisie,' and one is 'noble.' The total number is now eighty, of whom thirty-five are in Strasburg itself, and the rest in various other towns of the German part of France. In the next place, peculiar attention seems to be given here to the training of female servants. One large and separate branch of the central establishments is devoted to this purpose. On the other hand, there are not here, as at Kaiserswerth, the two classes of nursing-sisters and teaching-sisters. The latter department of the work did at one time exist; but it has been allowed to fall into desuetude, partly because it was found that those who were placed in detached and distant posts were apt to lose that staid and thoughtful character,—that *Diakonissin-Sinn*, that *Cœur de Diaconesse*,—on which here and elsewhere we noticed that the utmost stress was laid. But especially we should notice that the feminine element here is far more prominent than at Kaiserswerth. The lady at the head of the Deaconesses, not the chaplain, has the command of the executive. At the consecration of a new Deaconess the two eldest Sisters take part in the imposition of hands. The Ladies' Committee, again, is a conspicuous feature of the system. These institutions have stimulated a large amount of voluntary charity, which otherwise would have lain dormant; and not stimulated only, but concentrated and directed it. This is more particularly illustrated in another branch of the deaconess-work of Eastern France; we mean the work of Parochial Deaconesses.

From Kaiserswerth a large number of deaconesses are sent out to various parishes, to work in subordination to the parochial clergy; and we should observe that they are always sent, if possible, at least two together, and that it is generally arranged that one should have her work in some hospital or almshouse, and thus provide a home for her sister-labourer, who is occupied in the parish. By this means the distraction of 'coffee-parties' and the social intercourse which might lead to gossip and loss of time are avoided, and the gravity suitable to serious official work is more easily retained. In a recent number of the *Armen- und Kranken-Freund* is a very full account of the theory of this parochial diaconate, illustrated by cases drawn from actual experience, and showing its utility in various points of view,—in the assistance given to the clergyman in seeking out cases of temporal and spiritual distress, in detecting imposture, in attending the sick in their own houses, in teaching poor women how to nurse invalids and how to cook, in promoting the regular attendance of children at school, in

co-operating with charitable associations, in superintending sewing-schools and mending-schools, in exercising a good influence over grown-up girls in service and in factories, especially as regards the great danger of Sunday amusements, and in meeting the Roman Catholic Sisters of Charity on their own ground, that is, in families which have the elements of discord made ready by means of a mixed marriage. It is, however, in connection with the Strasburg Institution that we have actually seen the parochial deaconess in the midst of her work,—not indeed at Strasburg itself, but at Mülhausen, a large town full of manufactures.

In this place are twelve Strasburg Deaconesses—seven working in the large hospital, and five in the parochial subdivisions of the town. Mülhausen is, no doubt, the only town in France where a public hospital is conducted by Protestant Sisters. Among the lower orders the Roman Catholic population is largely increasing. But the wealth and influence are with the Protestants. Thus the traveller finds the Deaconess with her Bible, established in a safe and busy home in the midst of the patients for whom her life is spent. All around is the garden, which seems a constant feature of all Deaconess-hospitals. Within is the *pharmacie*, well provided with all medical appliances; and here some of the Sisters are constantly to be seen, making up medicines or preparing bandages. But it is the other, the parochial group of Deaconesses at Mülhausen, concerning which we desire especially to say a word. A new building is in preparation for their home, but at present they live together in a house contiguous to the residence of one of the pastors of the town. There they have prayers morning and evening. At noon they meet for dinner and a short rest. All the remainder of the day they are out at work in their several quarters. The town is divided into five districts, and in each one of those the Deaconess of the district has a couple of rooms which are the centre of her operations. She has here a small collection of medicines, with linen and flannel, and whatever else is likely to be needed by the sick and suffering poor. Here too is a kitchen, where her servant prepares soup and meat for the aged and the convalescent. Here, at fixed intervals, the Deaconess meets the Physician to receive instructions regarding those invalids who are able to come for advice. The more serious cases are visited at home. All the ordinary cases she is competent, from her medical training, to deal with herself. With the general wants of the poor and degraded in her district she is busied throughout the day. Sometimes she passes the night by the bed of those who are dangerously ill. It is evident that this system inspires the

the utmost confidence at Mülhausen. The Roman Catholic Sisters of Charity are adopting some plans of the same kind; but we were told that the poor prefer the Deaconesses because of their high opinion of their training and experience. There is evidently no lack of funds. The municipality allows to each Deaconess the services of the *Médecin du Quartier*; and the *Bureau de Bienfaisance* supplies the medicines. What is perhaps more important still, there are local committees, and a general superintending committee, of those who voluntarily give their time and contributions in aid of this well-organized work. Ladies come forward willingly to cooperate in this way, and the accounts are published quarterly. Above all, these exertions have throughout a distinctly religious aim. The end is to do good to the soul while caring for the body. While we heard and saw the details of this excellent system, it seemed like the realization of a long-cherished dream of a female parochial diaconate.

Following still the 'natural frontier,' we pass from the German part of France to the German part of Switzerland. The neighbourhood of Basle has for some time been celebrated for its benevolent and religious institutions. None of them have been more rapidly and surely successful than the Deaconess-House at a village not far distant from the city. The foolish and fratricidal quarrel, which a few years ago resulted in the separation of 'Basle city' and 'Basle country,' left attached to the former the small slip of country belonging to the old canton, which lay on the right bank of the Rhine. This northerly fragment of Switzerland is a well-wooded eminence, having the picturesque little church of St. Crischona on its summit, which is conspicuous from all the neighbourhood of Basle, and itself commands a glorious view of the Rhine valley, immediately beneath, and the distant mountains of the Oberland beyond. From St. Crischona and its homely missionary college the traveller may drop down into the opposite valley, where the Wiese flows from the Black Forest to join the Rhine; and at the small village of RIEHEN he will find the modest, but most useful and prosperous, Deaconess-Institution, with its hospital enclosed in a cheerful garden.

The scale of this establishment is much smaller than of those which we have previously described. The Deaconesses are drawn for the most part from the labouring classes. Their work, with the exception of an infant school, is almost entirely restricted to the care of the sick. Again, the organisation is of a simpler kind. The rules are less severe; the whole system less exacting. The religious relations of the place, too, are remarkably free. Not that there is any laxity as regards theological belief or practical

tical devotion; but there is no official connection with any ecclesiastical authority—there is no chapel, no subordination to a chaplain. Religious instruction and spiritual care are voluntarily afforded to the inmates by neighbouring clergymen or by theological professors. Great power is given here, as at Strasburg, to the lady at the head, the daughter of a Basle manufacturer, a gentle and truly feminine woman, but with much strength of character and great administrative talent. If we have at Riehen in some respects a lower ideal than that which we have surveyed at the two greater institutions, yet its arrangements are perhaps better adapted to the free and independent atmosphere of Switzerland. Prussia is strongly monarchical. We know what France is. Possibly even in England there are some who would look with more favour on the free regulations of Riehen than on the more strictly ecclesiastical constitution of Kaiserswerth and Strasburg.

This very freedom gives more appropriateness to a quotation which we introduce here for the purpose of conveying to our readers some notion of the solemnity with which a German Deaconess, when the period of her probation is closed, is set apart for the work of her choice. The Riehen Reports give the services actually used at successive consecrations. We select the following from that which is most recent :—

‘In the name of our faithful Lord and Master, in the name of the Triune God, who till this day has so unmistakeably accompanied our work with His blessing,—will ye, in the presence of this holy work, wherein ye have had experience now for two years, promise \* Obedience, Willingness, and Faithfulness?—*obedience* towards those who are set over you, especially as regards your superintending Sister, and all the regulations of the house; *willingness*, in accomplishing the service that may be committed to you, in being sent out or summoned back, when and how the authorities may judge best; *faithfulness* in all the occupations assigned to you, and above all towards Him who hath called you?

‘If ye are ready to fulfil this promise with a cheerful heart, looking unto Him who will make His strength manifest in your weakness, then answer me here now, in the presence of these assembled sympathizing witnesses, with a “*yea*,” and reach to me here each one of you the hand in token of your promise.—

‘The merciful and ever-present One, in whose name we are assembled, hath heard you promise. May He give you stedfastness!

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\* In the similar (though not identical) service for 1857 it is expressly said that ‘this promise is no monastic vow, no rule imposed by an order, but that it expresses the spirit of free Evangelical love which animates the house and service of the Deaconesses, while yet this spirit by no means excludes fixed and orderly regulations.’

'In pursuance of the pledge which ye have given I here pronounce you Deaconesses, received into the sisterhood of our house, and invite you, kneeling down in the Lord's name, to receive a blessing by my hand as of an ordained minister of the Evangelical Church.

'Sisters SUSETTE SCHMID and ANETTE HAUSER—*The God of peace sanctify you wholly, and your whole spirit, and soul, and body, be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ* (1 Thess. v. 23). Sisters SUSANNA SPUHLER and ANNA HOFFMANN—*Our Lord Jesus Christ himself, and God, even our Father, which hath loved us, and hath given us everlasting consolation and good hope through faith, comfort your hearts, and establish you in every good word and work* (2 Thess. ii. 16, 17). Sisters VERENA MOHL and LOUISE HOSSLI—*The peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in Christ Jesus* (Phil. iv. 7). Sisters ADELHEID HAGEN and ANNA HITZ—*The Lord our God be favourable unto you, and prosper the work of your hands upon you, yea, prosper He your handy-work* (Ps. xc. 17).'\*

Three accidental circumstances associated with our visit to this place lead us to notice a remote benefit resulting from Deaconess Institutions, which we believe will come prominently into view before many years are past. Among the recent residents at Riehen is the famous African Missionary Krapf, who has thus been able to reinforce the Deaconess-Institution from the stores of his cheerful spirit and long-tried experience. Among the religious institutions of Basle are two Missionary colleges. Among the favourite projects of the benevolent M. Spittler (himself the chief founder both of the Deaconess-House and of these colleges) is the connexion of the Mediterranean, by an 'Apostolic Highway' of twelve stations, with Abyssinia, the scene of the labours of Krapf and his companions. What would be the effect of establishing Deaconesses at such stations? At Kaiserswerth we heard of the valuable services of these trained Christian women in Mahomedan communities, as at Jerusalem and Smyrna. Through the children whom they teach, and through gratitude for help given in the healing of the sick, they are welcome in the harems. We have here a close parallel to the position of the Deaconess of the primitive Church. What, if the restoration of this office is destined to be one of the instruments of converting the Mahomedan East?

What Riehen is to the German part of Switzerland, SAINT-LOUP is to the French. The latter Deaconess-Institution is in a position still more rural, still more remote from any town,

\* The texts so given are regarded as mottoes and watchwords for the future and memorials of the consecration. As to the three words '*Obedience, Willingness, and Faithfulness,*' they might be called the Strasburg formula. The phrase seems borrowed at Riehen from the regulations drawn up by M. Härter.

and certainly not less beautiful than the former. There is not even a hamlet at Saint-Loup. The little hospital stands on a cheerful and healthy eminence at the frontier of the long range of the Jura, and among the low precipices of blue calcareous rock, which remind us of the mountain-limestone of the north-western districts of England, except that in the Pays de Vaud the walnut-trees and the cherry-trees present a leafage and fruitage to which we are not accustomed at home. Here Pastor Germond devotes a life, which has long been a laborious and happy one, to the affectionate care of invalids of the poorer classes, and of the Deaconesses who are under training for work here and elsewhere. He is practically the Director, the Committee, and the Chaplain. It would be more correct to say that he is the Father of the whole establishment; and it would be still more correct to say that M. and Madame Germond are the father and mother of a large family, where the invalids, the deaconesses, and the servants are reckoned among the children. Here we have before us a type of the female diaconate slightly different from that at Riehen. The plan is more domestic. The rules are even less stringent. The ecclesiastical arrangements are even more free. At Saint-Loup there is not only no chapel, but no imposition of hands when the deaconess has finished the time of her probation; but she is simply set apart by solemn prayer. The success, however, has been as remarkable here as in the other instances. The Sisters have risen in number since 1842 from four to thirty-five; and the Institution, though having no formal connexion with the State or the Church, may be truly said to be naturalised in the Canton by the acceptance of public opinion. One point of detail appeared to us especially worthy of notice. A strong feeling for sick children has grown up in connexion with Saint-Loup. In the Reports for 1858 and 1859 the duty is pointed out of paying special attention to the health of those who may have many years to spend in this world, and with regard to whom negligence might be a cruel condemnation to a long period of helplessness and pain. It is the *motherly* care of the deaconesses which has fostered this sympathy for young sufferers, and inspires the confidence which brings them to Saint-Loup. Here, it appears to us, is a forcible argument for the systematic organisation of the female diaconate.

This success, however, has not been without opposition. Madame de Gasparin, of Geneva, took alarm at what she supposed to be the introduction of monastic institutions and Popish principles into the heart of the Protestant Church, and she expressed her conviction in a lively style and with warm religious



gious zeal.\* Replies have not been wanting. One of them we have prefixed to this paper.

A word may be said here on the two topics of payment and dress, which, indeed, are minor topics, and yet not without their importance, and which came before our notice conversationally at Saint-Loup.

The points chiefly discussed have been, whether the deaconesses should be paid, and whether they should wear a uniform dress. As to the first, the fact is, that the deaconesses of Saint-Loup, and all the other Institutions which we are describing, give their time, their strength, their devotion; and in return they receive from the Institution food and raiment, training and experience, religious counsel and sympathy, and a sure home in time of sickness or decrepitude; and, moreover, they obtain from those for whom they labour a degree of confidence and affection which would probably never be given to those who are paid in the form of wages for work done. These women doubtless feel that they have, even in this world, an abundant reward. The payment is indirect, but it is real. It cannot be denied that on the Continent great stress is laid on this indirect payment, as opposed to the direct. M. Germond said to us, that the female diaconate, if it is paid in wages, becomes simply an '*industrie*,' or trade; he insisted that the respect paid to service of this kind is far greater if the service is not remunerated in the ordinary sense; and he illustrated his position by the case of a deaconess employed in a school for young children, where her care was felt to be truly *maternal* because it was truly *disinterested*. But this is certain, that the highest Christian devotion may be found in those who receive wages for their spiritual work. The clergy themselves are paid agents. There can, we think, be no objection to the employment of women on this principle. But it is a higher form both of labour and reward, if all that the labourer wishes is to have facilities to serve God freely, and if, having 'food and raiment,' she is 'therewith content.'

The question of dress is by no means unimportant. A good work may be marred by want of good sense and by disregard of the feelings and prejudices of others in the mere matter of costume. We know how much dislike there is in this country to the outward symbols of Romanism. No words can be too strong for condemning the use of such a dress as provokes constant criticism, as mars and hinders a good work by exciting

\* Her first attack was contained in eight letters addressed to the editor of 'L'Avenir,' a small Swiss periodical, in 1849 and 1850. These letters were reprinted in 1855, at the end of two considerable volumes, published in Paris, and entitled, 'Des Corporations Monastiques au Sein du Protestantisme.'

prejudice,

prejudice, as either is or is supposed to be a palpable imitation of that which is an object of abhorrence. A multitude of questions are often answered and much time and trouble saved by uniformity of dress. In many cases, indeed—as, for instance, among the Bible-Women—there is no reason why it should be adopted; but even among the Bible-Women there has been occasional trouble with regard to flowers and flounces. At Saint-Loup, we heard M. Germond good-humouredly say (and never did any man appear to us less inclined to a sarcastic criticism) that if the deaconesses were free to choose their dress, they would spend a large portion of their time in discussing the colour and the pattern of it. He added, that the recognised costume gave confidence to the invalids. When they saw the brown dress of Saint-Loup they expected to be properly nursed. Nor ought we to forget how much economy is promoted in an institution by a uniform official dress, and how it tends to secure respectful treatment in travelling and in the bad parts of populous towns. And all these arguments acquire tenfold force when members of different social grades are brought to cooperate in one common work. Costume, as Madame Beck says in answer to Madame de Gasparin, is of no value in establishing any evangelical doctrine, but it has an important bearing on practical usefulness.\*

M. Germond's wish has been to confine his institution at Saint-Loup within limits to which the family-principle can be applied; but the tree which he has planted is so strong that it is bearing fruit in remote places. His direct superintendence is extended to various out-stations, where his deaconesses have been planted in small establishments for orphans, for crétins, for convalescents. Four are engaged in hospitals in the Vaudois valleys of Piedmont; two are conducting a school at Ferney, within the French frontier; two are at the Protestant Hospital at Genoa, and it ought not to be forgotten that English sailors have there found the blessing of the care and skill of these Swiss nurses.† Our own attention has been particularly turned to a modest but most useful branch-institution for the benefit of domestic servants in Geneva. There we found a Saint-Loup deaconess who had been engaged for six years in this post. The work seems to be prospering exceedingly. New and more convenient premises have lately been taken. The number of servants who have the privileges of membership, entitling them to a home in the intervals between one place and another, with the opportunity at all times of religious influence and friendly counsel, amounts to above five hundred. The names of these *sociétaires*, with the date of their admission

\* 'Quelques Mots,' &c., p. 31. † See page 350.

and the place of their service, are hung up on the walls. The superintendent, with her assistant-deaconess, being professionally devoted to these duties, all the operations are conducted with regularity and method. A large committee of ladies afford an active and kind cooperation, and various pastors give efficient help in maintaining that religious character which, in this case as in all the rest, is the end and aim of all that is done. And here, as the hospital is the great opportunity for spiritual benefit, we must particularly notice the provision for invalid servants. In 1859 twenty-one were nursed at the Institution for average periods of thirty-six or thirty-seven days. Thus again we see the value both of the religious and medical training of the deaconess, and in reference to a class of persons on whom the middle and higher ranks are singularly dependent, and to whom, with all their waywardness and caprice, they are under great and continual obligations.

It is impossible for an Englishman to be in Geneva during the present year without thinking of PARIS. Even to the members of the Alpine Club it is probably not an agreeable thought that the snowy summit which is sometimes reflected in the lake is the highest ground in France. Meantime it can hardly be doubted that France holds those northern mountains of Savoy till the next European war. Nor is this the only way in which Paris is closing in upon Geneva. The Roman Catholic population has for some time been largely increasing both in number and influence. This city is the *mezzo termine* between the free Protestantism of the Pays de Vaud and the French metropolis, where the Protestants are a very small, yet not quite powerless, minority. The contrast in all respects is great, when we pass from the rural Deaconess-Institute at Saint-Loup to the similar Institute in the notorious Faubourg St. Antoine. We may expect in this transition to come upon new aspects of the female diaconate not without some points of relation to our own parties and controversies. The constitution of the establishment is of the less severe and less ecclesiastical type, like those of Riehen and Saint-Loup, as contrasted with those of Kaiserswerth and Strasbourg. In answer to the question whether the Deaconesses were set apart by the laying-on of hands, M. Vermeil answered *Nous ne voulons pas faire des prêtresses, mais des Chrétiennes*,—words curiously like what we have adduced from Epiphanius and the Apostolical Constitutions. In the religious purpose, however, kept in view from the outset,—in the sense of the need of an organised female charity for our present social conditions,—in the remembrance of the female Diaconate of the Primitive Church, this work is identical with all the rest. Nor is it by any

any means a mere copy of that which was begun and accomplished by Dr. Fliedner. The idea seems to have been in M. Vermeil's mind as early as 1830; though it was not till ten years later that the enterprise was begun under Mdle. Malvésin, the present admirable superintendent. She was then living at Bordeaux. For years she had desired to devote herself entirely to some work of this kind. But the path was not clear. She wrote for counsel to M. Vermeil on the same day when he invited her to Paris. Thus grew up this excellent Institution under the joint efforts of two minds: feminine tact and administration being combined with the resolute purpose and active struggles of the stronger sex. No conjunction could have more completely realised Mrs. Jameson's principle of the 'communion of labour.'

And now we take leave of the Continental Deaconess-institutions. We might have extended our history much further, and have included both Holland and Sweden.\* In fact, it seems likely that before long every considerable town in Reformed Christendom, and even many a country village, will have its Deaconesses or Deaconess-institution.

Are we to exclude England? We have given a sketch, very imperfect, but derived entirely from personal observation, of what has been done by some of the Protestants of the Continent, during the last twenty-five years, in organizing Woman's helping work for the succour of the miserable and degraded. What have we been doing here either in the primitive or the foreign way, or under other forms more adapted to our habits and condition? And what can we glean from the fields which we have rapidly gone over—what practical suggestions to be turned to some account in regard to the social and religious state of England? No one can possibly say that our needs are less urgent in this country than they were in Primitive times, or than they are now on the Continent. What have we done, and what are we prepared to do?

Much has undoubtedly been accomplished already. We quite agree with Mr. Hayne, who says, that the time for action in the matter of deaconesses is come. But we do not think that the time for discussion is ended. Twenty years ago it might have been said in Germany that the experiment at Kaiserswerth had resulted in nothing but words; but since that time the institutions of Strasburg, Riehen, and Saint-Loup have been founded, and more than a score of others, similar in their character and success. In England a good beginning

\* Wichern's article in 'Herzog's Encyclopædia' makes mention of a Deaconess-institution at Utrecht, with a station at Nymwegen, and of similar establishments at Groningen, Amsterdam, and Stockholm.

has been made. Already the large hospital of King's College, London, is served by Church of England 'Sisters,' under admirable government. Another organisation of the same kind, very small as yet, but full of promise, is to be seen at Middlesborough, in Yorkshire. Nor, while speaking of women's work in reference to health, ought we to omit the London establishment, founded by Mrs. Fry, in Devonshire-square,\* or the Liverpool Institution for the training and employment of nurses, which was suggested at a much earlier period, and is now in most successful operation.† And to turn to another side of the same great question, there is the House of Mercy at Clewer, which, whatever difference of opinion there may be in regard to some parts of its organisation, and perhaps on account of this very difference of opinion, is an institution of no light importance. It has brought into existence the 'Church Penitentiary Association;' and besides the work with which it originally began, it now embraces an Orphanage, and it is commencing operations in London among those classes of women who, without being criminal, are in danger of becoming so. To pass to the opposite extreme, we might mention excellent plans of female agency which are in the hands of Dissenters, not only in the metropolis, but in Leeds and other large towns.

The chief feature of the 'Bible-woman' plan is, that female agents of the poorest class are employed, each under her superintending lady. The districts in which they labour are chosen with reference to the presumed wants of the population and the facilities for obtaining superintendence, without any necessary connection with parochial boundaries. The whole aggregate of these local agencies has been compared to beads strung upon an elastic thread. And, independently of the usefulness of these poor women, penetrating as they do where others have never reached, and bringing together a vast amount of most important experience, there are advantages in the very looseness of these arrangements. Flexibility in this case is strength. But still the Bible-woman plan has its weak points; or rather there are strong points which do not and cannot belong to it. Leaving aside the question of payment, it excludes, in the first place, from its direct agents all those who are of a social grade above the lowest. There is some risk lest it should lead people to mistake for a truth a most mischievous fallacy, viz., that only the poor can work

\* See 'The Life of Mrs. Fry,' vol. ii. p. 383, and 'The Life of Mrs. Opie,' pp. 242-244, with which it is interesting to compare Southey's 'Correspondence,' vol. vi. pp. 66-71.

† A slight account of this institution is given in the 'Englishwoman's Journal' for March, 1859.

beneficially among the poor. The truth is, that the poor have peculiar advantages in dealing with the poor, and the wealthy and educated have peculiar advantages in dealing with them also. Our object is not merely to descend to the lowest levels of our population, but, as regards religion, to bring up the lower strata to the level of the higher. Besides the professional employment of poor women, we require the professional employment of those who have a higher culture and a higher social position. If the two were properly organised, each would assist and strengthen the other. 'Bible-women' ought not to hinder, but rather to prepare the way for 'Deaconesses.' But we cannot help noticing that the Bible-woman agency is not interwoven with any parochial machinery; that these excellent female missionaries not only are not available in aid of the clergy for the charitable duties of the district, but that they need not even be members of the Church of England, and that they are a good deal occupied, where there is a connection with the Bible Society, in the mere selling and distributing of Bibles. We well know how heartily and generously some Nonconformists have cooperated with the parochial clergy, with regard to the labours of the Bible-women. But the system itself is not and cannot be parochial. We cannot be surprised that in the metropolis a plan has now been set on foot for employing a similar agency to that described in the 'Missing Link,' and avowedly suggested by it, but 'under the direction of the parochial clergy and in distinct connection with the Church.' No collision ought to be dreamt of between these 'Parochial-mission women' and the 'Bible-mission women.' There is ample room for both. We are well acquainted with one large town where we have seen a danger lest the parochial plan and the general plan of employing female agency should disturb one another. Both had been independently thought of, and, without care and consideration, misunderstandings might have arisen. In the case to which we allude, a beginning has been made of a real parochial diaconate; the work of the female agent being incorporated, under the clergyman's superintendence, with all the other parish machinery, and her own social grade being higher than that of the ordinary Bible-woman.

The 'Sisterhood' presents the opposite extreme of what is doing in England in the matter of female agency; and sisterhoods have great advantages in the strength and support which come from close association and sympathy, in the benefit of combined devotions, in the sense of a common home, and in the firm fulcrum supplied for looser and more remote operations. We wish not to speak with disrespect of anything which implies deep religious feeling and patient self-denial. There are two  
 classes

classes of work to which we think sisterhoods are peculiarly adapted, namely, the recovery of fallen women and the nursing of the sick in hospitals. It is only when there is some impenetrable mystery in a sisterhood that we are inclined to become indignant. Moreover, if sisterhoods have their good points, they have certainly their dangers. The *esprit de corps*, unless it is diluted with widely-diffused work, may consolidate itself into conventual stiffness. Even religious ritual may become too exclusively absorbing. The relation of the Sisters to the Chaplain must be a matter of the most critical importance in regard to the formation of religious faith and character. Superstitious notions regarding celibacy may grow up, even where there is an express clause in a statute announcing that retirement at any moment is optional. Definitions will not keep everything safe. Questionable sentiments may become prevalent in a community in spite of rules, and, when this is the case, questionable doctrine may insensibly associate itself with practices which in themselves are innocent. Mr. Hayne has noticed this defect, that Sisterhoods are not parochial. Writing as he does from the diocese of Exeter, he might have added that one eminent sisterhood was not even diocesan.

Thus we have been brought gradually to the view which, on the whole, in our opinion, offers the most hopeful prospect for the future in England. We return to our old definition, and we can give it now with a little closer precision than before. The English Deaconess should be something between the desultory Lady Visitor and the member of a strictly conventual Sisterhood. On the Continent we have seen that, in harmony with the primitive idea of the office, the due medium can be maintained between ecclesiastical absorption on the one hand and family distractions on the other. We cannot conceive that this is impossible in England. Not that we would counsel any slavish imitations of what has been done by other countries. There is a German way, and there is an English way, as in everything else, so in this matter of the female diaconate. And the English way is to be found out by gradual and cautious experiment, conducted in a devout spirit, with the great religious end kept steadily in view, and with a constant regard to popular feelings and prejudices. If it becomes evident that, under certain forms, a female diaconate will never cordially be accepted by the English people, under those forms it ought not to be attempted. Nor need the experiments be absolutely similar in all places and under all circumstances. Details may vary, while principles are the same. There are local as well as general prejudices; and classes of society have their theological preferences and panics. The diocese



diocese of Oxford or Exeter might tolerate what would be fatal in that of Chester or Ripon. With many of the more educated of our people a cross, or a religious picture, has an exaggerated value, while with Workhouse-guardians even a bonnet might utterly destroy the prospects of a most useful undertaking. Let it be remembered that the great and essential feature of the deaconess, as described in this paper, is, that she should be *professionally* set apart for her work. All other parts of the subject, as it appears to us, however important (and many of them are deeply important), are matters of detail. Let the English people once become familiarised with the idea that it is right and natural and Christian, for women, as well as men, so to devote themselves, and everything else will probably be adjusted easily in harmony with our ecclesiastical and social peculiarities.\* If we start from the notion of a Deaconess-Institution, complete in all its parts, we may fail from the very perfection of our thought. The English people do not like abstractions. With us an ideal is best reached through practice. And even in Germany, it should be remembered, the results which we have described were attained only after long experiment and many struggles.

Of the minor questions, perhaps the most important is, whether Deaconesses should live in community or not? It may be found in the end desirable for the practical realisation of the work, for the sake of training the agents and consolidating the system, that communities should be formed; but it is not really necessary to the essence of the work that the question should be decided immediately. Our conviction is, that by far the most encouraging prospect is afforded by detached parochial efforts, conducted with some degree of mutual understanding. Besides the reasons to which we formerly adverted, namely, that the parochial most nearly resembles the primitive diaconate, and that it is the most urgently needed in England,—it is at the same time the least likely to excite prejudices; and it is the least likely to produce that jar of social distinctions which is always to be apprehended in the midst of an artificial civilization. When those who belong to different grades of society are brought into close and almost equal co-operation, this danger is considerable;

\* A close approximation was made to the definition of a Deaconess in the discussions of Convocation in 1858. 'The wider and more definite use of the services of Christian women' was recommended; and it was said particularly that 'nurses, trained for attendance upon the sick, might render important service to the cause of religion.' But it was added that such women should be 'associated together on terms and conditions distinctly known as those which the Church of England has sanctioned and prescribed.' What has the Church of England 'sanctioned and prescribed' in reference to this subject?

but not so when the efforts are detached and independent, and each under the superintendence of a parochial clergyman. Such efforts may be expected to result in a system which has safe experience for its basis. In a word, we would counsel in England a different process from that of Germany. There the institutions have been first founded and have gradually ramified into parochial work; here we should look in parochial work for those elements which will gradually combine into a solid institution.

Meantime there can be no reason why those who feel that their opportunities and convictions encourage them to begin to form training-schools for female agents, should hesitate to enter on the undertaking. Mr. Hayne seems to be in this position, and we know at least one other case of much hopefulness. By all means let such enterprises be begun and persevered in. No one who has had experience of the difficulty of obtaining suitable matrons for Reformatories and other benevolent foundations, can hesitate to say that a supply of persons tested and trained for such work would be an inestimable blessing. If these various efforts proceed with steady perseverance, and in a spirit of mutual charity, their results will gradually draw into combination. There is another consideration likewise, of very great importance, which recommends this gradual and prudent progress. If a female diaconate is to be incorporated into our ecclesiastical system, it can only be under the sanction and authority of the Bishops. Such sanction and authority will certainly not be given prematurely. Our Bishops would not be willing to commit themselves to any crude system of female agency. Nor would they, in our opinion, be justified in doing so. They may, however, knowing the pressing needs of their own parishes, be expected to look with favour on efforts to establish a practical diaconate of women. And there is one course which, we think, deserves consideration. A bishop's *licence* might do in this case what it does in others—might countenance without incurring risks—might give safety to the steps which are being taken towards the establishment of a permanent institution.\*

It has not escaped our recollection that the very word 'Deaconess,' which we have used incessantly throughout this paper, will provoke some doubt and discussion even among those who cordially approve of the office which the word describes. If any other title is better, by all means let it be chosen, so long as the work itself is done. If the use of the word 'Deaconess' hinders the establishment of an actual diaconate,

\* At Clewer the Sisters are set apart by the laying on of hands, and the ceremony is called *confirmation*. So far as we know, this is the only case in England of the kind.

then

then let it be thrust aside along with every other real or fanciful impediment. It is Primitive and it is Protestant. It is also very simple and very descriptive. A single word which contains a definition in itself is invaluable. Some other designations which have been proposed, such as 'Female-Agent,' or 'Female-Missionary,' are to our apprehension both clumsy and timid. It is bad policy to give an unpleasing name to a good office. A more attractive combination of which we have heard is 'Missionary Sister;' but in the first place the word 'Missionary' is not applicable to all parts of the female diaconate, and, in the next place, the term 'Sister' involves all those risks which the term 'Deaconess' avoids. We conclude by noticing a few popular objections, not to the word, but to the office.

It is possible that the fear of Romanism or semi-Romanism may recur to those whose disposition is favourable to our subject, or may be used controversially by those who wish to hinder what they vaguely dislike. To the hot controversialist we would put such direct questions as these:—Is it safe for us to remain any longer without some better organisation of female labour? Who make the greater number of conversions to Romanism, the Priests or the Sisters of Mercy? Moreover, the great question of female agency is one of growing interest, and may not now be lightly set aside. Even if we assume that there is danger, and that the movement may take a wrong direction, the practical inquiry which demands attention is this:—whether it is better to oppose and so to strengthen, or to appropriate and so to disarm? But, after all, the great argument on which we lay stress in dealing with this topic is, that the establishment of Deaconesses on the Continent is associated with, and has arisen out of, the most distinct, determined, and orthodox Protestantism. We could easily give a multitude of proofs. One illustration may suffice for all. We were speaking with Fliedner of the colonies which he had recently planted in distant countries. One group of Deaconesses had within the last few months gone to Bucharest. He added, with considerable zest, that another was just on the point of starting for Florence—'there,' he said, 'like Hannibal, to fight the Pope on his own ground.'

We are met, however, very frequently, by another argument, to which the answer is not so simple. It is said that such an institution as that of the Continental deaconesses is 'not English,' and would never succeed here. This, like all vague objections, is difficult to deal with. We might indeed reply: 'If not English now, the sooner it becomes English the better.' But this answer is hardly enough: it would only be accepted as a retort; and a retort seldom convinces. It is better to inquire whether there

there is any definite basis for the objection expressed in this general phrase. And we confess with sorrow and shame that we do think some such basis does really exist. It is not in that mere domestic feeling, on which we justly set so high a value. The German woman is even more domestic than the English. Nor is it any mere shrinking from publicity. If this were alleged, we might answer that there is no more publicity in the work of a deaconess, than in a thousand employments to which our ladies are well accustomed. And if there were publicity, it would cease to be peculiarity, in proportion as the office should become recognised and familiar. We believe that the difficulty, so far as there is a difficulty, is to be referred to two very different causes,—to our religious party spirit, and to the artificial distinctions of our social life. Partly from the influence of a very natural alarm, and partly from the indulgence of a mere habit of controversy, many amongst us have become seriously fettered in the free exercise both of their judgment and action. Our wealth and prosperity, too, have developed amongst us a very artificial state of life and created a number of conventional distinctions, which are seen to be of serious import, when they are found to be hindrances to the practical work of Christianity. The very civilisation which has brought together large masses of the poorer people in a state of isolation from the richer, has fostered certain modes of thought and habits of life among the latter, which make it more difficult than ever to obtain from them the labourers in works of charity, at the very time when such labourers are more than ever needed. We dignify this dishonourable feature of our social condition by various plausible and fallacious names. We boast of our English comfort, quite forgetting that comfort may possibly mean luxury and self-indulgence, and neglecting to test our phrases and practices by the teaching of the New Testament. If the love of comfort is a pervading and passive hindrance, fashion and the pride of station are open and very powerful enemies.

The higher ranks can do much to neutralise that sensitive separation of classes which in England is a chief hindrance to such an organisation of female agency as we have shown to be desirable. On the Continent life is simpler, social differences are less strongly marked, and co-operation therefore is easier. All this suggests caution. We must take our circumstances as we find them. If we force refinement into close contact with vulgarity, a discord is inevitable. But all this is no reason why we should not attempt to form a diaconate of women in England. As we have said above, there is a German way and an English way; and our business is to find out the English

way. Our very difficulties ought to stimulate us. We cannot know that the difficulties are really great, till we try to overcome them. In a hospital or a penitentiary, the gradations of rank are easily maintained. In an institution for the training of deaconesses, the discomforts of those of higher grade would be less in proportion to their numbers. In the parish diaconate, the objection vanishes, for the female labourer there may be dissociated from whatever is uncongenial. Nor are we without hope that a large organisation of deaconesses would have a tendency to react on whatever is unreal in our civilisation. False habits of thought frequently give way before true practice. At all events, we must hold fast to the belief that social improvements are possible and that they are usually gradual. There was a time when it was not English for a well-born lady to nurse a wounded common-soldier; but we believe now that it will never cease to be English. So we hope that the deaconesses of the future will destroy some of the conventionalities of the present.

But again our objector rises undismayed, and says, with grave discouragement,—‘It is a vain endeavour; you will never obtain them: all the good and energetic women find their own spheres of usefulness, and work in them well; and women of any other character are unfit for deaconesses.’ Now, was this true in Germany before 1835? If so, we may hope that a change may take place in England after 1860. But was it ever true anywhere? One great advantage of a systematic and well-arranged diaconate is, that it provides a place for the gentle and retiring as well as the energetic—for those who must be encouraged and led as well as for those who have vigour to originate and to direct. In the Deaconess Institutions of the Continent the numbers have gone on steadily increasing. So with the Bible-women of London—the candidates pour in like a flood. So it must ever be—work creates the workers. Organisation is of the utmost value, not only in facilitating labour, but in suggesting it. Established institutions have great power to remind people of duties which they would otherwise forget. And we must remember too that we are here on the religious side of that great question of remunerative female employment, which at present receives a bad answer in the excessive supply of dejected governesses and distressed needlewomen. The mere prospect of an assured home, kind sympathy, and support in old age, would bring out many labourers who long to be useful. And we are here on the lowest ground. In a far higher sense we believe it to be most true, that it is incumbent on us, not simply to utilise, but to relieve aspirations after self-devotion. In this country, as elsewhere, many  
women

women have 'a strong desire to serve God in missionary offices, especially among those of their own sex.' Let prejudices be softened down, let conventional hindrances be removed, let the facilities of system be provided, and we have no fear for the result. England has many a Priscilla: let the opportunity be given, and she will have many a Phœbe.

Another objection, which we have no wish to evade, may perhaps have been throughout in the minds of not a few of our readers. In all the provisions which regard the social employments of women, there is always one contingency which must be regarded as possible, and the more so in proportion as the women are estimable, charming, and useful. At the close of every story comes the question of marriage. In two ways this question might be presented as a very formidable obstacle to any organisation of deaconesses. It might be said either that marriages will be so frequent as to thwart all our plans and cause perpetual disappointment, or else that a feeling may grow up that the marriages of women so set apart are indecorous and almost sinful, and that this would be a mischievous superstition. Now, what is really the case in the Continental Institutions? We have felt it right to inquire very carefully into this matter, and we are able not only to quote facts, but to give impressions derived from very frank conversations. In speaking with Dr. Fliehn and M. Germond, who may be taken as representatives of the German and French phases of our subject, we were met with such remarks as these, uttered half in joke and half in regret:—'Ah, yes! we have too many marriages; this is the Enfield-rifle which ruins us: these young parsons and schoolmasters will take long-shots at our deaconesses.' But then it was gravely added:—'The Bible leaves marriage free; and we must also.' And we found, on close inquiry, that the marriages are really very few—perhaps at the rate of one a year in a large and widely-spread institution.\* But we have ventured to speak on this delicate subject, not only to chaplains and founders, but to deaconesses themselves. One of them remarked, with much simplicity and feeling,—'The Apostle says, "It is better so to remain;" but then if our Sisters remain, they ought to do so, not for the Institution's sake, but for the sake of the Lord's work.' And then she added, with some vivacity, 'I suppose many women in England have refused marriage because they can serve God better single.' Another deaconess, in a different institution, put the matter thus:—'A married woman has a life of more ease and comfort, instead of a hard life like ours;

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\* In connexion with the Strasburg Institution there have been eighteen marriages in eighteen years.



but then, as the Apostle says, she has more afflictions. Besides this, our life is itself an education; and if it is a good discipline for us, it is so for the married woman.' No doubt it is very disappointing, when the house has done so much in training, and educating, and providing opportunities of usefulness, to lose those who are so well prepared; but their usefulness is carried within the sphere of domestic life, instead of being more widely exercised. And it is evident, from the conversations which we have quoted, that no discredit is attached to such marriages. In fact we know a case where deaconesses were bridesmaids.\* Moreover, we think such occasional marriages are a positive advantage, as tending to bind up the deaconess-work with the associations of family-life. The benefit probably quite counterbalances the loss.

One objection still remains unnoticed, which is plausible at first sight, and which beyond doubt ought to be seriously dealt with. It is sometimes thought that a systematic organisation of charity will discourage and abridge voluntary efforts by fostering the practice of paying others to do what we ought to do ourselves, and by taking the heart out of those who do work, and degrading them to mere philanthropic machines. We believe that these arguments have been urged on the Continent. We frequently hear them among ourselves. As to the first head, there is, no doubt, always some danger of vicarious charity: but this remark is applicable to every kind of association for charitable purposes. Ladies who live in the midst of affluence very often pacify their consciences by a subscription, when they ought themselves to do some work among the poor. But this is far less likely to be the case when a good example of efficient work is set before them, and when a definite path is marked out, in which they see that their co-operation would be valuable. And what we urge here theoretically, is amply demonstrated by experience to be true. The Bible-women in London have brought into the field of active labour many ladies, who had benevolent impulses, but who previously did not know how or where to begin. Such we have observed to be the process in other large towns. And in the course of what we have written we have given illustrations of the same truth from the Continent. We all know what Committees are; how frivolous the excuses for neglect or absence, how great the lack of moral courage, how heavy the burden on the one member who has a conscience. If the deaconess were to supplant some Committees, probably no harm would result; but to many Committees she would give new heart, because they would feel that in her they had gained a right hand.

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\* Here, again, is a practical answer to one of Madame de Gasparin's theoretical objections, that no one would dare to propose marriage 'à de si saintes filles.'



We must now leave before the public what we have written with no light sense of its serious importance. If our view is correct, there is a great work to be done in and by the English Church, which as yet has been attempted only in a few places and on a small scale. Our conviction is that, if the Gospel is to have a stronger power over the next generation than it has over the present, we must look chiefly to our women,—and that such a diaconate as that which we have commended will be the best help to the realisation of the maxim which is a principle of religious as well as worldly policy, '*Gagnez les femmes.*'

ART. III.—1. *Eric, or Little by Little; a Tale of Roslyn School.* By F. W. Farrar, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Edinburgh, 1858.

2. *Basil the Schoolboy; or, the Heir of Arundel.* By the Rev. Ed. Monro, Perpetual Curate of Harrow-Weald. London, 1856.

3. *School Experiences of a Fag at a Private and Public School.* By George Melly. London, 1854.

4. *Godfrey Davenant, a Tale of School Life.* By the Rev. W. E. Heygate, M.A. London, 1852.

5. *Journal of a Residence at the College of St. Columba, in Ireland.* With a Preface by the Rev. W. Sewell, B.D. Oxford, 1848.

6. *Public School Education.* A Lecture delivered at the Athenæum, Tiverton, by the Right Hon. Sir J. T. Coleridge, D.C.L. London, 1860.

THE most striking characteristic of our modern light literature is its seriousness of aim. Of the works of fiction which yearly swarm from the press, the greater part are what have been called 'purpose novels;' and their purpose is nothing less than to form the reader's opinion on every possible subject of discussion, from the rights of man down to the fittings of a church. Whether it be that the Age, in its wisdom, will not condescend to amuse itself unless allured by the bait of instruction, or whether, in its levity, it will not swallow an argument unless sugared over by fiction, some future Macaulay will decide. But whatever the cause, the effect is unfortunate. A fictitious narrative in which the interest of the plot and the illustration of character are made subordinate to the purposes of controversy, may be a clever book, but can scarcely be a good novel; and advocacy disguised as a story is an attempt to kidnap the reader's prejudices instead of lawfully enlisting his reason in the writer's service. To state the opponent's case and dictate his arguments—to regulate

late the events which are to be his confutation—and to caricature at pleasure his character and sentiments, is a ready road to victory, but not to truth. Candour is no part of the writer's duty—he is only an advocate; he is not confined to fact—he is a novelist; he professes to draw public attention to a possible abuse, and he forgets that he is inditing an actual libel.

For the most part we find a sufficient antidote to this mischief in the practical instinct of our countrymen, which keeps their novel-reading distinct from the business of real life, and still more perhaps in the carelessness with which modern readers gallop through the story, without pausing to draw the inference, and, like full-fed fish, nibble off the bait while they reject the hook.

But in taking up the subject of school education, the controversial novelist has started a theme which secures a more attentive and sensitive audience. The anxious mother, who has hitherto sighed in vain to pierce the veil which shrouds school life from her view, devours with eager and credulous interest the narrative which professes to reveal its mysteries; and it must be with submission approaching to awe that she takes up a volume set forth with such an imposing parade of authority as Mr. Farrar's. He deprecates all merely literary criticism on his performance, and claims for it 'a higher merit than that of style—the merit of truthfulness.' His 'convictions about school-discipline' (he tells us, p. vii.) 'have arisen from intimate practical experience,' and his 'theories respecting it are derived from Solomon and St. Paul.' The 'second edition of his work,' he boasts, 'has been required before the book has been published a month,' and hence he seems to infer that the fidelity of his portrait has been stamped with the seal of public acknowledgment.

The other school novels on our list, though ushered in with less pomp, are not less strongly marked by the air of infallibility which conscious good intention is apt to assume. Yet with all due respect for the earnest convictions and excellent intentions of the several authors, we are bound to say that the picture of school-life which they present is neither faithful nor edifying; and in maintaining this opinion we have no fear of finding ourselves brought into irreverent collision with the authority of Solomon or St. Paul. These works appear to us to be full of exaggerations which can have no effect but to mislead and painfully unsettle the minds of parents. They exhibit a radical misconception as to the duties of masters, which is especially dangerous at the present time, as it falls in with certain popular errors on this subject; and the high ideal of schoolboy virtue which they set up by no means atones for the minute description of all sorts of mischief. Mr. Farrar's portrait of a school is as liable to misinterpretation

interpretation as the old frontispiece to Lilly's Grammar, which was intended to represent studious youth gathering fruit from the tree of learning, but which, in Squire Western's opinion, 'only taught boys to rob orchards.'

No practical conclusion can be drawn from the fictions of the novelist, however plausible. In fact, the absolute truth of which Mr. Farrar boasts is unattainable without more direct aid from inspiration than he claims. So infinitely varied are the causes which influence the formation of the character, so minute and so curiously interwoven, that it is impossible to predict their results certainly, or to trace their operations with accuracy. The same means seem to bring about the most contrary ends; and we are as much puzzled as the boor who is shown for the first time the attractive and repellent powers of the magnet. When one of Walter Scott's heroes boasts that, 'brought up by a sportsman uncle, he neither knew nor cared to know more than how to kill a grouse and follow a fox,' or when another tells us that, 'disgusted with the noise and coarseness of his relations' boon companions, he shut himself up in the deserted library, and became a bookworm,' in either case we acquiesce in the probability of the story. Even the autobiographer often fails to trace the moral growth and recall the feelings of his former self. He sees the past through the spectacles of the present, and judges the trials of youth by the feelings of age. When Rousseau attributes his hatred of injustice to an unjust punishment which he received as a child, he does not make us feel that a hatred for injustice of which self is the victim requires any such far-fetched explanation; and as in later life his morbid vanity resented as an injustice to himself every advantage possessed by others, he would probably have spent his days in a state of constant irritation against the world and the world's law, whether he had or had not been whipped at twelve years old for breaking a comb which he persisted to his dying day in believing he had never touched.

Even as to matters of fact, memory is most treacherous. Not one of the writers before us has succeeded in reproducing anything that resembles schoolboy dialogue, notwithstanding a very copious—though, as we suspect, not very correct—use of slang; but on this point we are too old to be critical. Tom Brown himself forgets that schoolboys call each other 'fellows,' and that they restrict the term 'boys' to that portion of the male progeny of human kind who do not belong to their own school, or to any of the great schools to which they extend the rights of fellowship; and if time can obliterate from memory this leading characteristic

teristic of school phraseology, how can the substance, the tone, and the spirit of schoolboy-talk be retained?

'Eric,' 'Basil the Schoolboy,' and 'Godfrey Davenant,' profess, like 'Tom Brown,' to be tales of school-days, and certainly the dramatis personæ are schoolboys and schoolmasters; but here the resemblance ends. 'Tom Brown,' among its many other merits, has that of being what its title denotes; and accordingly its principal incidents are a battle and a football-match. A certain amount of serious meaning and continuous interest is imparted to the narrative by Dr. Arnold's device of coupling the hero with Arthur, a boy of different temperament, whereby a beneficial influence is reciprocally exerted on the characters of both; and one is gradually refined into something of a scholar, while the other is hardened into something of a schoolboy. But all this is effected without the intervention even of a serious illness at school, or a painful bereavement at home, or of any one event disproportionate to the microcosm where the scene is laid. Far different is the treatment of the subject in the tales before us. 'Godfrey Davenant' is enlivened by fights with poachers, a murder, a rescue, and a trial and conviction at the assizes. The plot of 'Basil the Schoolboy' is wild beyond the extravagance of a fairy tale; and more horrors are crowded into the short space of Eric's school career, than in the course of a generation befall a whole provincial synod.

We have no wish to apply to these works the literary criticism which Mr. Farrar deprecates; but they challenge our notice as embodying collectively most of the popular misconceptions on the subject of education which we desire to combat. We should be sorry to give pain to writers whose motives and talents we respect; but by pointing out the exaggerations and extravagances into which they have been betrayed by the self-imposed exigencies of the novelist, we hope to dispel the nightmares they have conjured up to disturb the rest of anxious parents, and more especially to discourage in future the attempt to preach sermons to schoolboys and convey lessons to their masters, by means so ill suited to the candid discussion of a complicated and important subject. We must not, therefore, be accused of breaking a butterfly on a wheel, if for these purposes we subject these tales to a minute examination, from which, as literary efforts, they might well claim to be exempt; and we trust our older readers will be tolerant of details which remind them of their own school-days, and by resemblance or contrast recall

'The schoolboy spot

We ne'er forget, though we are there forgot.'

'Eric'

'Eric' on every account claims the precedence. The hero is a handsome, clever boy, brought up by an aunt and her daughter—abstractions of tenderness and refinement such as dwell in Woodbine Cottages, and fill up the backgrounds of the novelists' canvas. His parents return from India, and take him to a school of two hundred and fifty boys in the isle of Roslyn, where they hire a house for a twelvemonth to overlook his progress. The scenery described is that of the Isle of Man, where it seems there exists a large school, though differing, as Mr. Farrar assures us, in all its arrangements from the Roslyn school of his creation. This we willingly believe. We should be sorry to think any existing place of education could be identified with the ill-managed Pandemonium of his tale.

Eric, we are told, 'was proudly conscious of his advantages of mind and person.' It is worth noting, however, that the perception of personal beauty is not developed early, and a child would be almost unconscious of his attractions if they were not constantly dwelt on by the folly of those about him; intellectual superiority can be discovered only by comparison with other intellects. It is one of the disadvantages of the homebred youth that he has no gauge wherewith to measure his powers; and at the outset the difficulty of first lessons keeps him humble, unless he has the ill luck to be much under-worked and over-praised. Eric, under the care of his model aunt, would hardly have known himself to be handsome, and certainly had no reason to think himself clever. He had been sent as a day-scholar to a village school, kept by a crack-brained pedagogue, where he had passed his time in terror and disgrace, and had 'learnt only a few declensions.' At this point of the story we supposed Mr. Farrar meant to illustrate the danger of sending a boy of quick parts and ambitious temper, without due preparation, to a public school. We expected him to trace the ill effects of mortification on a proud spirit, and to show how Eric, on finding himself unable to keep up in the school-business with boys who were his inferiors in capacity and general information, was led to gratify his love of distinction (the mainspring of schoolboy action) by making himself pre-eminent in idleness and insubordination. This would have been a most useful moral, and one especially needed at the present day. But no such thing. Eric, on his first appearance in school, construes Cæsar by inspiration, and takes several places. He is in every way richly endowed by nature. Without previous practice he shows not less proficiency in all school-games. His high spirits and popular manners make him a general favourite, and he instantly attracts about him all the best society of the place,—Owen, who is the type of the studious, well-

well-conducted 'sap;' Montagu, who represents the well-principled, high-bred gentleman; Russell, a paragon such as the school 'world ne'er saw,' but such, nevertheless, as the author is justified in setting up as a plumbline whereby to measure the declension of his other characters from the perpendicular.

With all this, however, Eric's path is not one of flowers. From the first minute of his entrance into the school he has the ill-luck to incur the hatred of a monster of malignity called Barker. This boy is a caricature; but, nevertheless, the class of which he is a specimen exists, and forms a prominent feature of all large schools. Boys originally ill-taught, and idle or dull, who have allowed successive generations of their class-fellows to pass them in the race, and whose parents are willing to defer the evil moment of deciding 'what is to be done with them,' are sent back year after year to confirm themselves in habits of idleness, to be the plague of the masters, and the tyrants and tempters of the lower forms. So active was Dr. Arnold in getting rid of such boys on every possible pretext, that his upper servant, whose duty it was to consign them to their parents, was supposed at one time to spend no small part of each half-year in trains and post-chaises; and by this decisive course, though it was much censured at the time, the boys themselves were in most instances not less benefited than the school they left.\* Rarely without a change of scene and circumstances can that curative process begin which so often turns the coarse bully of our school-days into a useful member of society. We have no means of tracing the discipline by which the hard-working clergyman, the hearty country squire, or the nervous hypochondriac 'shivering at a breeze,' has been evolved out of the thick-headed Hercules who was once our terror. But such transmutations are familiar to all who, by attendance at anniversary school-dinners, are in the habit of keeping in view the companions of their boyish days. Not all, however, who are slow in intellect and backward in their studies are to be included in the class of which Barker is the exaggerated type. Many such, with merit far beyond that of their more brilliant contemporaries, persist in plodding on with their work, regular in conduct, unsoured in temper, and are not provoked by humiliation to display their only superiority—their physical strength—by oppression. From the masters they rarely obtain the respect which is their due, but the epithet 'old' marks their popularity among their schoolfellows. No boys give a surer promise of becoming useful

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\* Whether he was always judicious in these proceedings, and whether he sufficiently considered the painful consequences that might attend them, we do not here stop to inquire.

and respectable men ; and that by the competitive system they are shut out from all the prizes, and many of the occupations of life, is one of the strongest objections to its general introduction. Their fault as a class is, that, indolent and diffident of their influence, they do not exert themselves as they might to oppose the evil they disapprove. It is to the monitorial system alone that we can look for an adequate counterpoise to the physical strength of the bullies. But at Roslyn there were no monitors, and Eric suffers on without redress, till one day his father comes into the play-ground and severely horsewhips his tormentor. School-boys and schoolmasters too must be changed since our days, if such an interference would not be resented as an outrage on the dignity of the school. But at Roslyn this was thought a 'satisfactory castigation,' and found general sympathy and approbation.

Subsequently Barker concocts a plot for Eric's ruin, with a degree of perverse ingenuity and malignity which we are happy to believe is quite out of even the worst schoolboy nature. He placards on the wall an insult to Mr. Gordon, the under-master of the form, and contrives a long train of circumstantial evidence to fix the blame on Mr. Farrar's hero. The head-master is puzzled how to act, and refers the investigation of the mystery to a judge and jury chosen by the boys from among themselves: an incident which appears to us as probable as the trial by jury which Miss Edgeworth in her charming tales for children supposes to be got up by the little Lazzaroni boys on the Chiaja at Naples, under the auspices of Arthur, the English footman. At first of course everything seems to go against the accused ; but in due time (also of course) by the ingenuity and zeal of his friends truth is brought to light. Barker is convicted of imposture, and after being made to run the gauntlet by the boys, and flogged by the master (the double execution is hardly fair), he is publicly expelled. Eric's character is re-established with Mr. Gordon, by whom he had hitherto been misunderstood, and he is much petted by Mr. Gordon's colleague, the gentle Mr. Rose.

These two under-masters, who are evidently favourites with the author, seem to have taken St. Dominic and St. Francis for their respective models. But neither of those saints would have made a good usher of a school. Mr. Gordon's 'lofty nature gives him such a horror of deceit that he considers it impossible' (where had Mr. Gordon lived?) ; and his blind confidence throws all sorts of unusual and unnecessary temptations into the boys' way. But if accident forces on him the discovery of what he considers disingenuous, his indignation knows no bounds. He punishes with rigour, and blasts the culprit with his 'withering scorn' while he is caning him. Now  
all



all this is very silly and very mischievous. It is true the standard of boyish morality is low and capricious, and a judicious master may do much to raise it. Schoolboys have sense, but it is overlaid with much conventional nonsense. They have good feeling; but, like the religion of the Pharisees of old, it is perverted by their traditions: yet an appeal rightly made to either will be answered. To show confidence was one of Dr. Arnold's methods of teaching his boys to deserve it; but his was not such a confidence as is left to be inferred, resembling negligence and indifference rather than deliberate trust, but a confidence pointedly reposed. This method may no doubt succeed if applied with judgment, and a thorough appreciation of the state of public feeling; but to set up at once a standard of exaggerated elevation, and to brand with disgrace all who fall short of it, is the sure way to revolt public feeling by a flagrant injustice, and to provoke a sullen resistance. Boys' morality, after all, has a certain rationale on which it is grounded. It does not usually reprobate the use of fraudulent means to enable a boy to get through his ordinary work without disgrace; but it will not tolerate his employing them to attain distinction. In the one case he is cheating only the master and injuring only himself; in the other he is cheating and injuring 'other fellows,' with whom by his code of honour (in all decent schools) he is bound to deal fairly. And if 'cribs' were used, as we are told they were, in competitive examinations at Roslyn, the blame must rest chiefly on the mismanagement and want of tact of masters like Mr. Gordon.

Mr. Farrar's prime favourite, Mr. Rose, is a man so gentle that he allows himself to be despised and insulted by his pupils till he is roused to some sudden act of rigour, which, in its excess, looks more like vengeance than justice, and takes them all by surprise. He does not seem aware that he has practically been laying a trap for them, and, absorbed in the consciousness of his own good intentions,

'He wonders at their vice, and not his folly.'

His life is passed in an ecstatic fervour, quite incompatible with the sober state of mind which the most pious tutor will find necessary for the due performance of his duties.

'Many a weary hour,' says Mr. Farrar, 'had he toiled for them in private, when his weak frame was harassed by suffering; many a sleepless night had he wrestled for them in prayer, when, for their sakes, his many troubles were laid aside. Work on, Walter Rose! and "He who seeth in secret will reward you openly." But expect no gratitude from those for whose salvation you, like the great tender-hearted apostle, would almost be ready to wish yourself accursed.'—*Eric*, p. 248.

A schoolmaster

A schoolmaster 'should be made of sterner stuff.' If he spends sleepless nights in wrestling with Heaven for his pupils' welfare, he must dream away his days in neglecting the ordinary means with which he has been entrusted to promote it. Human nerves cannot stand the tension to which Mr. Farrar would subject them. It does not enter into our present purpose to discuss so grave a subject as the frame of mind which befits a conscientious and religious schoolmaster. The prayers, meditations, and letters of the late Dr. Arnold offer the most perfect exemplar; and by their sobriety, not less than their earnest reality, they present the strongest contrast to the imaginary raptures of Mr. Farrar's model. In all things Mr. Rose is guided by his feelings. He singles out a select few (by the wicked nicknamed Rosebuds) whom he favours with his intimacy and with invitations to 'suppers in the library;' and he further marks his varying opinion of his pupils, and with it his varying affection, by using, according to their behaviour, their Christian or surnames. All this we believe to be most objectionable. But to this important point we shall have occasion to return presently.

The errors of the subordinates are by no means repaired by the head of the school, Dr. Rowlands, who, although he is a paragon of piety and learning, permits under his own roof an amount of disorder and misrule which makes his house the centre of corruption; and, as no explanation is offered of this phenomenon, the homebred reader is led to the conclusion that such is the normal state of schools. At Roslyn, however, such as it is described, Eric, having got rid of his oppressor, does very well. His parents return to India, in the comfortable persuasion that, by this successful beginning, his future well-being is secured; and so in real life it probably would have been; but as a hero he is foredoomed to point a moral; and so he is 'taken up' by bigger boys of less steady principles, who lead him into mischief and divide his affections with Mr. Rose and his former associates. But while he is thus balancing, like Hercules, between vice and virtue, an event occurs which might be supposed to decide him for ever. During the vacation, or rather the relaxed discipline, of Easter, Eric and his two friends, Montagu and Russell, take a stroll by the sea-side, and climb to the top of a rocky promontory, called the Stack, which, at high-water, is cut off by a wide channel from the mainland. As the reader no doubt anticipates, the boys prolong their stay till their return is impeded by the advancing tide. Eric, muscular and active, leaps the foaming gulf which already separates them from the mainland; Montagu manages to scramble through it; Russell makes an ineffectual leap and is dashed against the rocks. Maimed, bruised, and incapable

incapable of making any further exertion, he with difficulty regains the ledge from which he made his unsuccessful spring. Eric despatches Montagu to the town for help, and at the risk of his life leaps back over the boiling channel, which has widened since he crossed it, and is widening every instant. Return is impossible. He carries his wounded friend to the highest point of the promontory, beyond the reach of the tide, and there supports him in his arms during the cold, tempestuous night. Dr. Rowlands and a party of sailors come to the nearest point of the mainland, but they can do nothing more than hoist lights as signals to animate the boys' courage, by showing that their friends are on the alert to save them. The life-boat is not at hand; another boat, after many and persevering efforts to reach the rock, is forced to put back; and at last the rescue of the sufferers is effected only at the ebb of the tide.

Eric's conduct on this occasion is nothing less than heroic, and he is deservedly presented with a medal by the Humane Society. But he has risked his life in vain: his friend has received a fatal injury; the fractured leg is amputated, but to no purpose; and the patient sinks after a long and lingering illness, during which he is attended by Eric and his other friends. His piety, which is scarcely overdrawn, has a salutary effect upon all—especially on his cousin Upton, the big boy who had hitherto led Eric astray. The boys in general are deeply affected, and the tone of the whole school is improved. On Eric himself the impression is deepened by frequently-recurring scenes of advice, consolation, and leave-taking. And the next half-year, with good resolutions strengthened and his early friendships revived, he returns bringing with him his brother Vernon, a well-disposed, engaging boy, to whom he is tenderly attached, and the care of whom gives him a fresh motive for steadiness. Eric's relapse at this period of his story is (happily) far from natural. It is, indeed, only too probable that any child of Adam may fall; but as the author, with the omniscience which belongs to him as such, undertakes to explain to us the causes of his fall, we are entitled to object that they are insufficient. A thirst for the applause of fools is indeed, at all ages, one of the strongest temptations, and it acts with peculiar force on a lively schoolboy; but Eric had reached a pinnacle where he need no longer 'stoop to conquer'; and, moreover, by his heroic devotion to his friend, he had raised the standard by which he himself would be judged in future. Schoolboys, however lenient to themselves, are severe judges of all whose circumstances differ in any degree from their own. A fog is very much shocked at an oath in the mouth of his master who has just taken the Sacrament; and Eric, far from being applauded,

applauded, would be censured, even by the least straitlaced, for conduct unworthy of Russell's preserver.

However, this was not the case at Roslyn. As time rolls on, a big boy comes to the school, whose expulsion from the worst school in Ireland has been 'treacherously concealed' from Dr. Rowlands. Why this best of men and worst of schoolmasters took a pupil above the usual age from the worst school in Ireland without a character we are not told. And this evil spirit perverts public opinion, and corrupts the whole school, excepting Eric's own set, but not excepting Eric himself, who 'truckles to him to preserve his popularity.' The mischief which such a boy could effect is, we are happy to believe, much overdrawn. He has no qualities to account for the influence he acquires, except a precocious knowledge of evil, and a perverse addiction to it; and these, happily, are not enough. If the contact of evil had effects as deadly, as certain, and as durable as these novels represent, the world would be one mass of contamination. A new boy, also, called Wildney, very young, bright and engaging, but an incarnation of mischief, becomes a favourite of Eric's, and (inverting the more usual order of things) the tempter and corrupter of his senior. Blindly following the lead of these new associates, Eric neglects his brother, cuts his old friends, quarrels with Montagu, and insults his tutor, Mr. Rose, who reluctantly, and last of all, like a departing good angel, bids him farewell. From this point his downward career is rapid. One disgraceful exploit leads to another, each inconsistent with Eric's previous character; and the whole as a series incompatible with the discipline of even the most disorderly school. Wildney, with the dexterity of a practised housebreaker, teaches him to break out at night. On one occasion they perform this feat for the purpose of stealing pigeons belonging to their schoolfellows at a neighbouring boarding-house (an incident of all others the most improbable); they are disturbed and pursued, but escape detection, though five pounds' reward is offered for the apprehension of the supposed burglars. Under the same guidance Eric joins a club of the worst boys in the school to drink at the 'Jolly Herring'—a low pot-house of infamous repute—kept by a scoundrel called Billy, a discarded servant of the school, and from this man he procures supplies of spirits for home consumption at the drunken revels which are nightly held without fear of check or discovery in the head-master's own house. Thus he becomes a confirmed drunkard; his health is affected; his beauty is disfigured; and his countenance and manners betray the coarseness and brutality of his habits. At last, one night he and his familiar Wildney come reeling in to prayers so drunk that it attracts the attention

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of the blindest of masters; and for this offence the two boys are publicly expelled; but subsequently, on their own passionate entreaties and promises of amendment, and at the intercession of the whole school, they are reinstated.

Eric seems now thoroughly frightened. He is reconciled to his friends, reunited to his brother Vernon, whose career has been a sort of reflection of his own; and once more there seems a dawning of hope for this ill-fated youth. Another dreadful shock to strengthen his good resolutions awaits him. On a fine half-holiday he goes out with his old friends to row on the bay, while his brother sets out to look for birds'-nests among the rocks. On returning, the boating party see something lying at the foot of the cliff; the vague alarm which its unusual appearance excites soon deepens into terror, and they find the mangled body of Vernon, who has fallen from a rock 300 feet high.

It might now be supposed the hero's cup of bitterness was full, but this is but the beginning of sorrows. He is persecuted by the landlord of the 'Jolly Herring,' who, although strictly forbidden the premises, finds means to run in and out of this wonderful school at pleasure, and extorts from him all his money, on the pretext of bills, long since paid or never due, for former carouses. At last, when the wretch can obtain no further payment for the past nor custom for the future, he threatens, unless bribed to silence, to reveal the secret of the robbery, of which he has become possessed, we are not informed how.

Eric is now reduced to despair. His sins seem to rise up in judgment against him, and to close the gates of mercy upon his too late repentance. He is without resource; he has already exhausted every pretext for obtaining supplies from his aunt; but the cricket-money is kept in a box in his friend's study. He will look at it—only look at it. For a moment he puts it in his pocket; but is instantly struck with remorse, and has barely time to replace it before he is rejoined by his companions. Shortly afterwards he is horrified to find that in his trepidation he has left one sovereign of the stolen money in his pocket. Had he not been the hero of a novel, he would have sought an opportunity of restoring it; but, with heroic inconsiderateness, he throws it into the sea. No ill result, however, follows from this blunder except his own distress of mind and consequent confusion of manner, for shortly afterwards the whole of the cricket-fund is abstracted by Billy himself. When the theft is discovered, many circumstances combine to point suspicions against Eric. Even his friends believe him guilty. On the night previous to the investigation he lets himself down from his bedroom window and flies to a gin-shop frequented by sailors. He hears of a small lugger

luggery about to sail the next morning, and gets himself taken on board as a cabin-boy. There he is brutally treated by the master, a monster of cruelty and ferocity, who breaks his kneecap with a kick, and flogs him unmercifully with a rope's-end. At the end of the voyage he finds himself at an English port, and makes his escape, absolutely penniless and in rags; but he is still too proud to make himself known to one of his school-fellows, whom he accidentally meets. He prefers begging. In spite of his injured knee he walks home—it would puzzle the College of Surgeons to explain how—and after having the satisfaction of hearing that his character is cleared by the detection of the real thief, he dies contrite and happy in the arms of his affectionate aunt.

The tragic incidents of Mr. Farrar's tale are powerfully and graphically narrated, but they are quite inadmissible, each individually, and still more collectively as a series, in a picture of school life. We are assured that many of them are literally true, but this is no excuse for their introduction here. It is true that Lord Russell was tried for high treason, and true that he was assisted in his defence by his wife. But when Mr. Rogers, in his now forgotten poem of 'Human Life' (which is, nevertheless, a very beautiful composition), introduces a State trial, with a wife for counsel, as one of the normal incidents of a country squire's career, he only betrays the poverty of his subject and his own want of skill to select more fitting embellishments. Mr. Farrar's book is not intended as a plea for private education. On the contrary, it contains a laboured and very satisfactory defence of public schools. But to readers who believe his facts, his facts speak more strongly than his arguments. If masters who rise so far above the average of intellectual and moral excellence fail so egregiously in carrying out any of the objects of education, what can be expected of ordinary men who do not disguise that they have taken up tuition as a means of making a livelihood? \* If a boy of the rarest gifts

\* Mr. Sewell tells us in the preface to the *Journal at St. Columba*, p. xxx., that a distinguishing feature of his ideal of education is, that the task of tuition is to be a labour of love; and that this disinterested character of the proposed institution will fill the pupils with respect and gratitude. To this we positively object. 'Those who serve the altar must live by the altar.' The education of the upper classes of a great country cannot be left to charity; and boys must be much improved in their habits of calculation, if they care whether their fathers pay much or little. They inquire very little into their master's motives, but are severe in scrutinizing his acts, and will not be grateful to him for a caning because it is inflicted gratuitously. But as we read on we find that 'those engaged in teaching were to receive whatever was necessary for their comfort, and would preserve them from pecuniary anxiety, and supply all their ordinary wants,' &c. How are the young gentlemen, or indeed any one else, to distinguish between these advantages and a salary? How few nshers get as much!

and noblest disposition like Eric, so guarded by warm affections, so early imbued with religious feeling, so schooled by severe affliction, rushes, almost without temptation, into the most disgraceful courses, what can the anxious mother hope for an average boy, inheriting his full share of human imperfections, possessed of moderate talents and small application, and exhibiting all the thoughtlessness, self-indulgence, and selfishness of boyhood? It is the fate of the hero which conveys the moral; on him the reader's attention is concentrated; and it is vain to point out that all the subordinate dramatis personæ, even his tempters and accomplices, turn out well,—all but the unhappy Eric himself, predestined to evil from the menacing title-page to the Greek doxology with which the work concludes.

Mr. Monro's tale is written in a spirit more decidedly hostile to schools, and with much of that indiscriminate bitterness which is now-a-days so often employed to give point and spirit to 'purpose novels.' Schoolmasters, schoolmistresses, schoolboys and their parents, and, above all, the abstract 'gentlemanlike,' are the objects of his keenest satire. His school, neither private nor public, but uniting the faults of both, would indeed justify his severity, but fortunately such a school is nowhere to be found. Dr. Dobson, the master, is a prodigy of pompous absurdity and time-serving imbecility. The hero, Basil, the heir of Arundel, has never before been separated from a romantic, half-cracked mother, the unacknowledged and deserted wife of a man of great consequence. But, like Eric, he brings with him to school a large stock of scholarship and of proficiency in all popular games. Assaulted, on first arriving, by a blackguard called Dance, who insists on his swearing a round oath and making a promise never to say his prayers, he is rescued by a powerful aristocratic boy called Talbot, who awes both scholars and master. In Dr. Dobson's school there are no monitors, but there is a self-elected club who take upon themselves monitorial authority and with it the modest title of 'Aristoi,' and into this exclusive society Basil, on the second day of his arrival, has the good fortune to be elected on the recommendation of Talbot. This obligation he more than repays by thoroughly convincing Talbot, in the course of their first walk, that, though he has hitherto acted rightly, he has done so on low principles, and that it is his duty to make a more decided and manly profession of Christianity. As the first fruits of conversion, he exacts that Talbot should henceforth protect 'Willie,' an angelic orphan, lately brought from a sainted mother's deathbed to this hell upon earth which Mr. Monro calls an 'academy.' Willie, of course, becomes the pet aversion of the tyrant Dance, who robs him of his mother's portrait, and at last,



last, with a set of congenial spirits, lays a plot to throw him into the rapid, swollen, and dangerous river by the moonlight of a cold winter evening ; and for this extravagant piece of barbarity, as well as for all other bullying, Mr. *Monro* makes all parents responsible : for, according to him, bullying is caused by the shameful indifference of parents to the sufferings of their children at school (p. 64). *Willie* is whirled out of sight like a cork, but very unlike a small boy who cannot swim, till he is close to the wheels of the mill, and there (of course) he is rescued by *Basil* and *Talbot*. He is put to bed, and in four days is carried off by galloping consumption. He is attended by the boys, and, as far as appears, by them only. They send for a clergyman, in spite of the hesitation of *Dr. Dobson*, who fears the censure of the 'Low Church' on account of some opinions they are supposed to entertain with respect to the Sacrament. We hear of no medical attendance, no coroner's inquest, and the schoolmaster discreetly asks no questions. *Dance*, having wealthy connections in the neighbourhood, is a prime favourite of his ; and though this boy is such a blackguard that the '*Aristoi*' had written to their several parents requesting to be removed unless he is sent away, yet now that he is raised from a bully to a felon their objections to him are obviated, and he remains unpunished and unreclaimed. No active magistrates, no alarmed parents raise any inquiry ; no comment is made in the neighbourhood, except by a 'gentleman-like' private tutor, who expresses his satisfaction, on 'poor *Dobson's* account, that it was not an older and more important pupil' (p. 111). After this specimen of extravagance it would be needless to pursue further the trials and adventures of the heir of *Arundel*. If fictions so preposterous are admitted as possibilities, the case against schools is already decided. We should suspect *Mr. Monro* had never been at any school, public or private ; but if we are mistaken, his book only affords the stronger proof how little grown-up men, even when possessed of *Mr. Monro's* abilities, are able to trace the workings of the boyish mind, or even to recall the life, the habits, and language of boys.

'*Godfrey Davenant*' is written with a more distinct and definite purpose than either of the stories we have just passed in review, and is worth attention as it gives the sentiments which of late years more or less influence the minds of many on the subject of education. On the story we need not dwell at length. The hero, a 'romantic boy of great talents,' and, as usual, inspired with untaught scholarship, goes to his first school, kept by *Dr. Wilson*, the model schoolmaster. He is, as usual, on his first entrance assaulted by the bully and rescued by the paragon, with whom, as usual, he cements a lasting

friendship. But it is not by the ordinary incidents of school life that his mind is formed. He loses the family estate; he loses his father; he rescues his friend from the grasp of an athletic murderer, and nurses him during his long and doubtful convalescence. He is harassed with theological difficulties which do not usually fall to the lot of schoolboys. His mother is a good woman, but she is '*only religious*,' and wants steadiness and method because she does not attach sufficient importance to the authority of the Church. She is much given to something which the author calls '*religionism*' and 'to certain little green silk volumes with gilt letters.' She gives the late Mr. Davenant's living (a family one) to a Low Church man, who discontinues the evening service on Sunday in order to give a lecture on Thursday, because that is a day on which the Church has appointed no service (a striking instance of the advantage of prescribing an opponent's conduct), and he argues with the hero in a way which the young theologian, though modestly professing ignorance, does not find it difficult to confute (p. 222). But in truth, the schoolmaster is the hero of the tale. The object is to establish what the writer considers 'Church principles,' and to recommend by a fictitious narrative a theory of education which, we believe, in certain instances has been practically carried out, and has, moreover, influenced the practice of many well-meaning men who are professedly the administrators of a different system. Starting from the point admitted by all—that the main object of education is to form the Christian character—the author maintains that the Church ought to be in some way a more prominent engine of school government than he conceives it to be at present. This idea he expresses as follows:—

'One use of this tale, it may be hoped, will be to show how necessary it is that a Church education should be brought to bear upon such temperaments [as that of the hero]; the sympathies of the Church to induce affection and confidence, the system and doctrine of the Church to restrain, chasten, and confirm. A cold, formal mode of treatment, and highly intellectual training with religion, but without Church doctrine and guidance, and the unsettling tendencies of popular religionism, which at once excite and neglect the feeling: all these injure and often ruin youths of this class in one way or another, increasing their positive faults, and not supplying their deficiencies.'—p. 8.

If we turn to Mr. Heygate's narrative for the commentary on this vaguely-expressed theory, we find that Dr. Wilson, his model schoolmaster, expects to effect the reformation of his school by introducing the observance of feast-days, and that his hero on  
going

going up to Oxford is filled with devotional rapture by the music and architecture of Magdalen Chapel. But there is no novelty in this; the effect of rubrical services, chanting, and tracery on the minds of schoolboys is not a matter of speculation. Eton, Winchester, and probably most of the other old foundations, have from the time of the Reformation retained in their beautiful chapels the cathedral services and the observance of the feasts and fasts of the Church. And the experience of three centuries enables us to judge how slight is the power thus obtained of exciting devotional feelings in the minds of boys. Nor do we rate more highly the author's plan of giving greater prominence to certain doctrines, more particularly associated in his mind with the idea of 'the Church.' It is very natural that religious men who have mixed up a good deal of polemics with their religion should attach great value to doctrines endeared to themselves by controversy. But the peculiar charm of these doctrines is lost on those to whom they offer no such association of ideas; and though they may powerfully affect minds already imbued with deep religious convictions, they can scarcely be made intelligible to those on whom elementary truths have no power. A schoolboy who will not treat Sunday with reverence, though he has been taught to believe its observance a Divine command, will scarcely be moved by the Church's injunction to observe a saint's day. If he is not awed by the omnipresence of God, it is needless to lecture him about his guardian angel. If his knowledge of Gospel truth will not deter him from sin, he will not be affected by exhortations to contemplate his high baptismal privileges; and the young tyrant who has not reflection enough to perceive the cruelty of bullying will hardly give it up because it is an offence against the communion of saints.

But to carry out his system, Mr. Heygate would invest his schoolmaster with powers never yet united in him before. His model, Dr. Wilson, is the friend, the father, the priest, and the spiritual director of his pupils. He admits Davenant as a boarder, with a 'priest's blessing,' to be received by the patient on his knees (where is the rubrical form of this benediction?); and he dismisses him on leaving the school with the same ceremony. The author apologizes for not having made 'confession' one of the prominent elements of Dr. Wilson's discipline, but 'confession,' he ingenuously adds, 'was not then thought of;' and without pausing to defend the monstrous assumption that so vital a point of doctrine and discipline is an open question, he complacently remarks, 'had Dr. Wilson been educating Davenant in the year 1852, he would have induced him to open his heart and clear his burdened conscience' (p. x.).

We must not allow Mr. Heygate to entrap us into a dispute about points on which the Church has spoken so clearly, and on which sound Churchmen have so entirely made up their minds, as auricular confession and its introduction into the scheme of English education. Even in Roman Catholic schools it is exclusively a religious ordinance, and the Romish Church is too wise and too humane to lay such a snare for youthful consciences as to make the master the confessor. If good Dr. Wilson had attempted to hear confessions 'in the year 1852,' long before the beginning of 1853 he would have lost all his scholars. We have known cases where the mere rumour, whether ill or well founded we know not, that encouragement had been given to something approaching to confession has done serious damage to foundations of a very much higher rank than Mr. Heygate's model grammar-school.

But in fact our difference with Mr. Heygate is more important still. The great question which lies at the root of all theories of education is, to what extent should the instructor endeavour to direct and control the moral and intellectual being of the pupil. The Roman Catholic ideal, which is developed in its greatest perfection in their priestly seminaries, is to bring the mind of the ruling power to bear with the greatest, the most constant, and the most equable force on the will and the intellect of its subjects; by vigilant superintendence, as nearly omnipresent as human ingenuity can make it, to check the progress of evil and to prevent among the pupils the growth of any *esprit de corps* or public opinion of their own, which may give them the consistency of a body politic and counteract the influence of the guiding will.

This is clearly the idea of education which Mr. Heygate's novel is meant to develop, and to this his theory of Churchmanship, with its embellishments of priestly benedictions and auricular confession, is merely subsidiary and subordinate.

The whole system of Protestant education is based on contrary principles. We believe it is not in the power of man, or of any institutions he can frame, to mould the spirit of his fellow so that it shall take the precise form he chooses to impress, and no other; and that the attempt to do too much prevents the full development of the faculties, and in its failure cramps and distorts the whole moral being. But self-reliance and the rejection of experience are common attributes of zeal, and many well-meaning men, who would be shocked at the imputation of copying a Jesuit model, would fondly endeavour to obtain an influence over their pupils greater than fallible man can wisely exert over his fellow, or his fellow safely admit. Schools, we are told, have been founded on the plan of converting all the machinery of ecclesiastical

ecclesiastical discipline into an engine of government, and it is the day-dream of amiable enthusiasts to establish between the boys and the authorities sentimental relations of affection which turn the whole working of the school into a matter of feeling. All this we believe to be pregnant with danger.

Dr. Arnold was the first master of a great public school who so far made himself the spiritual guide of his scholars that he took on himself the duty of preaching regularly to them, and a great improvement it was to substitute his stirring appeals for the pointless generalities of some superannuated chaplain; but he saw great objection to turning the pulpit into an engine of school government, and he prescribed to himself restrictions on this point which Mr. Sewell in his sermons at Radley (noticed by us in a former number, *Q. Rev.*, vol. *xvii.*), and we believe some others, have not thought it necessary to follow. He did wisely and well in reminding schoolboys that their school duties were part and parcel of their duties as Christians; but it is a grievous mistake to establish too close a relation between religious obligation and the routine business of a school. It is much easier to lower the services of religion to school exercises than to raise school exercises to the rank of religious duties. If boyish levity is branded with the heinousness of wilful sin, a few of the timid and sensitive may be oppressed by the overwhelming weight of such an idea, but the great majority of hardier spirits will be revolted by its injustice, and in their rebellion will defy divine and scholastic law alike. If parents act unwisely who visit every childish offence with sentimental punishments, and appeal on all occasions to their children's love, though that love undoubtedly exists as one of the strongest of our natural instincts,—what shall we say of the attempt to govern the turbulence of boyhood by the love of masters which has yet to be created, and the love of God which for the most part exists but as a latent spark only too liable to be quenched for ever by injudicious treatment?

At St. Columba's, as Mr. Sewell tells us (*Journal*, p. 237), on occasion of some unseemly frolic, aggravated by a delay to give the offenders up to justice, the authorities judged it expedient to inflict the awful sentence of excommunication. The chapel bell was forbidden to toll; the door was closed; the organ ceased to peal; the Fellows—in less pompous style, the Tutors—would no longer enlighten the hall with their presence; and they withdrew with clouded brows and averted eyes to the solitude of their common room;—what was the consequence? The boys, relieved by the absence of their superiors, got through dinner with much cheerfulness, and some perhaps began to find that on striking the balance the advantages were in favour of excommunication.

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When this was reported to the moody and self-exiled High Table, their dignity was offended and their pride alarmed. Their whole theory of government was jeopardized. 'Levity under excommunication' immediately assumed, in their eyes, the character of a statutable offence. When the monster Marat was stabbed by Charlotte Corday, the portress of his hôtel was guillotined for not having been sufficiently affected,—'pour n'avoir pas assez pleuré.' This is the only precedent we know for making a want of feeling the pretext for an execution. But the authorities of St. Columba required no precedent: the crime in their eyes was patent and monstrous, and they inflicted a severe caning. It was the first excommunication they had tried, and at the first trial they found that excommunication has no power unless backed by the secular arm. When the writ '*De excommunicato capiendo*' no longer could take effect, the Church did well to spare the '*brutum fulmen*' of her censures. And how much better would the tutors of St. Columba have done to proceed at once to a boyish punishment for a boyish offence, than to attempt, for so disproportionate a cause, to work on the boys' religious feelings—an attempt injurious if it succeeds, and ridiculous if it fails! After the caning, what must the victims have thought of 'the pious horror and holy grief' of their executioners, however sincere it may have really been? and how little would they have grieved if they had known (as we are assured was the case) that the 'poor subwarden cried all night!'

When a schoolmaster writes a novel about schools, he naturally views the subject from a schoolmaster's point of view, and becomes, perhaps unconsciously, his own hero. He pictures to himself his own favour as the highest reward, his own influence as the most powerful agency in the formation of character; he dwells with pride on the gratitude with which he is to be rewarded by the good, and with deep self-commiseration on the insolence and contumacy of the bad, who are introduced only to be ultimately flogged and expelled for the satisfaction of poetical justice and the author's dignity.

But the part he has assigned himself requires little less than omniscience to undertake it. Most schoolboys wear a mask, and the mask more often conceals their good qualities than their bad.

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\* Of St. Columba we know nothing, and beg not to be understood to express any opinion. We take the story just as we find it in Mr. Sewell's pages. In the preceding remarks we must disclaim all reference to any existing place of education. We are treating merely of certain principles as they are laid down in the works before us—principles which appear to us erroneous, but which have evidently taken strong hold on the minds of several earnest thinkers. Unhappily a time of zeal is always a time of error, and it is difficult to oppose the error without seeming to check the zeal.

In his attempts to awe by his frowns, the schoolmaster will often find himself involved in a war with a portion of his pupils who are by no means the worst spirits of the place; a disastrous war in which the pride of neither party will yield, and in which, for the most part, the rebels get the victory. The authorities have the power to punish; but a hardy spirit defies punishment, and a dexterous one evades it. Certain positive limits cannot be transgressed with impunity, but within these a clever boy can inflict infinite mortification on sensitive tutors, and can remain nearly as idle and insubordinate as to his own waywardness seems good. And yet the hardness which has resisted the coercion of months has often been known to break down before a word spoken in season. Why is this word so seldom spoken?

But even if the schoolmaster were gifted with the truest instinct for reading character, the ostentatious display of favour and displeasure would not be the best method to reclaim the bad or confirm the good. The sentimental theory of government would neither be accepted as true nor acknowledged as just. It does not tax a boy's credulity too far to believe that his master has his improvement at heart; but affection is a plant of slow growth,—an 'ex-officio' affection, regulated exactly by desert for each member of a perpetually changing body, is a legal fiction against which the subtle instinct of boys revolts. No human heart has so much love, no human head so much perspicacity. If the schoolmaster can work himself into the belief that he is in a constant state of love, he will soon fancy his boys are in a perpetual state of ingratitude. Thus Mr. Heygate upbraids them for their thankless insensibility to the prayers of which they are the objects (p. 87), and 'feeling' becomes the prime mover in a business from which it ought to be the chief aim to exclude feeling, and its synonym—temper. If, in imitation of Dr. Wilson, the schoolmaster makes his favour the prize of merit, he will find that he excites only jealousy and irritation, and not the emulation which he desires. To make indulgences of any kind the reward of good conduct is a double mistake; it deprives goodness of its elevated disinterestedness, and it fails to hold out a real inducement to exertion. No kindness the master can show will make up for the alienation of schoolfellows from the object of his supposed partiality; and it is not uncommon to see a boy goaded by the master's injudicious praise into turbulence and idleness in order to recover the esteem of those on whose sympathy, after all, his happiness mainly depends. It is difficult not to be attracted by the beaming look of docile intelligence, and still more difficult not to be revolted by the vacant stare of listless apathy or the defiant scowl of contumacious idleness: but the utmost reserve should be used in giving



giving expression to such feelings. We do not mean that the schoolmaster should display the total insensibility of the deity of Epicurus who—

‘Nec bene promeritis capitur neque tangitur irâ’—

but he should be cautious to praise the best of his boys so as not to excite envy or the suspicion of favouritism, and to treat the worst so as to leave the door open to amendment. By anger and contempt a boy may easily be driven to despair or defiance, but never yet was he frowned or shamed into reformation. The fear of disgrace as an engine of school government is much insisted on by theorists. But the efficiency of disgrace as a punishment is gone the moment it becomes necessary to inflict it. Boys will not consider themselves disgraced by any punishment for a fault which they do not hold to be disgraceful: their quick instinct tells them—‘*Le crime fait la honte, et non pas l’échafaud*’—the fault makes the disgrace, and not the block. And after all, if by great rarity of application certain punishments can be made disgraceful, their infliction in most cases does more harm to the culprit than the example can do benefit to the community.

The test of a good schoolmaster is his power of improving the class of average boys: the test of an excellent one is his success in raising those who are below the average. And to these he should turn his attention, on the same principle that the economist is advised to take care of his pence and leave his pounds to take care of themselves. Even the dunces must not be neglected. They occupy at public schools the place of the dangerous classes in the social system. It is a constant war between the law and the delinquent, in which the latter seems to gain the victory, as the law becomes weary of inflicting useless punishment, till at last society is infinitely relieved when the dunce is expelled and the felon is transported. But philanthropists have lately discovered that the felon is not irreclaimable. Will no humane tutor try his hand on the dunces? It is not known, because we fear it has been so rarely tried, what effect a little encouragement may produce on those who, like the ass, have hitherto been used only to chidings and blows. When a boy construed ‘*Scipio Africanus*,’ ‘an African walking-stick,’ Dr. Keate in a rage, real or affected, roared out, ‘Sit down, sir; you are too great a fool to be flogged!’ This was a grave mistake. Painstaking dullness should never be held up to the taunts of clever idleness, which is already too much the schoolboy’s idol. It is not, indeed, to be expected that boys can be made to feel that to be clever and idle is, with malice prepense, to abuse Heaven’s choicest gift; or to respect as they ought the patient energy of a slow

slow understanding, which toils on against difficulties, uncheered by success and unrewarded by praise. But we may well complain that their master lost such an opportunity of correcting one of the worst of the popular errors of his microcosm. Probably, however, in Dr. Keate's time the theory, that dullness is not as justly punishable as idleness, had hardly been broached, and even now it can hardly be said to be received in practice. It is difficult, we admit, to discriminate between involuntary dullness and wilful refusal to apply; but to try to do so is one of the good schoolmaster's first objects. Above all, he must remember that his duty is to spread his care over the masses, while his besetting temptation is to concentrate his attention on individuals.

We trust that nothing we have said will be interpreted so as to countenance the notion that a collection of boys can be governed by solely appealing to the motives of men. We strongly protest against this prevailing delusion, which is the reaction of the opposite error—the mechanical routine and severe penal system of the last century. It is, as we have said, both desirable and possible to enlighten the judgment and raise the moral standard of boys. It is the perfection of the schoolmaster's craft to carry with him the public opinion of the world he governs—that is to say, the opinion of the best, and the opinion that prevails when the excitement of the moment is past. It is happily most true that on proper occasions appeals may be made with success to the reason and feelings of individuals. But to make such the chief engine of government is, we repeat, most mischievous—mischievous in its failure, and not without mischief in its success. Old heads never yet have been contrived to sit well on young shoulders. Reason is not a sufficient guide for a schoolboy—would it were for his elders! He knows his duty as well as his master can tell him; but he requires some additional motive for doing it; and that motive is supplied by the fear of punishment and the inducements to work which are held out by the discipline of a well-managed school.

Between the Scylla and Charybdis of ancient practice and modern theory it is not easy to steer; and the perfect schoolmaster will not be seen till human nature ceases to be imperfect. Besides all the qualities that adorn the Christian profession, he needs more knowledge of the world than a young clergyman can easily acquire, and a tact for government which few statesmen possess. But good intention, gentlemanlike feeling, and a constant reference to his own experience as a boy—which most schoolmasters seem to forget—will go a great way. In all classes of life, and in all positions, popularity is lost by being courted. The highly-excited state of feeling which Mr. Farrar describes would defeat

defeat its own object. Let the schoolmaster be just and reasonable, patient, and even in temper : let him take the interest which every conscientious man must take in the duties of his office, and perform them with strict impartiality ; and he will secure the respect of all, and the very sincere and hearty love of those whose love is worth having. No doubt the Novels before us are designed to expose the inefficiency of the old-fashioned pædagogues who went through his duties with the insensibility and the unreasoning uniformity of a piece of mechanism ; but it is mortifying to human pride to find that every effort to improve brings with it some danger or drawback of its own ; and the man of routine will undoubtedly do less mischief in the long-run than Mr. Heygate's confessor, or the over-sensitive enthusiast of Mr. Farrar's creation.

Ever since the world has had a literature it has recorded its speculations on the subject of education. Successive generations have contributed their quota to the mass of theoretical wisdom, which nevertheless still remains incomplete. On the day of Young Tristram's birth Mr. Shandy began the *Tristrapædia* ; but so important seemed every step of the infant's progress, so many the risks to be shunned, so great the advantages to be secured, that the object of all this care attained his majority before the *Tristrapædia* had regulated the management of the nursery ; and probably the present order of things will pass away before human ingenuity has decided in what proportions the physical and moral training and the intellectual cultivation of mankind are to be combined to form the ideal of a perfect education. But while philosophers were arguing, the wants of each succeeding age have practically settled the question. In barbarous ages bodily strength was the first object of ambition, and in classic Greece its deification was established by the institution of the great national games. In the Republic of Lycurgus physical training was subordinate to a stern moral discipline, resolving the individual into a component atom of the State, as in after ages in the institute of Loyola a moral discipline more rigid still, and more destructive of individual will and responsibility, took precedence of intellectual cultivation.

The etymology of the word 'school' (*σχολή*, leisure), and its Latin equivalent 'ludus,' curiously mark how long the acquisition of knowledge was held to be secondary to the active business of life. In modern days the popular notion of a school is a place where boys are sent to acquire the knowledge which they cannot so well be taught at home ; yet it is in the physical and moral training of our great English schools that their peculiar excellence consists, and in these is to be found the

secret

secret of their hold on popular affection and respect for so many generations. We mean more especially that training which is incidental to the system, and, though not enforced by the regulations of masters, is so valuable as a preparation for the business and duties of life. The attention generally paid at schools to religion, the highest branch of moral training, must mainly depend on the state of religious feeling among the public at large. The founders of our great schools show by every line of their statutes that they intended godliness and sound learning should go hand-in-hand; but in the laxity of the last age not unfrequently the periwigged pedant conceived his duties to be limited to the Gradus and the Greek Particles; and though now-a-days it is the fashion to do less than justice to the many eminent schoolmasters who adorned that period, it must be admitted that Dr. Arnold was the first who laid down the doctrine, now generally recognised, that the headship of a school is a cure of souls. But the same change in public feeling which has effected such an improvement in the management of schools has also raised in the public mind a restless curiosity and discontent, which leads it to examine every separate part of a system which can fairly be viewed only as a whole, and to compare it with a standard of ideal perfection. Parents debate long and anxiously between home and school education; and, though the question is generally decided in favour of the latter, it is often with reluctance, and almost against her conscience, that the indulgent mother gives her consent.

It is indeed a common mistake, which she naturally makes in the care of her own darling, and which is much encouraged by the Novels before us, to suppose that a boy leaves home with the warmest affections, the purest piety, and the most laudable aspirations. If this were true in the case of many, or even of a few, schools would be very different from what they now are. But, alas! at home or at school, the seeds of evil are thickly sown; and in nothing is the corruption of human nature shown more clearly than in the reluctance of the youthful mind to receive religious impressions. The anxious parent and the conscientious schoolmaster find the same danger of enforcing forms and neglecting realities, the same difficulty in steering between defect and excess, between carelessness and over-excitement. If the scapegrace of a public school is apt to lay the blame of his irreligion on his forced attendance on 'roll-call' chapels, quite as often the home-bred youth, who has run out of the course, imputes his aberrations to the gloom and restraints of a home where boyish mirth was repressed as a mortal sin. At home the boy's temptation is to hypocrisy of good, at school to hypocrisy of

of evil ; but at both he finds his chief difficulty in his own heart. School indeed brings the knowledge of evil, but the innocence of childhood is but the innocence of ignorance ; by home education it cannot be much prolonged, and when knowledge comes at last, it finds less force of character and less strength of principle to counteract its poison.

We will not follow Mr. Farrar in his painful chapters on this subject, but appeal at once to the test of experience. In many parts of Europe, especially in Southern Italy, the child of high rank, when he leaves the hands of the nurse, is consigned to a tutor, a priest, who haunts him as his shadow till he attains his majority ; and assuredly we are not indulging our insular prejudices when we affirm that the subsequent morality of his conduct will not recommend this plan of education as our model. But we need not go so far for examples. Every reader must, from his own knowledge, be able to cite many instances of home education, from the son of the underpaid vicar, who cannot afford the expense of a school, to the wealthy heir-apparent, who, to preserve his morals, is plied with tutors and masters at home, or perhaps is merely transferred from the nursery to the stables, and the stables to the Senate. And what is the result ? Can it be said that, in the majority of cases, a higher degree of moral and religious excellence has been attained ? That in all other points, especially in fitness for conducting the affairs of life, the home-bred youth is at a disadvantage, is scarcely questioned. At home the education of life is deferred as long and insinuated as gently as possible : at school it is begun rudely and abruptly. Besides possible bullying and certain fagging, there is an unforeseen and unimagined evil which is harder still to bear—the want of sympathy. Hitherto, with the exception perhaps of a few spiteful speeches from the governess, all has been tenderness and flattery. Now the bewildered boy finds hardness, causeless ill-nature, and, at the best, indifference. His peculiarities, his personal defects, perhaps hardly known to him before, give rise to a nickname ; his ignorance of the conventional proprieties of his new microcosm excites ridicule ; a mistake in giving his name, the prefix of Christian names, or, worse still, of a title, may cause persecution for weeks. But the rough lesson of after years is anticipated at once. If deferred, it might not be learnt at all, or be learnt at the expense of deeper and more protracted suffering, when the spirit is less elastic to endure, and life has less of brightness and of sparkle to compensate for its shadows. By this early discipline egotism is checked—self-importance repressed—reserve, self-reliance, the necessity of cultivating certain personal qualities, and of deferring to the claims of others are indelibly

indelibly impressed. A practical frame of mind is encouraged; dreamy speculations and the wild imaginings of a youthful fancy are controlled by the realities of life and the friction with other minds. In short, it may be said of the education of all well-managed public schools, as has been said of the Eton system (in the work which stands last on our list), by one of the most accomplished of her living sons,—‘I think it cannot be denied that the tendency of the Eton system is to make a boy generous and firm-minded, to exercise his common sense early, to make him habitually feel a moral responsibility, to act not under the impulse of fear, but of generous shame and generous emulation, to be willing and determined to keep trust because he is trusted :—in a word, to make him a manly boy and a gentleman.’

As yet but few young men of consequence have been brought up at home, and they are soon assimilated to their companions who have been differently educated. But if private education were generally adopted for the upper classes, the downfall of the aristocracy would be imminent. Not the least disadvantage of the home-bred youth is to exaggerate the loss he has sustained, and not unfrequently he is goaded by this fancied inferiority to redeem himself in his own eyes by plunging into extravagance which he mistakes for spirit, and vice which he confounds with knowledge of the world. The late Lord Dudley, in the zenith of his reputation and the height of his powers, would complain for hours, when he could command a sympathizing listener, of the wrong he had suffered in not being brought up ‘like other people,’ though his friends were often puzzled to guess what—courted and admired as he was, equally distinguished in the literary and political world—he could have desired that he did not already possess. But we suspect he was right. He probably felt a dim consciousness that the sobering influences of a public school would have calmed the irritability of his too sensitive temperament, and have steadied the workings of his powerful but wayward intellect. After all, Lord Dudley was sent at the usual age to make good at the University the deficiency of which he complained. What would he have said if he had been transferred at once from his retirement to a dragoon regiment, a diplomatic mission, or a foreign tour? Yet such must be the fate of no small portion of the highest classes, if the preliminary training of a public school is abandoned.

By the inexorable law of nature, the two great instructors of mankind, from the cradle to the grave, are Pain and Labour. We beg not to be misunderstood. We would inflict no unnecessary pain; we would use every art to abridge labour: we only state the general law which regulates the microcosm of a public school

school as strictly as the great world on which is waged the battle of life. All schemes that would make the process of learning unconscious, and deprive it of effort, are delusive. All attempts to protect boyhood artificially and unnaturally from the common lot of mankind, retard its acquisition of those qualities which are essential to success on the great theatre of the world. It is by suffering of some sort that most human virtues are brought into action. Courage presupposes cause for fear; patience and fortitude are called forth by pain and adversity; gratitude could scarcely expand if not brought out by the experience of unkindness. Even the most impulsive virtues—such as humanity, charity, and generosity—are the children or the nurslings of reflection, and reflection is the offspring of suffering.

We seem to be treating very solemnly the petty tribulations of boyhood; but they are of serious importance in forming the character, and are swelled into fearful bugbears by those who would employ them as arguments against public education. That they are not such as to throw more than a light and quickly passing cloud over the happiest years of life must be clear to all who will consult their own memories, or the happy faces they meet in the holidays, or anything, in short, but the School Novels before us.

In a good school bullying may be kept down, and fagging may be regulated. To entirely abolish either is impossible. It cannot be done even by the constant inquisitorial espionage of a foreign seminary,\* and much less by any less vigilant system of superintendence that can be established in an English school. To prove this is the especial object for which the 'Recollections of a School Fag' are written. The author compares his experience of a large private school, the description of which, he says, is purely imaginary (but if so, where is the value of his testimony?), with his reminiscences of Harby-on-Thames, which, notwithstanding the eclecticism denoted by a name compounded of Harrow, Rugby, and Eton, is, he assures us, an exact portrait. But though we cannot identify it further than to feel sure it is not Eton he is describing, and though we by no means think it offers a model which cannot be improved, we entirely concur in his conclusion, that the only mode of repressing bullying is the monitorial system. The presence of masters is utterly insufficient

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\* In the autobiography of Lorenzo Benoni—a genuine narrative under an assumed name—a curious account is given of the 'police' of a foreign 'school,' and its effects: the meanness, the delations, the tyranny it encourages; and the dreamy, imaginative, unpractical spirit, its injudicious restraints and unworldly seclusion develop. The author's chief friend there was the arch agitator, whose visionary character he designates by the name of Fantasio. Who knows but that the discipline of an English school might have gone far to turn a Mazzini into a Hampden?



for the purpose. The 'School Fag' gives a lively account of the ingenious arts of secret bullying and the devices by which the masters are made to participate in the tyranny it is their object to prevent. The power of the sixth form affords the only efficient check to the tyranny of mere physical force—the most effective lever for raising public opinion—the only engine for bringing the authority of the master to act on the masses. It is liable to abuse, of course; but in most instances, where any such abuse can be quoted, we believe the mischief has been brought about by the zeal of well-intentioned masters, who have interfered too much with an agency whose chief merit consists in its independence of their influence, and who have encouraged the infliction of punishments which they could not impose themselves.

The physical training of a public school is by no means the least important part of the system: combined with the field-sports of the holidays and after-life, it goes far to make the Englishman what he is. But there are many minor points on which so much may be said on both sides, that we cannot undertake to give a very positive opinion. No amount of novel-reading will enable us to settle the question whether games should be compulsory or not. In favour of compulsion it may be said that cricket and football have small attraction for little boys and for beginners, and if not learnt early are never learnt well.\* Dr. Rowlands 'had a horror of constitutionals' Mr. Farrar tells us. No doubt it is more agreeable to contemplate a herd of healthy, high-spirited boys following their own fancies, and—

'Turning to mirth all things of earth,  
As only boyhood can;'

but what is to become of yon pale, apathetic, listless-looking boy, possessed of no animal spirits to impel him to amuse himself, no popular qualities to attract invitations from companions? In winter he will sit by the fire, if left to himself, or in summer scarcely lounge farther than the pastrycook's; and, as he grows older, he is delighted to find that by sneaking into a corner or lying at his length in a boat, with the forbidden 'weed' in his mouth, he can earn the reputation of being 'fast!' What a boon, though an unwelcome one, it would have been to him had he been forced into the cricket-ground or the foot-ball field before he was entitled to choose for himself!

The manners of the great schools have been greatly improved

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\* We have heard—but on so important a point we dare not speak very positively—that, since attendance in the cricket-ground has ceased to be compulsory at Eton, the 'fielding' has very much fallen off.

of late years by the softened tone of society at large ; and many of the improvements which are still desiderated can be expected only from the same cause, for it is impossible to raise the moral standard of schools above that of the great world of which they reflect the image. When brutal practical jokes were received as wit by grown men, no wonder that brutality passed for a joke among boys. When a man of Sheridan's refined mind could deliberately plan a trick by which his friend Tickell was sent to bed wounded and bleeding for ten days, we cannot discredit the strange stories of school-bullying which tradition has handed down. As long as every adverb and every expletive which a boy heard at home was an oath, it was in vain to denounce swearing at school. When truth-speaking shall be really practised by the world, and not be merely held to be its practice by a conventional legal fiction, we may expect the number of lies which are sanctioned by the public opinion of schools will be infinitely reduced, but not till then.

We do not think Mr. Farrar is justified in implying that schools hold out any special temptations to smoke or to drink. The practice of smoking is generally learnt at home. When the boy sees all whom he loves and admires engaged in smoking, he naturally wishes to approve his manhood, and is stimulated rather than checked by the information that 'little boys should not smoke.' The chief objection to smoking at any time of life is that it makes total vacuity of mind bearable, and at school it usually implies insubordinate and idle habits ; but smoking will not be avoided by a home education, nor can it be entirely banished from schools till it ceases to be fashionable in the world. In these days when drunkenness is exploded the temptation to drink drams can arise only from that craving curiosity to know evil which has been man's curse since the fall. At school the temptation to indulge in the odious debauchery is not greater than at home, and the facilities for doing so are much less. Home can offer no guarantee against the intrusion of evil counsellors and seducing companions, and it has dangers and difficulties of its own besides those which are common to youth under all circumstances. There may, no doubt, be found sometimes temperaments, moral and physical, of so peculiar an organization that they cannot safely be subjected to the rough discipline and inflexible routine of a public school. But with such exceptional cases we have nothing to do. Schools are organized for the multitude, and we have no hesitation in affirming that the English schools are so contrived as to develop the greatest moral energy of the majority of boys.

But, considered as a course of intellectual training, the system of

of which they form a part has excited a discontent which is not unreasonable, though (as we believe) the root of the evil has not been traced, and consequently no adequate remedy proposed. The University, as the last agency in the work of education, encounters the brunt of public displeasure. This is but natural. If the loaf is bad we quarrel with the baker, but the baker in self-defence shifts the blame on the miller, the miller on the farmer. Not so the University. By her passive acquiescence she has accepted the responsibility imposed on her. She has omitted to plead in excuse the badness of the raw material with which she is supplied, and has allowed judgment to be recorded against her. That she has faults may be true; but the great fault lies very far back, and it is precisely where blame has not been imputed that it is chiefly due. Since the early part of the present century, a gradual and unobserved, but very notable, change has taken place in the education of boys. It amounts to nothing less than this: the usual age for sending them to school is retarded by nearly two years.\* Our predecessors, more sensible or less fond, sent their boys to school betimes. By the parental tenderness of modern days the time of going to school is deferred; but rarely is any adequate provision made for teaching at home during an interval which for the most part is made up of successive delays of unforeseen duration, and which is always presumed to be short—too short to be worth employing well. Many parents are influenced by a vague notion, much encouraged in novels, that early teaching is unnecessary or prejudicial. By many it is voted 'cruel' to prevent the poor boy's enjoying himself while he can, or it is discovered he is 'getting on very well with the governess,' who on her part considers him the pest of the school-room—a charge that has unfairly been shuffled upon her, and, in general, has as little will as she has capacity to teach him anything.†

But never did maternal tenderness make a greater mistake than in supposing that the time thus gained is a farther preparation for school. The gain of physical strength is of little value, the loss in everything else most important. A new boy's great difficulty is to bend his will to the discipline of the place, and to obtain the command of his intellectual faculties. The dictum

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\* Sydney Smith, writing in 1809, says, 'A young Englishman goes to school at six or seven years old.' ('Essays,' vol. i. p. 351.) This we think an exaggeration. Though many boys at that age were then sent to school, the average age was certainly older. There is no doubt, however, that we have rather under than overstated the fact in the text.

† Not long ago, at one of the great public schools, a candidate for admission was presented who at twelve years old had not begun Latin. It is hardly necessary to add he was not accepted.

so often repeated and so mischievously applied, 'What can it signify what so young a boy learns?' is in one sense most true: the information he acquires is utterly unimportant, but it is of the greatest moment what habits he forms, and by a prolonged idleness at home his wilfulness is strengthened and his powers of application are weakened. To boys of ordinary capacity, who are therefore the less likely to be spurred on subsequently by the consciousness of power to redeem the time thus lost, the beginning of education is all-important, and, therefore, the choice of a first school is of the utmost consequence; and here, again, maternal tenderness makes a second mistake which perpetuates all the mischiefs of the first. A school is sought out where the supposed tenderness of treatment will most resemble the indulgence of home. The reputation for teaching well is no recommendation to parents who associate the idea of teaching with harshness, and profess that 'health' is their only object. They think like Martial, '*Pueri si valent, satis discunt*,' but then Martial was speaking of Rome and the Dogdays. The demand for schools that do not teach is easily supplied, and nothing can exceed the inefficiency of some of the worst of the nursery schools that have thus been called into existence. The 'hardening,' which is all that is expected from them, often turns out little more than hardening the young gentleman in his resolution to do no more than he can help; and from their teaching he learns little more than the arts of 'shirking,' so as best to carry this resolution into effect.

Boys thus prepared are, of course, placed very low on being transferred to a public school. Few of them make any effort to redeem the time, and fewer still with success. No possible improvement in public schools will enable them to compel boys daily growing in physical strength and in self-will to apply, if they are obstinately determined not to do so; and they pass through school with hardly any other acquisition than the conviction that exertion is useless, and the habit of being contented with total idleness. We are, indeed, describing the worst specimens of the worst private schools; but it is too true that young men more or less resembling this description form a large portion of the freshmen of each succeeding year at the Universities; and Mr. Sewell gives it as the result of his experience as tutor, that for some years the average of their attainments has been gradually lowered. ('*Journal*,' p. xxxv.) They have no taste for mental cultivation of any kind, and they have no resolution to do what is distasteful. Their stock of learning is contemptible; of scholarship little in quantity, and bad in quality; and nothing of anything else. To some of them it is absolutely necessary to take a degree—a 'pass;' and for this they have no resource but 'cramming,'

'cramming,'\* and on this cramming they bestow all the little time they can be induced to give to study. Others are plagued by no such necessity to interrupt their listless or, as the case may be, their boisterous idleness, and they keep their vow of doing nothing with all the petulance of boys and the resolution of men. And because the University cannot, in the course of three short years, turn such as these into scholars, men of science, modern linguists, statesmen, and diplomatists, she is pronounced unfit for her office—her foundations and her institutions are cast into the crucible. Alas! for such alumni as these no change in her discipline will avail, and there is no remedy but the impossible one 'to live past years again.' The lost time can never be redeemed. We must turn our thoughts to the future.

The great desideratum to complete our system of education is a sufficient supply of good first-schools. Great pains have been taken to improve the schools of the humbler classes. Training-schools for teachers have been established, and the learned have taxed their ingenuity to devise methods for calling into play the benumbed faculties of the little ploughboy. But it seems to be assumed that boys of the upper classes can learn without effort, and any man can teach them. Individual attempts, indeed, have been made from time to time to introduce the systems of Pestalozzi and other foreign professors of novelties; but, as far as we have been able to judge, they have attracted no notice and have ended in failure. The extravagances of the original were retained, and its vital spirit was allowed to evaporate. No great change in the ordinary method is needed, but merely to apply it with judgment, patience, and tact.

Teachers in general are hardly aware how difficult it is to teach the pupil the use of his faculties. Boys, when they begin their first lessons, have but an imperfect command of their powers, and some have scarcely any command at all. The common error is to suppose that it is only the will that is wanting; and yet in most instances the wandering eye and vacant look indicate impotence of mind, and not perverseness of will. Great caution and reserve must be shown in using the fear of punishment as a stimulus to attention. Terror paralyzes all the faculties. The fits of invincible obstinacy which are supposed to 'come over' a dull boy are in general the result of mere nervousness, and violent treatment only ensures their frequent recurrence. Under masters of the old school we have known a poor boy pass his days in a vain desire

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\* To 'cram' is to teach the art of passing an examination in any given subject without understanding it; and, in general, half the time and labour that are spent in this melancholy work would enable the patient honestly to learn what is required of him if he would give his mind to it.

to apply, and not hear a word that was said to him from sheer anxiety to listen. Instruction consists of two parts, which it is important to distinguish: 'teaching,' properly so called, and making to learn. By the latter is meant setting the boy a task, and then, by the hope of distinction or the fear of punishment, inducing him to learn it. The former implies showing him the *art* of learning it, and then explaining the difficulties which belong to the subject and taking pains first to understand and then to unravel those perplexities which the pupil's own dullness or confusion has conjured up in his mind. In public schools the 'teaching,' in this stricter sense, is chiefly supplied by the tutors, and by private tutors at the Universities. In first-schools, teaching ought to occupy a much more prominent place than it generally does. Young boys generally underrate their own abilities, and as much overrate the difficulty of their tasks. It is only by judicious teaching that we can strip the bugbear of its terrors, and give the pupil confidence in his own powers. This was not the old course. A Latin grammar was put into the tyro's hand, and, under terror of well-known pains and penalties, he was compelled to learn it by rote from 'Hic, hæc, hoc' to the unintelligible gibberish of 'As in præsentî' and 'Propria quæ maribus.' It was thus Ensign Northerton, in 'Tom Jones,' had been flogged into his hatred for 'Homo;' and thus too, though with better results, Gibbon as he tells us acquired the first rudiments of his education, 'at the expense of many tears and some blood;' and, after all, he was very ill-grounded, and owed all his knowledge to his own exertions in after-life. But, by a better system of instruction, the sufferings of the great historian might have been spared, and it is not absolutely impossible that something might have been made out of the truculent Ensign. From improved early teaching several consequences of much importance to the general course of education would result. Not only would the number of absolute dunces be vastly diminished, but average boys, whose progress is wofully impeded by bad teaching, would be brought much nearer to the level of the clever ones, who can get on in spite of it; and thus too, incidentally, great additional facility would be acquired for the management of public schools, where one of the chief embarrassments is caused by the collision between the physical strength of the lower forms and the intellectual superiority of the 'sixth.' Above all, much time would be gained for the purposes of education. No one disputes that classical learning should form the foundation of a liberal education. But Sydney Smith complained 'the foundation was carried too high.' Modern reformers inquire if a slighter foundation will not suffice. No one has suggested,

suggested, as the true remedy, that the foundations should be laid earlier, and with more skill and care. There is nothing fabulous in the acquirements of Roger Ascham and other great scholars of former days whose early proficiency in literature is recorded. They were, no doubt, clever and studious boys, and they had the advantage of being taught by the action of one intelligent mind on another. By a similar process there would not be the least difficulty in bringing on any boy of average talents and industry to a point which will hardly be credited till the experiment is fairly tried.

And this by no other art than teaching the pupil how to learn.\* We would not increase the hours of work; we would carefully avoid overtaxing the mind. We dread over-cramming, and have a horror of prodigies. We would studiously refrain from over-tasking the powers of reasoning and reflection, and would keep back beyond the usual period the beginning of mathematics and even arithmetic, except in the cases of the few boys who show a natural aptitude for calculation. Nature herself points out the safe course: the faculties which first require development are those which there is the least fear of overstraining. Observation, attention, and memory are the powers first called into play, and if their proper exercise is once acquired they turn life into a long course of the best education. With them the boy soon becomes a man, without them the man ever remains a boy. To a certain degree they are developed by every kind of education, and even without any education (in the stricter sense of the word) at all; and for this reason, perhaps, it is not generally recognised

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\* We cannot undertake to give in a note a treatise on practical education: but that 'teaching how to learn' may not seem a phrase as vague as the philosopher's receipt for happiness—'to live according to nature'—we subjoin a short explanation. The first point in teaching a very young boy is not to leave him too much to himself—not to let him get into difficulties. Memory in the first instance must be cultivated—in some instances, it would almost seem, *created*. But every boy has a memory, though it is hard to get at; and it is not to be got at by beating him, or by shutting him up with his book in a room by himself during play-hours. Let him learn first what interests his mind, or at least what pleases his ear, and then gradually proceed to what is drier and more difficult. Some of the methods of learning modern languages, such as getting by heart the names of common things, may be applied with advantage to Latin. The Hamilton method is excellent as a shoeing-horn, but if used *too long* it is apt to make a quick boy careless and inaccurate. The help of a judicious teacher is essentially needed to show the learner how to unravel by degrees the tangled skein of a Latin sentence, by looking first for the principal verb, then the substantive that governs it, and so on. The leading principle of the art of teaching is to give the learner confidence in his own powers, and to prevent his lapsing into that state of imbecile despair which paralyses what little intellect he possesses—a state in which he resigns himself to fate and chance. He may be prompted through his lesson, he may be scolded through it, or he may be caned through it; but learn it he cannot, and he will not try. This is, more or less, the state of every boy who 'hates his lessons.' No one *hates very much* what he can do tolerably well, even though it be dry and uninteresting.



to what an extent they are susceptible of cultivation, especially in early life, and how much pain and toil may be saved to both teacher and pupil by early attention to their proper development.\* The true means of wakening the dormant faculties are neither laborious nor painful; and we would carefully avoid the risk (of which, however, we have heard a great deal more than we have seen) of over-educating boys into prigs or idiots.

Although we have defended public schools against the aspersions of their uncandid critics and injudicious advocates, we are by no means disposed to deny that they are susceptible of considerable improvement, and that certain defects common to all, though in very different degrees, may be pointed out. In all, the machinery for exciting the emulation and calling forth the energies of the average boys might be amended; in some it has almost to be created. For this purpose the system of taking places, not merely as the result of periodical examinations, but in the daily course of saying lessons, is too obvious to need enforcing. In all, the tutorial system might be improved: the number of tutors should be increased;† and in some schools the standard of their qualifications should be raised, and their sphere of duty enlarged. To them, we have said, belongs teaching in our stricter sense of the term; and their exertions afford the only chance of remedying the deficiencies of the primary schools. But it is impossible to speak with any certainty of the nature and extent of the alterations required, nor, we are firmly convinced, will any amount of alteration be productive of much improvement till the faults which we have noted in the earlier stages of education are corrected.

The volumes before us attribute blame to parents for not taking a greater interest in their sons' school-lives; and one of them goes so far as to recommend a congress of fathers, to communicate to each other all the school-tales they have heard. It is

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\* Miss Nightingale considers that the want of the faculty of observation disqualifies the majority of persons from undertaking the office of sick-nurse. The following passage is so much to our present purpose that we cannot forbear transcribing it:—'A celebrated man, though celebrated only for foolish things [we believe Houdin the conjuror is meant], has told us that one of his main objects in the education of his son was to give him an early habit of accurate observation, a certainty of perception; and that for his purpose one of his means was a month's course as follows:—He took the boy rapidly past a toy-shop, the father and the son then described to each other as many of the objects as they could which they had seen in passing the windows, noting them down with pencil and paper, and returning afterwards to verify their own accuracy. The boy always succeeded best, *e.g.*, if the father described thirty objects the boy did forty, and scarcely ever made a mistake. I have often thought how wise a piece of education this would be for much higher objects.'—*Notes on Nursing*, p. 63.

† Where the houses of tutors are too large, nothing would be easier than to employ an assistant tutor. No dame's house should be without a resident tutor.

fearful to speculate on the letters to the 'Times' and the deluge of pamphlets which would result from this proposal: but we would not have a father send his son to school as a sack of corn to the mill, and discharge himself of all further responsibility. The question usually debated is 'Home or School.' But Home and School are needed to complete education; and though we believe Home insufficient by itself, Home never ought to be superseded, and never can by any substitute be replaced. We are far from wishing to turn the holidays into an eternal grind, or the conversation of parents into a wearisome lecture. 'I wish to make a friend of my son' is a common phrase in the mouths of kind fathers. Be it so. But for this purpose it is safer that the father should raise his son to his own level than sink himself to that of the boy. Conversation, betokening confidence, and the admission of something like equality of intellect, gives the keenest delight to the opening intelligence of boyhood, and implies a flattery that is delicious;—a flattery that stimulates and elevates, but does not intoxicate. The opportunities which may be thus obtained to improve the taste, correct the judgment, and raise the moral standard, are invaluable. By such means true manliness of character is formed, and not by encouraging boys to assume the airs and exercise the freedom of men while they are treated with the indulgence of overgrown babies. There can be no objection to a father's showing sympathy with his son's amusements, or even participating if he pleases in his games; but to gain and keep the desired friendship, the true course is to raise his son to the rank of a friend rather than to lower himself to that of a playfellow. Above all, let him as to a friend—a rational and intelligent one—explain to his son his wishes and circumstances. If he desires that the boy should exert himself, and still more if the necessity of earning a livelihood makes exertion indispensable, let him say so strongly and plainly. We would by no means be always forcing upon a boy the motives of maturer life; but these are matters of moment which should not be concealed, and which the majority of boys are capable of feeling acutely. Nature abhors labour without a motive; and if a boy has not the hope of distinction to stimulate his industry, if he has no taste of his own to gratify, no special object to attain, and no hope of giving pleasure to his father, what but idleness can be expected of him? We are firmly persuaded that, if the average of attainment among the youths who come out in life is low, one very principal reason is that in the mass of society there is no general sense of the deficiency, and no desire to raise the standard. We know of no object more deserving the deepest compassion than the anxious, painstaking

painstaking father, who, in spite of every effort and every precaution, sees the child of many hopes and of constant prayers go astray and plunge into hopeless ruin. But if a father has left his son's early education to chance; if in choosing a public school he has looked only to the prospect of making great acquaintances—a speculation as foolish as it is mean, for school friendships are of value only between those who will be thrown together in after life; if on all occasions his fondness shows itself in pampering habits of self-indulgence; if he vaunts his own aversion to study and his contempt for bookworms, and with eyes twinkling with pleasure expresses his fears that his son is 'a chip of the old block'—an apprehension which is echoed in a most cheering tone by applauding friends; if he encourages his son to form tastes beyond his income, nor ever gives a check or hints a caution till he finds inconvenient calls are made on his pocket; what wonder if the hopeful youth goes up to the University equally unfit in disposition and in acquirements for the profession, whatever it may be, to which he is destined? And if, moreover, he spends in a couple of terms as much as had been laid by for the whole University-course, who is to blame but the foolish father, who, having brought up his son on turtle-soup, is surprised that the young prodigal will not relish Spartan black broth, and rails accordingly at the perversity of human nature, and the laxity of University discipline?

The first step to improvement is, we insist, a better provision for early tuition; but supply cannot precede demand, and parents themselves must be the chief agents of reformation, by refusing to be satisfied with any but first-rate primary schools. That such are to be found, and that the number is already on the increase, we acknowledge with pleasure; but any improvement which depends on a change of public opinion can advance but slowly. No opportunity of enforcing the truth should be lost; and not the least of our objections to the Novels before us is that their authors lend their countenance to the prevailing delusion as to the unimportance of early teaching. That they have done so inadvertently, without intending to convey any opinion on the subject, and with a view merely to heighten the dramatic effect of their respective narratives, is highly probable; but if so, no stronger argument can be urged against the propriety of making works of fiction the medium for discussing practical questions of importance.

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ART. IV.—1. *A Collection of all the Wills, now known to be extant, of the Kings and Queens of England, Princes and Princesses of Wales, and every Branch of the Blood Royal, from the Reign of William the Conqueror to that of Henry VII. exclusive. With Explanatory Notes, and a Glossary.* London: Printed by John Nichols, Printer to the Society of Antiquaries: 1780.

2. *Testamenta Vetusta: being Illustrations from Wills, of Manners, Customs, &c.; as well as of the Descents and Possessions of many Distinguished Families. From the Reign of Henry II. to the Accession of Queen Elizabeth.* By Nicholas Harris Nicolas, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, F.S.A. Two volumes, 8vo. London, 1826.

MR. NICHOLS'S Collection of Royal Wills, and Sir Harris Nicolas's '*Testamenta Vetusta*,' were compiled with an almost exclusive view to those antiquarian and genealogical pursuits in which they had each acquired well-merited distinction. The historical value of some of the documents thus rescued from obscurity was fully appreciated by them, but the moral and metaphysical bearings of the general subject of testamentary disposition were beside their purpose, and they stopped short at the period when bequests and devises left off dealing with articles which are now regarded as rarities, in language which few can read without a glossary. Yet for the performance of one of the great functions of history, the stripping off the mask and discovering the real affections and wishes of men, the study of wills affords singular advantages. In their wills few men can keep up an assumed character. Whatever dash of satire or hypocrisy there may be in the preamble, the dispositions, at all events, are sure to tell us what was nearest their hearts. Indeed, the varieties of character, the operations of the mind, the emotions of the heart, the conflict of motives, and the alternate prevalence of good and evil influences, as modified by the contemplation, distant prospect, or near approach of death, are worth studying in any age, and as well under the princes of the House of Hanover as under the Plantagenets and Tudors; and a collection of modern wills might be formed in such a manner as to command almost universal interest. Suppose, for example, the wills of all the eminent men of letters were brought together in one division, those of all the great statesmen in a second, those of all the first-rate commanders, naval and military, in a third; and so on: they would form a body of materials of undeniable value for the historian, the legislator, the moralist, and the divine.

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The oldest English will on record is that of Alfred the Great, in the original Saxon, edited by Mr. Astle, and printed by the Clarendon Press in 1788, with a preface and two translations, one literal and the other free. It was preserved in a register of the Abbey of Newminster at Winchester, founded by Alfred; and the entry or exemplification appears to have been made between 1028 and 1032. This curious document begins by reciting a devise of Ethelwolf to his three sons, of whom Alfred was the youngest, and the manner in which the property had at length come to the possession of Alfred on the death of his brothers. He gives certain specified lands to each of his three sons; certain manors to each of his three daughters; others to his two nephews; five or six manors to his cousin: 'And to my two sons one thousand of pounds, to each five hundred of pounds; and to my eldest daughter, and to the middlemost, and to the youngest, and to Ealhwith, to them four, four hundred of pounds, to each one hundred of pounds.' His aldermen get one hundred mancuses\* apiece, and Etherd the alderman a sword of a hundred mancuses. The archbishop and three bishops are placed on the same footing as the aldermen, and are to distribute 'for me and my father, and for the friends that he interceded for, and that I intercede for,' 200 pounds, amongst the mass priests, the poor ministers of God, other distressed poor, and the Church, in four equal portions. There is no mention of the Crown; and the will of the greatest king of the Saxon dynasty contains nothing to distinguish it from that of a wealthy franklin or alderman, invoking, as was not unusual, the sanction and support of the Wittenagemote to the disposal of his possessions.

When Sobieski, the heroic King of Poland, was on his death-bed, and was exhorted by an attendant bishop to make a will, he refused, saying: 'We kings, to our sorrow, are not obeyed whilst living: can we expect to be obeyed after we are dead?' A good many of the wisest have formed such expectations notwithstanding; and the notion that dominions and subjects were disposable like chattels, naturally enough prevailed in times when the constitution was unsettled and the prerogative undefined. Thus William the Conqueror made no scruple of devising the newly acquired realm of England to his second son, William Rufus; the succession of Normandy and Maine having been already assigned to Robert. His will appears to have been nuncupatory; for he is described as making a long and pathetic speech on his death-bed, in the course of which he named the sums which were to be distributed amongst religious communities and the poor.

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\* A mancus was about six shillings.

The scene is described by Ordericus Vitalis, who adds: 'When his younger son, Henry, heard no part of the royal treasure given to himself, he turned to the King weeping, and said, "And me, father, what do you bestow?" To whom the King says, "I give thee five thousand pounds of silver."' In the continuation of Robert of Gloucester, the Conqueror's will is thus recorded:—

'He gaf his eldest son Normandy,  
And the second Engeland truly;  
To the thridde his goods menable.  
This was bolde, ferme, and stable.'

William Rufus's manner of death left him no time for testamentary dispositions; and all Mr. Nichols tells us of Henry I. is that he ordered his natural son Robert, Earl of Gloucester, to take 60,000*l.* out of his treasure to be distributed amongst his servants and soldiers, and directed his body to be buried at Reading Abbey; where no memorial of him remains. But a circumstance is mentioned by Hume showing the authority of royal bequests in those days. Hugh Bigod, steward of the household, made oath before the Primate that the late King (Henry I.) on his death-bed had manifested a dissatisfaction with his daughter Matilda, and had expressed his intention of leaving his nephew Stephen heir to all his dominions. The Primate, either believing or feigning to believe Bigod's testimony, anointed Stephen, and put the crown on his head; and by this religious ceremony, remarks the historian, that prince, without any shadow either of hereditary title or consent of nobility or people, was allowed to proceed to the exercise of sovereign authority.

Stephen died intestate; and Henry II. was content, as regards the Crown and its appurtenances, to permit the received law of succession to take its course. His will merely recites a distribution already made of various sums of money to religious houses (including the Knights Templars and Hospitallers), and towards the marriage of 'poor and free women wanting aid.' The conclusion is a solemn appeal to his sons and the heads of the English Church to watch over the fulfilment of his behests.

Richard I.'s will was nuncupatory, like the Conqueror's. Hoveden relates that 'when the King's life was despaired of, he devised the kingdom of England and all his other dominions to his brother, and made all present swear fidelity to this said John, and ordered his castles and three parts of his treasure to be delivered to him, and all his jewels he devised to his nephew, Otho, King of the Germans, and directed a fourth of his treasure to be distributed amongst his servants and the poor. Then the King ordered that his brain, blood, and entrails should be buried at Chaluz, and his heart at Rouen, and his body at

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Font Evraud at the feet of his father.' It was at the Castle of Chaluz that he received his death-wound, and he is said to have bequeathed his heart to Rouen as an acknowledgment of the fidelity of the citizens during his captivity when they repelled the attacks of Philip of France.

King John's will, though formally drawn in Latin, was prepared under circumstances which did not admit of attention to particulars. It recites that, overtaken by grave illness, the testator felt compelled to trust the disposition of his effects to his executors, including the Cardinal Legate, three bishops, three earls, and four other men of note, without whose advice, he adds, he should have done nothing in the matter even in sound health. They are directed in general terms to make satisfaction for any wrongs done by him, to contribute towards the recovery of the Holy Land, to provide for the support of his children, and to bestow alms on the poor and on religious houses for the good of his soul.

'I pray, moreover, that whoever shall afford them counsel and aid in carrying out my testament may receive the grace and favour of God. But that whoever shall infringe their order and disposition may incur the malediction and indignation of Almighty God, and the Blessed Mary, and all the saints.'

The only specific direction relates to his body, which was to be buried in the church of St. Mary and St. Wulstan at Worcester.

The will, in Latin, of Henry III. bears date A.D. 1253, nineteen years before his death. The alleged motive for making it was a meditated expedition to Gascony. It is distinguished by prudence and foresight, and provides for those who had claims on him under all probable contingencies. The guardianship of his eldest son and heir, Edward, and his other children, along with that of his dominions, is committed to his queen, Eleanor. All his gold, with the exception of the royal jewels, is bequeathed 'in aid of the Holy Land, to be carried thither with my cross by stout and trustworthy men to be chosen by my said Queen and my executors.' He appoints the Church of the Blessed Edward of Westminster for his place of sepulture, 'notwithstanding that he had formerly chosen the New Temple of London.'

The only will of Edward I. of which any trace is extant was made at Acre shortly before his father's death. The principal provision is one for vesting, in case of the demise of the Crown during the nonage of his son, the realm of England, and all other lands that may accrue to him, in the executors, four of whom are constituted a quorum. As he survived his father, and reigned thirty-five years, this will became virtually inoperative. Edward II. died intestate. Edward III.'s will, made the year before his death,



death, begins with a reference to the doctrine of original sin, expatiates on the transitory nature of all things human, and then proceeds in the ordinary style to provide for the burial of his body and the welfare of his soul. He limits the number of candles to be lighted at his funeral, and directs masses to be said for himself and his deceased wife Philippa. Edward the Black Prince having died the year before, the heir apparent, Richard, is thus remembered :—

‘We give and bequeath to our future heir, whom God preserve, namely, Richard, son of our eldest born Edward of honoured memory, one entire bed with its furniture, marked with the complete arms of England and France, now in our palace at Westminster. We also give and bequeath to him four other beds, which used to be laid out in four lower rooms of the said palace, also with their entire furniture. Also we give and bequeath to him a double set of hangings for his hall, one large and noble, the other plain and light, adapted for carriage.’

Besides the executors, at the head of whom stands John of Gaunt, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York are appointed supervisors of this will.

The will of Edward the Black Prince, made shortly before his death, bears marks of ample deliberation, and contains minute directions touching his funeral, tomb, and epitaph, which was to consist of fourteen lines of his own composition. These four may suffice for a specimen :—

‘En terre avoy grand richesse, dont je y fys grand noblesse,  
Terre, mesons, et grand treshor, draps, chivalx, argent, et or,  
Mes ore su je povres et cheitifs, profond en la terre gys.  
Ma grand beaute est tout alee, ma char est tout gastee.’

He was curious and rich in beds. Three are specifically devised to his eldest son Richard, namely, the blue bed with ostrich plumes, which the King his father gave him; also a bed of red camak, which is quite new, and all that belongs to it; also a great bed embroidered with angels, with the cushions, &c. He gives a silk bed to Sir Roger de Claryndon; a great bed of red camak, with his arms embroidered at each corner, to Sir Robert de Walsham; and a bed of white camak, powdered with blue eagles, to M. Alayn Cheyne. Equal attention is bestowed on the disposal of several sets of hangings. His friends and followers are carefully provided for; and a malison is invoked upon his son in case of hindrance or neglect in the carrying out of his good intentions on their behalf.

The widow of the Black Prince and mother of Richard II. was Joan, daughter of Edmund of Woodstock, commonly called the Fair Maid of Kent. Her coquetry was on a par with her beauty, which

which was great. Her marriage, or contract of marriage, with Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, was declared null by the Pope on the petition of Sir Thomas Holland, K.G., setting forth a pre-contract, followed by consummation, with himself, and she then married, or re-married, the gallant petitioner, who became Earl of Kent in her right. On his death she accepted the hand of the Black Prince, whom she survived nine years. Her will, dated 1385, the year of her death, is in Latin, and, like her deceased husband's, much of it is occupied with beds; only, as befits a good housewife, she particularises the precise dimensions of each, including the curtains and counterpanes. She gives 'to my dearest son the King, my new bed of red velvet, embroidered with ostrich feathers of silver, and leopards' heads of gold, with silver bough and leaves issuing from their mouths on both sides.' Item, to her dear son Thomas, Earl of Kent, a bed of red camak, paled in red and rays of gold. Item, to her dearest son John de Holland, a bed of red camak.

In the 16th Richard II. a Statute was passed enacting that 'Our Lord the King, his heirs and successors, Kings of England, may freely make their wills, and that these shall be duly executed.' Notwithstanding this provision, no king ever had better reason for doubting, with Sobieski, whether the obedience refused to the living would be rendered to the dead; especially in April, 1399, the date of his will; for he was deposed within five months, and murdered within a year. But the document itself shows no signs of haste or immediate alarm; a large part of it being occupied with directions for his obsequies, which would be inapplicable unless he died upon the throne.

John of Gaunt's will fills fifteen quarto pages, and the codicil six. His wardrobe, furniture, plate, and jewels are distributed piece by piece, or in small lots, amongst his relatives and followers, and liberal alms are set apart for the avowed purpose of inducing various religious bodies and the destitute poor to pray for him. He directs that his body shall be kept above ground for forty days, and that on each of these forty days, forty marks of silver shall be distributed amongst the poor, on the eve of the burial three hundred, and on the day of the burial, 'if it seem to my executors that this can be done, considering the quantity of my goods and my other ordinances and devises—

'Item, I devise to be burnt round my body on the day of my burial, first ten great tapers, in the name of the Ten Commandments of our Lord, which I have too wickedly transgressed; and besides these ten, that there be placed seven great tapers in the memory of the seven works of charity which I have neglected, and for the seven mortal sins; and besides these seven, I will that there be five great tapers in

in honour of the five principal wounds of our Lord Jesus, and for my five senses, which I have very negligently wasted, for which I pray God's mercy; and in addition to all the aforesaid tapers, I will that there be three in honour of the Blessed Trinity.'

Amongst the beds bequeathed are 'my other beds made for my body, called in England "trussing" beds.'

Henry IV.'s will is principally remarkable by being the first written throughout in English. As it is dated January, 1408, eight years after the death of Chaucer, the language was only just beginning to be fixed, and Norman French or Latin was still in use in the courts of law.

The will of Edward, Duke of York, who, being a corpulent man, was smothered to death in his armour at Agincourt, was made the day after the taking of Harfleur. The exordium gives us a glimpse of his frame of mind (or perhaps only of his chaplain's opinion of him) at the time:—

'Imprimis, I devise my soul to the grace and mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, who created it, and formed it of nothing, as that which is the most guilty and disnaturall creature He ever formed, considering the great indulgence and sufferance He has shown to me from day to day, notwithstanding my foolish life and the vileness of my sins.'

Henry V.'s will is also in English; and after reciting that he has 'ordeynet and disposet to passe in to ye parties of France,' to recover, by help of God, my rightes yere to me longyng,' he directs that certain castles and lordships, already conveyed in trust, be made over to his brothers, John and Humphrey, in succession.

The will of Henry VI. was made in the twenty-sixth year of his reign, more than twenty-three years before his death: a little after he had been tauntingly told, 'Talk not of France; tut, thou hast lost it all.' His father prophesied of him at his birth that he would be more a monk than a monarch; and his will justifies the prediction; for though very long, it is almost exclusively occupied with provisions (which, however, were very wise and liberal) for the foundation and endowment of Eton and King's Colleges. The castles, lordships, manors, lands, tenements, &c., granted to feoffees for this purpose, are described as of 3395*l.* 11*s.* 7*d.* yearly value.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century the promotion of learning began to be considered a higher order of good work than the establishment of masses; and schools and colleges became the objects of pious bounty, instead of convents and chantries. The will of Margaret Countess of Richmond, mother of Henry VII., exhibits the reactionary and the progressive doctrines in marked contrast. After providing for a variety of

masses, she leaves the bulk of her property for the benefit of Christ's and St. John's Colleges, Cambridge. That much of what she destined for St. John's was abstracted by Wolsey and other courtiers, through the culpable complicity of her royal grandson, was no fault of hers.

The will of Henry VII. has been edited by Mr. Astle, with what Sir Harris Nicolas terms an admirable preface. It is certainly well worthy of careful study by the historical inquirer who desires to form a fair estimate of that monarch's character. Thus, the question has been raised whether the following clause is creditable or discreditable to his Majesty; whether, in short, it betokens remorse for extortion, or a dignified love of justice and a becoming sense of probable though unconscious error:—

‘And we will also, if any person, of what degree soever he be, show by way of complaint to our executors any wrong to have been done to him by us, our commandment, occasion, or mean, or that we held any goods or lands which of right ought to appertain unto him, that every such complaint be speedily, tenderly, and effectually heard, and the matter duly and indifferently examined by the most reverend Father in God the Archbishop of Canterbury that now is, or that hereafter for the time shall be, the Reverend Fathers in God Richard Bishop of Winchester, the Bishops of London and Rochester [then follow the names of several other high dignitaries]; Sir Richard Emson, Knight, our Chancellor of our Duchy of Lancaster; Edmund Dudley, Esq., our Attorney; that at the time of our decease shall be our Confessor; the Provincial of the Freres Observants; and Maister William at Warer, Dean of our Chapel; or any six of them at the least, and three of our executors. And in case, by such examination, it can be found that the complaint be made of a grounded cause in conscience, other than matter done by the course and order of our laws, or that our said executors, by their wisdoms and discretions, shall think that in conscience our soul ought to stand charged with the said matter and complaint, we will then that, as the case shall require, he and they be restored and recompensed by our said executors out of such ready money, &c.’

It will be observed that Empson and Dudley, who are also appointed executors, are named members of the Board of Compensation; and this gives strength to the plea which they afterwards set up in self-defence, that all they did was in obedience to the royal mandate or in strict accordance with the arbitrary laws which servile parliaments had passed. The will directs that open proclamation shall be made in every shire-town for all who had suffered wrong to appear and prove their case. This was done, and Hume, in apparent forgetfulness of the direction, attributes it to the undue eagerness of Henry VIII. to become popular

popular at the expense of his father's memory and ministers. 'A proclamation,' he remarks, 'being offered to encourage complaints, the rage of the people was let loose on all the delators and informers who had so long exercised an unbounded tyranny over the nation. They were thrown into prison, condemned to the pillory, and most of them lost their lives from the violence of the populace.'

The will of Henry VIII. is in perfect keeping with his character, beginning with a mixture of dogmatism and the pride that apes humility, and proceeding to dispose of the entire kingdom, as, indeed, he was authorised to do (sailing his children and their issue) by stat. 35 Henry VIII., chap. 1.

The first 'Defender of the Faith' resolutely upheld as many of the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church as could be reconciled with his summary rejection of its supremacy and with the seizure of a large portion of its temporalities. He therefore directs a sermon and mass on the morrow devoutly to be done, and 'that all Divine service accustomed for dead folks to be celebrated for us in the next proper place where it shall fortune us to depart this transitory life.' After providing for the foundation of the Poor Knights of Windsor, he proceeds to entail the Crown by nearly the same forms of expression as are used in ordinary marriage-settlements; passing over the line of his elder sister the Queen of Scots in favour of that of his younger sister the Duchess of Suffolk: and he appoints a council for his son until he shall have accomplished his eighteenth year.

Katharine of Arragon, the divorced Queen of Henry VIII., exhibits a praiseworthy scrupulosity in doing to others that justice which had been denied to herself:—

'Item, I ordain to Francisco Philippe all that I owe unto him, and besides that xl*l.* sterling. Item, I ordain to Mr. John, mine apothecary, his wages for the year coming, and besides that all that is due unto him. Item, I ordain that Mr. Whiller be paid of expence about the making of my gown, and besides that of xx*l.* sterling. Item, I give to Philip, to Anthony, and to Bastian, to every of them xx*l.* sterling. Item, I ordain to the little maidens xl. to every of them. Item, I ordain that my goldsmith be paid of his wages for the year coming, and besides all that is due to him hitherto. Item, I ordain that my launderer be paid of that is due unto her, and besides that of her wages for the year coming. Item, I ordain to the Sabell of Vergas xx*l.* sterling. Item, to my ghostly father his wages for the year coming. Item, it may please the King my good Lord, that the house ornaments of the church to be made of my gowns, which he holdeth, for to serve the convent thereat I shall be buried. And the furs of the same I give for my daughter.'

The concluding bequest is a proof of the value of wearing apparel

in those days, the Queen's gowns being thought worth detention by the King, and also worth devising when separated from the furs.

This is the last of the royal wills mentioned by Sir H. Nicolas. If we were writing a treatise on ancient furniture, jewellery, arms, or habiliments, we should be tempted to draw largely on the remainder of his compilation.\* But having little space to spare for purely antiquarian purposes, we shall merely borrow a few marked illustrations of the customs of the middle ages.

Beds, it seems, of the most sumptuous materials, were then a fashionable luxury. Shirts, blankets, pillows, and coverlets or counterpanes, are frequent subjects of bequest; and one lady of quality, Katharine Lady Hastings, having borrowed money of another, Cecilia, Marchioness of Dorset, wills (1503) 'that the said Cecilia, in full contentation of such sums of money that I owe unto her, have my bed of arras, litter, tester, and counterpane, which she late borrowed of me.' The costliness of the materials may be estimated from the tradition that the bed, with the furniture, prepared for James I. at Knowle, cost 7000*l.*, the curtains being of cloth of gold.

The value and interest of many objects which have been depreciated by modern scepticism, might be enhanced by judicious references to wills. Thus, without giving implicit credence to the porter of Warwick Castle, when he exhibits the sword with which Earl Guy killed the dun cow, and the armour worn by the champion during the exploit, we may believe both to be of respectable antiquity when we find Thomas Earl of Warwick bequeathing, April 1st, 1400, a piece of plate 'wrought with the arms and story of Guy of Warwick, and the sword and coat of mail which was that worthy knight's; likewise the harness and ragged staves.' The ruby ring, called 'the Charter of Poynings,' is bequeathed by Sir Michael de Poynings in 1368. The Pusey Horn and the Luck of Eden Hall may be similarly authenticated at long distant periods, and the first (commonly called 'the Great') Earl of Cork left 'to his dearly-honoured lord, the Lord Primate, his best jewel, called Sir Walter Rawleigh's stone, during his life, to be returned to his heir at his death.' This stone, still preserved as an heirloom in the Boyle family, is a large sapphire, and was long supposed to have belonged to the ring which Lady Nottingham received from Essex to be transmitted to Queen Elizabeth. The whole story is con-

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\* A large collection of materials of the same description will be found amongst *The Publications of the Surtees Society*. See vol. ii., containing *Wills and Inventories illustrative of the Manners and Customs of the Northern Counties of England, &c.*

temptuously

temptuously rejected by Mr. Kingsley, although accepted by Hume. At all events, the claims of the Boyle sapphire have been surrendered in favour of a ring in the possession of another family, and the Rawleigh stone is now supposed to be the token on the receipt of which, as agreed between James I. and his emissaries at the English Court, he was to understand that he had acceded to the throne. It was thrown out of window by an attendant on the dying Queen the moment she had breathed her last, caught by a mounted messenger in waiting, and carried to Scotland with all possible despatch.

Bequests for masses and pilgrimages abound, and it is curious to observe to what extent the belief in the efficacy of vicarious performances prevailed. Thus, in Sir Roger Beauchamp's will (1379), we find, 'Whereas I am bound to do service on the infidels, by devise of my grandsire Sir Walter Beauchamp, to the expense of two hundred marks, I will that Roger, son to Roger my son, shall perform the same when he comes of age.' The Earl of Hereford (1361) directs that—

'A chaplain of good condition be sent to Jerusalem principally for my Lady my mother, my Lord my father, and for us; and that the chaplain be charged to say masses by the way at all times that he can conveniently for the souls; and that a good and loyal man be sent to Canterbury, and to offer there XL s. silver for us; and another such man to Pomfret to offer at the tomb of Thomas, late Earl of Lancaster, XL s.'

When Le Balafre, Quentin Durward's uncle, hears of the mishap that has befallen his family, he bites off a few inches of his gold chain, and sends them to a monk with this message:—'Tell my gossip that my brother and sister, and some others of my house, are all dead and gone; and I pray him to have masses for their souls as far as the value of these links will carry him, and to do on trust what else may be necessary to free them from purgatory. And, hark ye! as they were just-living people, and free from all heresy, it may be that they are well nigh out of limbo already, so that a little matter may have them free of the fetlocks; and in that case, look ye, ye will say I desire to take out the balance of the gold in curses upon a generation called the Ogilvies of Angusshire in what way soever the Church may best come at them.' This is the spirit in which masses were commonly ordered. The testator's main object was to get what he thought money's worth for his money. Thus Sir Thomas Littleton (the author of the 'Treatise on Tenures,' rendered famous by Coke's commentary) leaves a sum of money for masses 'for the souls of my feder and moder, and for the soul of William Burley, my fader-in-law; and for the soul of Sir Philip Chatwin, and for all souls that I am most bounden to pray for.'

The



The average cost of masses may be collected from a clause in the will of Joan Lady Cobham, 1369:—

‘I will that vii thousand masses be said for my soul by the Canons of Tunbrugge and Tanfugge, and the four Orders of Friars in London, viz. the Friars Preachers, Minors, Augustines, and Carmelites, who for so doing shall have xxix l. iii s. iv d.’

This is rather less than three-halfpence per mass.

The Earl of Salisbury, the son of Henry II. by the Fair Rosamond, bequeaths for the building of a monastery (*inter alia*) ‘a thousand sheep, three hundred muttons, forty-eight oxen, and fifteen bulls.’

More than one parallel may be found amongst these testators for the scrupulous taxpayers whose payments for conscience-sake are acknowledged by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in ‘The Times,’ and wickedly derided by ‘Punch.’ The Earl of Warwick (1369) leaves,—‘To every church within each of my manors the best beast which should there be found, in satisfaction of my tithes forgotten and not paid; and I desire that my executors make full satisfaction to every man that I have in any sort wronged.’

The uncertainty under which testators in early times laboured whether their wills would be faithfully carried out, appears as well from the urgency of their adjurations to their executors, as from the number appointed, the care taken to name persons of rank and influence, and occasional bequests to the sovereign or men in authority to conciliate support. Thomas, first Earl of Derby, bequeaths (1504),—‘To my lord the King (Henry VII.) a cup of gold; and I pray him to be a good lord to my son, and to the performance of my will, as I have been a true servant, and so shall depart out of this wretched world.’ Sir William Compton, founder of the Northampton family, bequeaths,—‘To my lord the King (Henry VIII.) certain specialties to the sum of 1000 marks, being for money lent to Sir Thomas Boleyn, Knight, to the intent that his Highness would be so gracious to my lady and children as to permit my said will to be performed as is expressed.’ The thriftiest offer for royal favour is made by Lord Scrope (1420):—‘Also I will that if my lord the King be good to my executors in favour of this my will, that he shall be forgiven half the gold which he oweth me for my wages upon pawns.’ The King in question being Henry V., the wages were doubtless due for military service or for raising troops. The object of bequests to the Church or for pious uses was not exclusively superstitious, for wills were seldom set aside or evaded when the priesthood had a direct interest in upholding them.

Walter

Walter Frampton, Mayor of Bristol, December 1388, leaves his wife a large fortune, subject to the condition that if she should marry again, or live an unchaste life, and the same be capable of proof, then his executors should enter and dispossess her, after three proclamations by sound of trumpet at the high altar. 'This very severe prohibition of a second marriage or concealed concubinage,' observes Sir Harris Nicolas, 'occurs in several other wills of the inhabitants of Bristol dated about this period, and was probably, therefore, considered by the prudent burgesses as a proper precaution.'

Sir Nicholas Pelham, ancestor of the Earls of Chichester, by a will dated 1569, bequeaths 'to my daughter, Anne Pelham, towards her finding and bringing up, until such time as she shall be married, 10*l.* yearly, and five hundred marks, and all her apparel at the day of her marriage.' 'This legacy,' observes the author of some explanatory notes prefixed to the '*Testamenta Vetusta*,' 'is nearly the standard of what was considered to be a sufficient provision of a younger daughter of an English gentleman at the period.' The Marquis of Dorset wills, in 1501, that each of his unmarried daughters shall have 1000*l.* The Duke of Norfolk bequeaths, in 1520, only 300*l.* each for the marrying of his. In modern times instances abound of daughters portioned off with a fraction of the annual income entailed upon the eldest son; and it is difficult to conceive a more startling vicissitude than is undergone by the junior members of a great family, especially the females, when, on the father's death, they cease perforce to regard the family mansion as their home.

Prior to the invention of printing, books, or copies of manuscripts made by hand, were very dear and scarce. They are particularised as carefully as plate or jewels, and the quality of the reading of the higher orders may be collected from the literary treasures they bequeath. Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester, wife of Thomas of Woodstock, bequeaths a '*Chronicle of France*,' in French; also a book of Giles, '*De Regimine Principum*;' a book of vices and virtues, and another poem of the '*Historie de Chivaler a Cigne*;' a psalter, well and richly illuminated, with the clasps of gold; a book well illuminated, with the *legenda aurea*, in French; a French Bible in two volumes; a book of decretals in French; a book of *Meistres Histoires*; a book, '*De Vitis Patrum*;' and the pastorel 'St. Gregory.' This was in 1399. In 1349, Margaret, Countess of Devon, leaves 'to my daughter Engaine 40*l.*, with two primers, and a book called "*Arthur de Bretagne*.'" In 1353, Elizabeth de Burgh, Lady of Clare, bequeaths '*deux bons antiphoners*, 1 bone legende, two bones messales, one bone Bible covered with

with black leather, one Hugucion (a work of Hugutio de Vorællis on the Decretals), one book of questions, and twenty-two quaires of a book called 'De Causâ Dei contra Pelagianos.' In 1268, William de Beauchamp devises a book of 'Lancelot.' Thomas, Duke of Exeter, gives his sister Joan a book called 'Tristram' in 1426. In 1519, rather more than half a century after the entire Bible had been printed on the Continent, Codd, Dean of St. Paul's, provides:—'Item, the New Testament, and other of mine own making, wryten on parchment, as comments of Paul's Epistles and abbreviations, with many such other, I will shall be disposed at the disposition of mine executors, which disposition I leave to their discretion, and all my books imprinted on paper I will also by them be disposed to poor students, and specially to such as have been scholars with me.' Two years earlier, 1517, W. Mordaunt, collateral ancestor of the Earls of Peterborough, and Prothonotary of the Common Pleas, wills 'that his Bible, and all his other books, as well of the law as of entries, English books and Latin books, remain to the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, from one to the other, without selling or putting away any of them.' If he had read his books, he might have learned that they were incapable of being entailed in this fashion.

The poet Gower bequeaths in 1408, 'to the prior and convent of Elsing Spittle a certain large book lately composed at my expense, which is called "Martirologium," so that I ought to have a special memorial written in the same, according to their promises.'

Bequests for the erection of statues and monuments are of frequent occurrence, and the directions are sometimes both curious and minute; as in the will of Isabel, Countess of Warwick, 1439:—

'Also I will that my statue be made, all naked, with my hair cast backwards, according to the design and model which Thomas Porchalion has for that purpose, with Mary Magdalen laying her hand across, and St. John the Evangelist on the right side, and St. Anthony on the left; at my feet a scutcheon, impaling my arms with those of the Earl my husband, supported by two griffins, but on the sides thereof the statues of poor men and women in their poor array, with their beads in their hands.'

Richard, Earl of Warwick, by will dated 1435, desires his executors to cause four images of gold, each weighing twenty pounds, 'to be made like unto myself,' in his coat of arms, holding an 'anker' betwixt his hands, and so to be offered and delivered in his name at four shrines respectively.

Guichard, Earl of Huntingdon, wills that his heart be taken  
out

out of his body and preserved with spices, to be deposited in the church of Engle. The preservation of the nobler members, especially the heart, was frequently enjoined. Robert Bruce's behest, which cost the good Lord James of Douglas his life, and originated the name of Lockhart, is a familiar instance. Nor was the injunction of the lover in the song, though the sentiment sounds somewhat overstrained, without precedent in story :—

‘ When in death I shall calm recline,  
Oh, bear my heart to my mistress dear.’

The heart which the Seigneur de Coucy intercepted, and served up in a ragout to his wife, was a legacy from a dying adorer to his mistress dear.

Although Mr. Nichols may have had good reasons for not continuing his collection of royal wills beyond the fifteenth century, the testamentary dispositions and deathbed department of some kings and queens of a later period are equally replete with interest. When Edward VI., prompted by the Duke of Northumberland, proposed during his last illness to set aside the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth, and settle the crown on the heirs of the Duchess of Suffolk, instead of proceeding by way of devise, he caused letters patent to be made out, and countersigned by all the privy councillors. It was by virtue of this step that Lady Jane Grey was proclaimed Queen. Yet from what passed at Queen Elizabeth's deathbed it would seem that both sovereigns and subjects remained imbued with the belief that, in cases of doubt, the nomination of a successor was a recognised branch of the prerogative. The various accounts have been brought together and collated with her wonted diligence by Miss Strickland in her ‘*Queens of England.*’ All agree that the Council anxiously watched the countenance and gestures of the dying Queen, in the hope of being able to gather from them some indication of her wishes. Carey says that when she put her hand to her head on James being named, the irresistible inference was that she meant him to be her heir. Lady Southwell, an eye-witness, is more minute :—

‘ Her throat troubling her much, they desired her to hold up her finger when they named who she liked : whereupon they named the King of France (this was to try her intellect), then she never stirred ; the King of Scotland—she made no sign ; then they named Lord Beauchamp—this was the heir of Seymour, whose rights were derived from his mother, Lady Katharine Gray, one of the most unfortunate of Elizabeth's victims. Anger awakened the failing mind of the expiring Queen ; she roused herself at the name of the injured person, whom she could not forgive, and said fiercely, “ I will have no rascal's son in my seat, but one worthy to be a king.” ’

Hume

Hume makes her say distinctly that she would have a king to succeed her.

By a natural transition we turn from Elizabeth to her rival and victim, the unhappy Queen of Scots. When she (Mary Stuart) was told that she must prepare for death the next morning at eight, she remonstrated, saying, 'That is very sudden, and leaves no time for preparation, in consequence of my papers being seized and detained. I have not yet made my will, and it is necessary that I should endeavour to make some arrangements to provide for my faithful servants, who have sacrificed everything for my sake, and who, in losing me, will lose everything.' She was harshly refused. So, in the course of the evening, she divided all the money in her possession, putting each sum into a separate little purse, with a slip of paper, on which she wrote with her own hand the name of the person for whom it was designed. She then made a distribution of her wardrobe and her jewels. A sapphire ring, which she set apart for Lord Claude Hamilton, is in the possession of the present Duke of Hamilton; a little drinking-cup, given to her goddaughter, Mary Strickland, is in the possession of Mr. C. S. Eustace; and the diamond ring, with which the Duke of Norfolk plighted his troth to her, has descended to Mr. Waterton.\*

Queen Anne's intentions are described by Arbuthnot, her domestic physician, in a letter to Swift:

'I believe sleep was never more welcome to a weary traveller than death to her. It surprised her suddenly before she had signed her will, which no doubt her being involved in so much business hindered her from finishing. It is unfortunate she had been persuaded, as is supposed, by Lowndes that it was necessary to have it under the Great Seal. I had figured to myself all this melancholy scene twenty times over, and even worse, if that be possible, than it happened; so I was prepared for it. My case is not half so deplorable as poor Lady Masham's, and several of the Queen's servants, some of whom have no chance for their bread but the generosity of his present Majesty George I., which several people that know him very much commend.'

Since the Revolution of 1688, the wills of English sovereigns have been practically regarded very nearly in the same light as those of private persons, and by 39 and 40 George III., c. 88, it was enacted that all such personal estate of his Majesty and his successors respectively as shall not come in right of the crown, shall be subject to disposition by last will and testament under the sign manual. Before the passing of this statute the point

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\* \* *Lives of the Queens of Scotland, &c.* By Agnes Strickland, author of *The Queens of England*, vol. vii. p. 475.

was involved in doubt. 'Whether kings and sovereign princes can make their testaments,' observed Godolphin, 'is resolved in the affirmative, but of what things is such a *questio status* as is safest resolved by a *noli me tangere*.' The Ecclesiastical Court has no power to grant any probate of the will of a deceased sovereign. This was decided on an application of the person calling herself Princess Olive of Cumberland, who sought to enforce against George IV. an alleged testamentary paper of George III., giving her a legacy. The application was refused on the ground that no process, suit, or action can be brought against the king. Sir John Nicholl, in giving judgment, stated that the history of the wills of sovereigns from the Saxon times had been diligently searched, and that no instance had been produced of any sovereign having taken probate in the Archbishop's Court, or of any sovereign's will having been proved there, nor of any successor of an intestate sovereign coming to the court for letters of administration.\* Something we had to say concerning the wills of the two first Georges. But it shall remain unsaid. We gladly resign to others the task of dragging their frailties into light.

The Bourbon kings of France were great will-makers. That the result seldom, if ever, corresponded with their expectations, is bitterly acknowledged by Louis XIV., who had been so accustomed to subserviency as to be horrified at the thought of having once in his long life found himself actually on the verge of being kept waiting. *J'ai failli attendre!* St. Simon has recorded the forebodings of the Grand Monarch:—

'The scene was Versailles. On Sunday, Aug. 27, 1714, the First President and the Procureur-General, whose attendance had been commanded, entered the royal cabinet. When they were alone with the King, he took from a drawer a large packet sealed with seven seals ("I know not," says St. Simon, "if M. du Maine, the supposed prompter of the will, wished to imitate the seven seals of the Apocalypse"). "This," he said, delivering it, "is my will. There is no one knows its contents but myself. I deliver it to you to keep in the Parliament, to which I cannot give a greater proof of my esteem and confidence than to make them depositaries of it. The example of the Kings my predecessors, and that of the will of the King my father, warn me what may become of this; but it has been insisted on; I have been tormented; I have been left no repose, say what I would. Tell them I have purchased my repose. Here it is: take it away; let what will become of it, at least I shall hear no more talking about it."

\* See 1 'Addams's Reports,' p. 263; and 'Williams's Executors,' vol. i. p. 13, note g.

‘The day following, meeting the Queen of England at Madame de Maintenon’s, he burst out in a similar strain. “Madame, I have made my will; I was teased into making it.” Then glancing at Madame de Maintenon: “I have bought repose; I know its want of power and inutility. We can do all we wish whilst we exist; after us we can do less than private persons. *It is only necessary to see what came of the will of the King my father, and immediately after his death, and those of so many other kings.* I know it well: despite of this, they have insisted on it. I have been allowed neither peace, nor quiet, nor repose till it was done. Well, Madame, there it is done. Let what will come of it, but at least I shall be teased about it no more.”’

The main object of the will, and of a codicil subsequently annexed, was to aggrandize his natural children at the expense of the Regent; but events verified his prediction, that arbitrary power is not amongst the influences which, whether for good or evil, can be made to extend beyond the grave. If such a moral required strengthening, we might appeal in succession to each of the gifted or fortunate few who, for extent of dominion, unlimited power, and personal weight, head the list of the envied mortals who are popularly designated as Great. Let us see how far, and with what result, Alexander, Cæsar, Charlemagne, Charles V., Cromwell, and Napoleon reckoned on the *post mortem* impress of their volition.

Death surprised Alexander in the thirty-second year of his age. Dying, he gave his ring to Perdicas, thereby, it was supposed, meaning to indicate him as his successor; but the devise, if it was one, simply precipitated the ruin of the devisee.

Cæsar’s will was that of one who already regarded the entire Roman people as his family, and seems to have been prepared with a view to the use which Marc Antony made of it in his famous funeral oration:

‘Here is the will, and under Cæsar’s seal:  
To every Roman citizen he gives,  
To every several one, seventy-five drachmas.

\* \* \* \*

Moreover he has left you all his walks,  
His private arbours, and new-planted orchards,  
On this side Tiber: he hath left them you  
And to your heirs for ever, common pleasures,  
To walk abroad and recreate yourselves.  
Here was a Cæsar! When comes such another?’

He could not leave the crown which he had refused, nor the dignity of Imperator; and although his name aided the ambitious projects of his heir, the empire of Augustus was no more owing  
to



to the dispositions of his uncle than that of Louis Napoleon can be regarded as a direct inheritance from *his*.

Charlemagne adopted what he deemed a more efficacious mode of settlement than a will. He drew up what the historians describe as a Charter of Division. His children, we are told, at once gave their consent to that distribution of his dominions which he thought fit to provide against the period of his death, and the General Assembly of the nation sanctioned it without hesitation. The princes and the nobles swore to observe the partition; and a copy of the document was transmitted to the head of the Christian Church, that the authenticity of the deed might be preserved undoubted by a transcript, attested by the supreme pontiff himself, remaining in the archives of the Church.\* Yet so completely inoperative was this charter, that its very existence has been disputed by modern French writers of authority.

A deservedly popular work, 'The Cloister Life of the Emperor Charles V.,' must have made most readers familiar with the moribund proceedings of the imperial recluse. With a touch of sarcastic humour, the author, Mr. Stirling, relates that,—

'Charles had made his will on the 6th June, 1554, at Bruxelles. The codicil, from its great length, its minuteness, and the frequent recurrence of provisions to be observed in case he died before he should see his son, there being now no hope of such a meeting, appears to have been prepared some time before. But as it was read to him ere his trembling hand affixed the last stamp of his authority, it remains as a proof that one of his latest acts was to charge Philip, by his love and allegiance, and by his hope of salvation, to take care that the heretics were repressed and chastised with all publicity and rigour, as their faults deserved, without respect of persons, and without regard to any plea in their favour. The rest of the paper is filled with directions for his interment, and with a list of legacies to forty-eight servants, and many thoughtful arrangements for the comfort of those who had attended him from Flanders. Although willing to send all his Protestant subjects to martyrdom, he watched with fatherly kindness over the fortunes of grooms and scullions.' †

Johnson praises Frederic the Great for possessing that minute knowledge of his household affairs which enabled him to point out a particular bottle of wine in his cellar. Charles V. had this alleged merit in perfection, at least during his cloister life; for we find him disposing of the contents of his larder, and of the arrears of fines due from trespassers and poachers on his petty

\* James's 'History of Charlemagne,' p. 469.

† See also the French work on the same subject by a very eminent writer: 'Charles Quint, son Abdication, son Séjour, et sa Mort au Monastère de Yuste. Par M. Mignet, Membre de l'Académie,' &c.: deuxième édition, p. 426.

reserved domains. He bequeaths a legacy of less than 8*l.* to a clockmaker's assistant, and reminds his executors to deduct from the clockmaker's bill a prior payment on account. Whether these things are proofs of a capacious intellect turning naturally to small things from great, as a steam hammer will crack a nut after welding an anchor, or signs of the narrowing effect of circumstances on the strongest minds, may be a fair subject for metaphysical discussion. Let us not forget that when Diocletian was invited to reassume the purple, he stuck to his cabbages; and that when Fox was in the Louvre with Rogers in 1802, he looked out of the gallery window, and thought the sun was burning up his turnips at St. Anne's Hill.

Cowley, in that fine passage of his 'Discourses' in which the wonderful events of Cromwell's career are enumerated, brings them to an acme by the fact, that he should 'have the estates and lives of three nations as much at his disposal as was once the little inheritance of his father, and be as noble and liberal in the spending of them; and, lastly (for there is no end of enumerating every particular of his glory), with one word bequeath all this power and splendour to his posterity.' According to Hume, when Cromwell was dying, the council sent a deputation to know his will with regard to his successor. His senses were gone, and he was unable to express his intentions. They asked him whether he did not mean that his eldest son, Richard, should succeed him in the Protectorship? and a simple affirmative was, or seemed to be, extorted from him. In short, these unpromising democrats who had recently abolished monarchy and laughed hereditary right to scorn, hung on the lips of the speechless usurper with the same devotion with which the servile courtiers of the haughty Tudor watched for a word from her mouth or a sign from her hand, and probably were amongst the first to gainsay the token thus painfully extorted by their importunity.

Napoleon's testamentary dispositions are comprised in a will and five codicils, which were all carefully revised and definitively settled at the same time, so that no single clause can be rejected on the ground of temporary aberration of intellect without invalidating the whole. The most remarkable clauses in the will are these:—

'I die, prematurely assassinated by the English oligarchy and its cut-throat (*sicaire*). The English nation will not be slow in avenging me.

'The too unfortunate results of the invasion of France, when she had still so many resources, are to be attributed to the treason of  
Marmont,

Marmont, Angereau, Talleyrand, and La Fayette. I forgive them: may the posterity of France forgive them, *like me.*'

This mode of forgiving may recall the passage in 'Ivanhoe,' in which Maurice de Bracy kneels for forgiveness to Rowena: 'I forgive you, Sir Knight, as a Christian.' 'That means,' said Wamba, 'that she does not forgive him at all.'

Napoleon rivals Charles V. in minute attention to every article of furniture; but the directions are express that none of the articles used by him shall be sold. The distribution is marked by much kindness of feeling and a grateful sense of the devotion of which he had been the object; and altogether the will and codicils are no unfaithful reflex of the good and hateful qualities of the man.

The most notable clause of all is the famous legacy to Cantillon, 'who,' so argues the Imperial testator, 'had as much right to assassinate that oligarchist (the Duke of Wellington) as the latter had to send me to perish on the rock of St. Helena.' The notion that the bequest was made during a paroxysm of insanity is quite untenable. Napoleon was a genuine Corsican, and it required far less than he underwent at St. Helena to provoke his ingrained spirit of vindictiveness. From the 'Moniteur' we learn that Cantillon received no less than 10,354 francs, for principal and interest, at some time or other, from somebody. When was he paid? and who paid him? are questions which will puzzle posterity, as much as the authorship of 'Junius' or the identity of the Man in the Iron Mask. In the House of Commons, February 12th, 1858, Lord Palmerston stated, in answer to Mr. Stirling, that 'the payments on account were made by the executors between 1823 and 1826, and that when Cantillon's widow applied, in 1854, for a balance of 1200 francs, which, she contended, was due for interest, the Commissioners refused to make the issue, alleging that, in their opinion, the testator must have been labouring under mental aberration when he made such a bequest, and that they did not think it any part of their duty to give effect to it.' His Lordship's statement rested on authority which he has had ample reason to distrust; and, having served the purposes of the hour in England, it was studiously suppressed in France, where it would have been repudiated as both offensive and untrue. In his 'Fragment of International History,' Mr. Stirling completely demolishes the hypothesis of mental aberration, and raises a very strong presumption that a part of the legacy was paid with the knowledge and sanction of the reigning Emperor of the French.\*

\* 'Napoleon's Bequest to Cantillon: a Fragment of International History.' London: John W. Parker and Son. 1858. This highly interesting Essay is already out of print.

By a remarkable coincidence, Cantillon's attempt figures prominently in the only testamentary paper left by his intended victim, drawn up in 1818, and beginning,—‘The recent attempt on my life leading me to believe that I may be some day cut off in a moment.’

We have given precedence to royalty. Yet a livelier and more rational interest is inspired by the wills of the magnates of intellect, the great writers, thinkers, and orators. Some insight may thus be obtained into their state of mind when contemplating the departure from this world to the next. Unfortunately the majority of eminent men of letters have died intestate, for the simple reason that they had nothing to bequeath. Too true when written, and for more than a quarter of a century afterwards, were Johnson's impressive lines:—

‘There mark what ills the scholar's life assail—  
Toil, envy, want, the patron, and the gao.  
See nations, slowly wise and meanly just,  
To buried merit raise the tardy bust.’

The epigram on Butler's monument explains why he did not make a will:—

‘The poet's fate is here in emblem shown,  
He asks for bread and he receives a stone.’

The crust which choked Otway repeats the tale, and the touching incident related of Goldsmith throws a melancholy light on the premature death of more poets than we could number up without a pang. ‘Your pulse,’ said his doctor, ‘is in greater disorder than it should be from the degree of fever which you have. *Is your mind at ease?*’ ‘*No, it is not,*’ were the last words he was ever heard to utter. At the same time it is consoling to find—and we commend the circumstance to the attention of those who may be apt to fancy improvidence inseparable from the poetic temperament—that Shakespeare and Milton, with several other poets of undoubted genius, carefully put their houses in order before their final departure, and managed to save enough to secure those nearest and dearest to them from want.

Ben Jonson and Dryden died intestate; so did Sir Isaac Newton. Bacon did worse: he died insolvent. At least, Lord Campbell positively asserts that the will, with its six executors and the proposed lectureship, became a dead letter for want of assets. There is one of its bequests, however, which has not proved altogether nugatory: ‘For my name and memory I leave it to men's charitable speeches, to foreign nations, and the next ages.’ In a former will, there is the same wish expressed in less pointed terms: ‘For my name and memory, I leave it to foreign nations and to mine own countrymen after some time be passed over.’

over.' Gallant and oft-renewed have been the efforts of Bacon's admirers, and champion after champion has appeared in the lists to uphold his innocence. His last biographer, Mr. Basil Montagu, went down before the well-directed lance of an adversary (Lord Macaulay) whose superior prowess might possibly account for the result of the encounter independently of the merits of the cause; and we understand that divers learned and accomplished persons, who have more recently taken charge of Bacon's reputation, confidently hope to redeem the fortunes of the field. The wishes [of every enlightened man in both hemispheres attend upon them.

In his will, as in his conduct and demeanour, the Dean of St. Patrick has freely given vent to his likings and dislikings, his generous impulses, his public spirit, his prejudices and his whims. In the following item his peculiar vein of sarcasm may be traced, and his theological antipathies go hand in hand with his Christianity.

*'Item, Whereas I purchased the inheritance of the tithes of the parish of Effernock, near Trim, in the county of Meath, for two hundred and sixty pounds sterling: I bequeath the said tithes to the vicars of Laracor, for the time being, that is to say, so long as the present Episcopal religion shall continue to be the national established faith and profession in this kingdom: but, whenever any other form of Christian religion shall become the established faith in this kingdom, I leave the said tithes of Effernock to be bestowed, as the profits come in, to the poor of the said parish of Laracor, by a weekly proportion, and by such other officers as may then have the power of distributing charities to the poor of the said parish, while Christianity under any shape shall be tolerated among us, still excepting professed Jews, atheists, and infidels.'*

A dash of humour is mingled with his recollections of his friends:

*'Item, I bequeath to the Reverend Mr. Robert Grattan, Prebendary of St. Audoen's, my gold bottle-screw, which he gave me, and my strong-box, on condition of his giving the sole use of the said box to his brother Dr. James Grattan, during the life of the said Doctor, who hath more occasion for it, and the second best beaver hat I shall die possessed of.*

*'Item, I bequeath to Mr. John Grattan, Prebendary of Clonmethan, my silver box in which the freedom of the city of Cork was presented to me; in which I desire the said John to keep the tobacco he usually cheweth, called pigtail.*

*'Item, I bequeath all my horses and mares to the Reverend Mr. John Jackson, vicar of Santry, together with all my horse-furniture; lamenting that I had not credit enough with any chief governor (since the change of times) to get some additional church preferment for so*

virtuous and worthy a gentleman. I also leave him my third best beaver hat.

'Item, I leave to the Reverend Mr. John Worrall my best beaver hat.' This fancy for leaving his best, second best, and third best hats may puzzle the commentators as much as Shakspeare's well-known bequest, to his wife, of his second-best bed. Swift's disposition of the bulk of his property has obtained a poetical celebrity by his verses 'On his Own Death.'

'He gave the little wealth he had  
To build a house for fools or mad,  
To show by one satiric touch,  
No nation wanted it so much.' \*

There is more truth and sense in some preceding lines of the same poem than he perceived at the time or would have liked to own, and we quote them for their general applicability:—

"Oh, may we all for death prepare:  
What has he left? and who's his heir?"  
"I know no more than what the news is:  
'Tis all bequeath'd to public uses."  
"To public uses! Here's a whim!  
What had the public done for him?  
Mere envy, avarice, and pride,  
He gave it all: but first he died."  
"And had the Dean, in all the nation,  
No worthy friend, no poor relation?  
So ready to do strangers good,  
Forgetting his own flesh and blood."

Public benefactions have no necessary connection with public spirit. One of the most valuable collections bequeathed to the nation was given to spite a son, who was so ill-advised as to criticise the testator's cherished *chef-d'œuvre* in a newspaper, saying that he held it a matter of duty to show up the imposture. The father made a fresh will, cutting him off with a shilling, and hung it, framed and glazed, over the mantelpiece of his dining-room. When such things occur in actual life, the will of Nicholas Gimcrack, Esq., in the 'Tatler' (No. 216), can hardly be regarded as a caricature.

'Having fully provided for my nephew Isaac, by making over to him some years since a horned scarabæus, the skin of a rattlesnake, and the mummy of an Egyptian king, I make no further provision for him in this my will.

'My eldest son John, *having spoken disrespectfully of his little sister,*

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\* A full account of St. Patrick's Hospital for the reception of lunatics, which was founded by Swift's bequest, aided by other contributions, is appended to Scott's 'Life of Swift.'

whom I keep by me in spirits of wine, and in many other instances behaved himself undutifully towards me, I do disinherit and wholly cut off from any part of my present estate, by giving him a single cockle-shell.'

Hazlitt, who kept his eyes almost exclusively fixed on the dark side of human nature, remarks, in his 'Essay on Will-making,' that the disinheriting of relations is mostly for venial offences, not for base actions. 'We punish out of pique, to revenge some case in which we have been disappointed of our wills, some act of disobedience to what had no reasonable ground to go upon.' Thus, the last of the Irish Lords Fitzwilliam was understood to have made a will leaving the bulk of his property to his friend Lord Onslow, when one morning at breakfast the expectant heir, after helping himself to cream, brought the rim of his cup in contact with the rim of the cream jug to prevent a drop from falling. Lord Fitzwilliam contended that this was ill-bred and showed a want of refinement, inasmuch as Lord Onslow's lip might have touched the part of the cup which touched the rim of the jug. The offending peer turned the objection into ridicule, and his name was forthwith erased from the will. The Fitzwilliam estates in and about Dublin are now the property of Mr. Sidney Herbert.

The last act of our lives, says Hazlitt, 'seldom belies the former tenor of them for stupidity, caprice, and unmeaning spite.' The tenor of Sarah Duchess of Marlborough's life may well justify a suspicion that the object of her legacy to 'the great commoner' was rather to display her dislike of his and her political opponents than admiration for his eloquence and patriotism. By a codicil, dated Aug. 12, 1744, two months before her death, she left Pitt 10,000*l.* for 'the noble defence he had made for the support of the laws of England, and to prevent the ruin of his country.' Walpole, in a letter to Conway, mentions another devise to Pitt, the motive of which is less questionable. 'You have heard, to be sure, of the great fortune that is bequeathed to Mr. Pitt by a Sir William Pynsent, an old man of near ninety, who quitted the world on the peace of Utrecht, and, luckily for Mr. Pitt, lived to be as angry with its pendant, the treaty of Paris. I did not mention the first report, which mounted it to an enormous sum. I think the medium account is 2000*l.* a year, and 30,000*l.* in money. This Sir W. Pynsent, whose fame, like an aloe, did not blow till nearly an hundred, was a singularity.'

'I give and I devise (old Euclio said,  
And sigh'd) my lands and tenements to Ned.  
Your money, Sir? My money, Sir. What, all?  
Why, if I must (then wept), I give it Paul.



The manor, Sir? The manor, hold! he cried;  
Not that; I cannot part with that! and died.'

Warton states in a note that Sir William Bateman used these very words on his deathbed. Malone says, 'The late Lord Elibank told me that the dying man who would not leave a favourite manor with the rest of his estates was the rich Duncombe. But the fact has been supposed to allude to Sir Godfrey Kneller.' Lord Hailes, writing to Malone, Oct., 1791, says, 'Pope was not a conscientious satirist. When an incident did not suit his purpose he mended it,' and mentions an instance 'where the poet converts an elegant bequest into a capricious lavishing of money.' His Lordship refers, we presume, to

'Die, and endow a college or a cat,'

which was understood to be levelled at the Duchess of Richmond, who left legacies to cats, as the most delicate way of providing for those intrusted with the administration of the fund. This was not the motive of Lord Eldon when he bequeathed his favourite dog Pincher to his daughter Lady Frances Banks, with a clear annual allowance of 8*l.* to buy him food—not more than enough to make him a tolerably good customer to the dog's-meat man.

Congreve affords a striking illustration of the vanity, the spirit of contradiction, and the tendency of wealth to attract wealth, so fruitlessly lashed by the satirist. 'He saved some money,' says Mr. Thackeray, 'by his Pipe Office, and his Custom-house Office, and his Hackney-coach Office, and nobly left it, not to Bracegirdle (the actress who had been his mistress), who wanted it, but to the Duchess of Marlborough, who did not.' In graver tone, Johnson mentions the legacy to the Duchess as what, 'though to her superfluous, might have given great assistance to the ancient family from which he (Congreve) descended; at that time reduced to difficulties and distress.'

Lord Clarendon's will is comprised in four short clauses; not all together as long as the longest sentence in his History. After making his two sons Henry and Lawrence executors, and recommending their sister Frances and brother James to their kindness—'to whom I am able to leave nothing but their kindness,'—he proceeds and concludes thus:—

'Item, I give and bequeath to my said two sons all my papers and writings of what kind soever, and leave them entirely to their disposal, as they shall be advised, by suppressing or publishing, by the advice and approbation of my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Winchester, whom I do intreat to be the overseers of this my will. And that they would be both suitors to His Majesty on my children's behalf,

behalf, who have all possible need of His Majesty's charity, being *children of a father who never committed fault against His Majesty.*

This will was signed at Rouen, where he died an impoverished exile. No property whatever is mentioned in it.

Sir William Petty's will is an autobiography and an epitome of worldly maxims and social theories, as well as a testamentary paper:—

'In the first place, I declare and affirm that at the full age of fifteen years I had obtained the Latin, Greek, and French tongues, the whole body of common arithmetic, the practical geometry and astronomy conducing to navigation, drilling, &c., with the knowledge of several mathematical trades, all which, and having been at the University of Oxford, preferred me to the king's navy; where, at the age of twenty years, I had gotten up about threescore pounds, with as much mathematics as any of my age was known to have had.'

Such was his start in life. His subsequent gains and investments are minutely detailed, till, deducting 28,000*l.* for bad debts, they had accumulated to about 15,000*l.* per annum, which he divides amongst his family.

'As for legacies for the poor, I am at a stand. As for beggars by trade and election, I give them nothing. As for impotents by the hand of God, the public ought to maintain them. As for those who have been bred to no calling or estate, they should be put upon their kindred. As for those who can get no work, the magistrate should cause them to be employed, which may be well done in Ireland, where is fifteen acres of improvable land for every head; prisoners for crime, by the King; for debt, by their prosecutors. *As for those who compassionate the sufferings of any object, let them relieve themselves by relieving such sufferers, that is, giving them alms pro re nata, and for God's sake relieve those several species abovementioned, where the abovementioned obligers fail in their duties.* Wherefore I am contented that I have assisted all my poor relations, and put many into a way of getting their own bread, and have laboured in public works, and by inventions have sought out real objects of charity, and do hereby conjure all who partake of my estate from time to time to do the same at their peril. Nevertheless to answer custom, and to take the surer side, I give 20*l.* to the most wanting of the parish where I die.'

The testamentary paper left by Nelson is a remarkable proof of the irregularity and intensity of his affections, of the waywardness and warmth of his heart, in which patriotism and heroic self-devotion struggled for mastery with the fatal passion that has left the solitary blot upon his name. After a fervent prayer, committed to writing, he drew up and signed this appeal:—

'October 21, 1805. *Then in sight of the combined fleets of France and Spain, distant about ten miles.*

'Whereas the eminent services of Emma Hamilton, widow of the  
Right

Right Honourable Sir William Hamilton, have been of the very greatest service to my King and country, to my knowledge, without ever receiving any reward from either our King or country. (Then follows a summary of these services, in giving information of the King of Spain's intention in 1796 to declare war against England, and in procuring supplies for the English fleet before it sailed for Egypt and fought the battle of the Nile). Could I have rewarded these services, I would not now call upon my country; but as that has not been in my power, I leave Emma, Lady Hamilton, therefore a legacy to my King and country, that they will give her an ample provision to maintain her rank in life.

'I also leave to the beneficence of my country my adopted daughter, Horatia Nelson Thompson; and I desire she will in future use the name of Nelson only.

'These are the only favours I ask of my King and country, at this moment when I am going to fight their battle. May God bless my King and country, and all those I hold dear! My relations it is needless to mention; they will of course be amply provided for.

'NELSON AND BRONTE.

(Witness)

'HENRY BLACKWOOD.

'T. M. HARDY.'

Warren Hastings left a similar appeal, addressed to the East India Company, in favour of his widow, 'his elegant Marian,' which met with the same disregard as Nelson's in favour of the fascinating Emma; and with every wish to show indulgence for the weaknesses of departed greatness, we cannot say that the influence of either lady was of such a nature, or exercised in such a manner, as to call for a public recognition of her services.

If Sir Thomas Lawrence could have anticipated the future, he would have been little less mortified than Nelson or Hastings. He directed by his will that his collection of drawings, and certain pictures to which he attached a high value, should be first offered, at prices specified by him, to the nation, and, in case of refusal, to sundry distinguished patrons of art in succession; the first on the list being the late Sir Robert Peel. He doubtless thought he was paying a compliment or conferring a boon. But the prices were deemed too high, and the option of becoming the purchaser was declined by all.

No man in his ordinary, every-day mood understood life better than Lord Byron, or was less likely to mix up poetry or passion with matters of business. His private letters are full of good sense, and his will is a well-considered document prepared by lawyers. Any unkind inference that might have been drawn from the devise to Mrs. Leigh is expressly negatived: 'I make the above provision for my sister and her children, in consequence

quence of my dear wife Lady Byron, and any children I may have, being otherwise amply provided for.' The only touch of wilfulness or prejudice is in the codicil by which he gives his daughter Allegra 5000*l.*, on condition that she does not marry with a native of Great Britain. The executors and trustees are 'my friends' John Cam Hobhouse, Esq. (Lord Broughton), and John Hanson, Esq., his solicitor, the father of the Countess of Portsmouth, whom he gave away at the altar to the lunatic Earl.

Lord Erskine's will, dated November 15th, 1782, begins thus:—

'Being from a sense of honour, and not from any matter of personal resentment or revenge, about to expose my life to great peril, it is a comfort to me that I have so few duties to fulfil, previous to an event which may deprive me of every other opportunity of so doing.'

His only duel, according to his biographers, was at an earlier period, with Mr. Dennis O'Brien, arising out of a ball-room altercation at Lewes.

A codicil to David Hume's will runs thus:—

'I leave to my old friend Mr. John Home, of Kilduff, ten dozen of my old claret at his choice, and one single bottle of that other liquor called port. I also leave to him six dozen of port provided that he attests under his hand, signed John *Hume*, that he has himself alone finished that bottle at two sittings. By this concession, he will at once terminate the only two differences that ever arose between us concerning temporal affairs.'

The two differences were as to the proper mode of spelling their name—whether Hume or Home—and as to the merits of port, which John Home detested.

In the celebrated Lord Chesterfield's will we find:—

'In case my godson, Philip Stanhope, shall at any time hereafter keep, or be concerned in the keeping of, any race-horse, or pack of hounds, or reside one night at Newmarket, that infamous seminary of iniquity and ill manners, during the course of the races there; or shall resort to the said races, or lose in any one day at any game or bet whatever the sum of 500*l.*; then, in any of the cases aforesaid, it is my express wish that he, my said godson, shall forfeit and pay out of my estate the sum of 5000*l.* to and for the use of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster.'

The disposition of the penalty, we learn from Earl Stanhope, was a sly hit at the Dean and Chapter for having, as the Earl thought, driven a hard bargain with him for the site of Chesterfield House. He inserted their names because he felt sure that, if the penalty were incurred, they would not be slow in exacting it.

Our next specimen, the will of the Earl of Pembroke who lived

lived in the days of the Commonwealth, after a good many profane jests, proceeds thus :—

‘*Item.*—I give all my deer to the Earl of Salisbury, who I know will preserve them, because he denied the King a buck out of one of his own parks. *Item.*—I give nothing to Lord Say ; which legacy I give him, because I know he will bestow it on the poor. *Item.*—To Tom May I give five shillings ; I intended him more : but whoever has seen his “History of the Parliament,” thinks five shillings too much. *Item.*—I give Lieutenant-General Cromwell one word of mine, because hitherto he never kept his own. *Item.*—I give up the ghost.’

The commencement of Burke’s will is most impressive, and may serve as an antidote to Lord Pembroke’s ribaldry :—

‘According to the ancient good and laudable custom, of which my heart and understanding recognise the propriety, I bequeath my soul to God, hoping for his mercy only through the merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.’

The tricks of legacy-hunters are exposed with point and humour by Ben Jonson in ‘*Volpone* ;’ and repulsive as is the picture of the old fox, we are not sorry to see him paying off in their own coin the contemptible creatures who hope to prey upon him. It is ‘diamond cut diamond,’ and there is a moral in the drama for both sides : for the old and selfish, who are without ties of friendship or affection, as well as for the grasping and parasitical, who waste life and energy in watching and manœuvring for dead men’s shoes. There is a letter in the ‘*Spectator*’ from a man who had been encouraged from boyhood to expect the inheritance of three maiden aunts, and had consequently adopted no profession. The first who died left her share to the surviving sisters ; the second acted on the same principle ; and when, on the death of the third, who lived to near ninety, he came into possession of the property, he was a fidgety hypochondriac of seventy-one. So much for speculating on—

‘The death of some old gentleman or lady,  
Who makes us young ones wait too long already.’

Rich people without near relatives may be pardoned for involving their testamentary dispositions in doubt, when, without going so far as ‘*Volpone*,’ they receive attention or gain importance by the sustained uncertainty ; but there is a great deal of needless cruelty exercised in this fashion when family claims are strong, or hopes have been raised intentionally ; as in the case of the young woman in the ‘*Idler*,’ whose protector, from reluctance to complete an act from which many shrink as from the signature of their own death-warrant, dies suddenly and leaves

leaves her a beggar. But over-frankness may be dangerous; as Monk Lewis found to his cost; for he died on shipboard of medicine administered by two negro slaves, whom he had promised to emancipate in his will; though, in justice to them, it should be added that, according to another account, he paid the penalty of his own wilfulness in insisting on emetics as a remedy for sea-sickness.

Hazlitt mentions an habitual liar, who, consistent to the last, employed the few remaining days he had to live after being condemned by his doctors, in making a will, by which he bequeathed large estates in different parts of England, money in the funds, rich jewels, rings, and all kinds of valuables, to his old friends and acquaintances, who, not knowing how far the force of nature could go, were not for some time convinced that all this fairy wealth had never an existence anywhere but in the idle coinage of his brain, whose whims and projects were no more.

A wealthy nobleman hit upon a still more culpable device for securing posthumous ignominy. He gave one lady of rank a legacy 'by way of compensation for the injury he feared he had done, her fair fame;' a large sum to the daughter of another, a married woman, 'from a strong conviction that he was the father;' and so on, through half-a-dozen more items of the sort, each levelled at the reputation of some one from whom he had suffered a repulse; the whole being nullified (without being erased) by a codicil.

A widow, occupying a large house in a fashionable quarter of London, sent for a wealthy solicitor to make her will, by which she disposed of between fifty and sixty thousand pounds. He proposed soon after, was accepted, and found himself the happy husband of a penniless adventuress.

Shortly after the death of Mr. Assheton Smith, George Carter, one of his huntsmen, sought an interview with an old friend of the family, and with much earnestness made the following proposition:—

'I hope, Sir, when I and Jack Fricker and Will Bryce (the Whips) die, we may be laid alongside master in the Mausoleum, with Ham Ashley and Paul Potter (two hunters), and three or four couple of his favourite hounds, in order that we may be all ready to start again together in the next world.'

(*'And thinks, admitted to that equal sky,  
His faithful dog shall bear him company.'*)

Kellermann left his heart to be buried in the battle-field of Valmy, where the first repulse was sustained by the Allies. He had better have selected Marengo, where a charge of heavy cavalry,

cavalry, led by him without orders, retrieved the fortunes of the day.

Mademoiselle Joly, a French actress of the latter part of the eighteenth century, having passed some agreeable hours on a hill near Falaise called La Roche-Saint-Quentin, left directions in her will that her remains 'should be carried to this solitary hill, which was so dear to her heart.' Her wishes were obeyed, and the hill has ever since been called Mont-Joly.

One of the most instructive, as well as most difficult and important cases which have been decided of late years, turning on the degree of mental power or capacity required in a testator, and the nature of the influence which may invalidate a will, is that of *Sefton v. Hopwood*, tried at the South Lancashire Spring Assizes for 1855. When it is remembered that one side was led by Lord Chelmsford (then Sir Frederic Thesiger), and the other by the present Chief-Justice of England (Cockburn), then Attorney-General—whilst the presiding judge was Mr. Justice Cresswell—we need hardly add, that nothing which the most eloquent advocacy could contribute was wanting to the thorough elucidation of the points at issue, or that the law was laid down with unassailable accuracy and perspicuity.

The Attorney-General thus stated a distinction which it may be as well to keep in mind in discussing all questions of the sort:—

'This is not a case in which those who contest this will allege lunacy or insanity in the ordinary acceptation of the word. When the Earl of Derby (as a witness) told us the other day that in his interview with the testator, Mr. Hopwood, he found no signs of delusion, he says no more than I am perfectly ready to admit. What we say is, that there was here not insanity—not lunacy, but a gradual decay of the vital powers; a weakening of the intellect, which rendered this testator, although he might be able to take an interest in and converse upon the ordinary, common, passing, everyday topics of the world, incapable of continuous thought, or of that power of reasoning and reflection which is necessary to enable a man to discharge the more important business of life. We say, that his intellect having been weakened by increasing years and growing infirmities, and by attacks of disease affecting the very seat of thought itself, he had become incapable, not only of continued thought and mental activity, but of spontaneous volition; that if capable of becoming excited and stimulated for a moment into thought and action, his mind took the impression of surrounding objects; that his thoughts and his will were the thoughts and the will of others by whom he was acted upon and influenced. That is the case which we have to submit to you as regards the mental condition of this gentleman; and we shall, I think, be able to satisfy you that in this, his state of mind,

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he was in fact acted upon and influenced by those who surrounded him, and that this will is their creation, and not his.'

This doctrine was substantially adopted, expanded, and enforced by the presiding judge:—

'It is not sufficient, in order to make a will, that a man should be able to maintain an ordinary conversation and to answer familiar and easy questions; he must have more mind than suffices for that. He must have what the old lawyers call "a disposing mind;" he must be able to dispose of his property with understanding and reason. That does not mean that he should make what other people may think a sensible will, or a reasonable will, or a kind will; because by the law of this country a man has absolute dominion over his own property, and if he, being in possession of his faculties, thinks fit to make a capricious will, a harsh will, or a cruel will, you have no right to set it aside on that ground, for that would be interfering with the liberty which the law gives him—that would be to make his will for him, and not to allow him to make his will. But he must be able to understand his position; he must be able to appreciate his property and to form a judgment with respect to the parties whom he chooses to benefit by it after his death; and if he has capacity for that, it suffices.'

On the subject of influence the learned judge said:—

'I take it, that in order to invalidate a will on the score of influence, it is not sufficient that you should think the testator has been persuaded into making a will of a particular kind, that he has been persuaded to benefit this or that person to a certain extent; for in that case I fear that a vast number, if not the greater proportion, might be set aside. And what is the sort of influence that is to set aside a will? Is it the influence exercised by acts of attention and kindness? Is it the influence acquired by showing devoted affection? Certainly not. And yet how many wills are made under the influence of feelings so excited! It must be an influence depriving the party of the exercise of his judgment and his free action: it must be such an influence as induces you to think that the will when executed is not the will he desires to execute; that he does not benefit the parties whom he would wish to benefit; but that he is doing that which is not his desire, and therefore not his will.'\*

The practice of cutting off with a shilling was introduced to refute the presumption of forgetfulness or unconsciousness—to show that the testator fully remembered and meant to disinherit the sufferer. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu cut off her scapegrace of a son with a guinea. When Sheridan threatened to cut off his eldest born with a shilling, the quiet retort was, 'Couldn't

\* 'A Report of the Hopwood Will Case, taken from the Notes of the Shorthand Writers.' Manchester: George Simms. London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co. Quarto, 1855. The will was set aside.

you give it me at once, if you happen to have such a thing about you?’

It can hardly have escaped notice that very few wills prior to the sixteenth century make any mention of land. When they do, they almost always dispose merely of the proceeds in the shape of directions to feoffees, to whom the property had been conveyed in trust in the lifetime of the testators. The reason is, that subsequently to the introduction of the feudal system, lands were no longer devisable, except in rare localities where the old Saxon customs were preserved. ‘Though the restraint on alienation by deed,’ observes Blackstone, ‘vanished very early, yet this on wills continued for some centuries later, from an apprehension of infirmity, and imposition on the testator *in extremis*, which made such devises suspicious. There was also wanting the notoriety of transfer, which was imperatively required by the common law. The doctrine of uses, treating the usufruct as a thing distinct from the land, was invented by ecclesiastical ingenuity, and was so very generally resorted to, that, when the Statute of Uses (27th Henry VIII.), by uniting and identifying the possession with the usufruct, rendered devises of land practically as well as technically inefficient, the change was found too great and too sudden for endurance; and, five years afterwards, all persons of sound mind (except feme-coverts) were formally empowered by the Legislature (32nd Henry VIII.) to devise to any other person, except to bodies corporate, two-thirds of their lands held in chivalry and the whole of those held in socage, which since the abolition of tenures comprises all but copyholds. So loose was the construction put upon this Act that bare notes and memoranda were received as valid dispositions, and innumerable frauds were the result. A partial remedy was applied by the Statute of Frauds (29 Car. II.), which enacted that all devises of land should be in writing, signed by the testator, and attested in his presence by three or four witnesses. Wills of personalty were by the 1st Vict., c. 26 (which takes effect from January 1st, 1838) placed on the same footing as wills of real property. The ninth section is—

‘And be it further enacted that no will shall be valid unless it shall be in writing and executed in manner hereinafter mentioned: that is to say, it shall be signed at the foot or end thereof by the testator, or by some other person in his presence and by his direction; and such direction shall be made or acknowledged by the testator in the presence of two or more witnesses present at the same time; and such witnesses shall attest and shall subscribe to the will in the presence of the testator, but no form of attestation shall be necessary.’

At first sight it would seem idle and superfluous to remind  
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men living in a civilized country of so obvious a duty as that of making a will, and thus, at the cost of a little trouble to themselves, saving those whose welfare they have at heart, possibly from life-long hardships, certainly from much care and anxiety. Yet many (by a train of reasoning somewhat like that of Dame Quickly, when considering Falstaff's spiritual concerns) 'hope it is not time to think of making a will yet,' till it is too late to think of anything of the kind, and die, leaving everything to happen which they most wished to avoid. And yet it is not for want of warning that this occurs; it is axiomatic among people of any prudence that every one should make his will, and the same duty has been eloquently enforced from the pulpit. Hear the Minister of Wilton :\*

'The uncertainty of life is an obvious reason for making a testament without delay; if it be not done now, it may not be done at all, or not with due deliberation, or not so as to become effectual. Sudden death is the lot of many: it may be yours and mine. The probability is, at least, such as to recommend an inquiry whether our affairs be in the state in which we should wish to leave them.'

'Set thine house in order before sickness. The calm attention which is due to an affair of importance may be interrupted by pain and suspended by languor, or broke in upon by anxious, disquieting thoughts.'

'... If worldly affairs be yet to settle, a man's thoughts are painfully divided betwixt the alarming symptoms of disease and things of this world and things of the next, which alternately arise, and mix, and agitate like waves of the troubled sea.'

With reference to will-making, the first point for a man to consider is, what disposition will the law make of my property if I die intestate? This he may learn from Stephen's Commentaries, or from any modern edition of Blackstone. If he is satisfied with the course of distribution prescribed by law, he need not make a will at all; that is, if he does not object to contribute one-third more than he need do to the national exchequer, which imposes a heavier stamp-duty where there is no will. In the next place, if he does not wish his property to go as the law prescribes, and if he desires that it may go to a particular person or persons, simply and absolutely, after his death; and if the person or persons are of full age and capable of managing property, he may venture to make his own will, taking care that it is legally executed according to the rules stated below.

In the third place, if he does not wish to give his property absolutely to those who are the immediate objects of his bounty,

\* 'Sermons by the Rev. Samuel Charters,' 2nd ed., 2 vols. 8vo.—Blackwood, Edinburgh, 1816.

but intends it to devolve in a certain way after the interests given to them have terminated; or if he wishes it to go over to others in a particular event; he must not make his own will. He will infallibly fail to anticipate all the contingencies which may arise.

Lord St. Leonards, who, since the close of his brilliant and useful professional career, has honourably employed his leisure not only in valuable contributions to legal literature, but in explaining to his unlearned countrymen much that it befits them to know, advises us\*—

‘Always to avoid conditional gifts and devises over in particular events. It is the folly of most testators to contemplate a great many events for which they too often inadequately provide. You give me a horse, and “if I die” you give it to my son. Here the question at once arises, when the death is to happen. Generally? In your lifetime or in my son’s? Pray avoid this; and, if you must give a thing over after you have given the entire interest to one, state precisely in what event, and, if depending upon the death of the first legatee, whether you mean a death in your lifetime or in the lifetime of the legatee-over. And I must tell you, that, where you have given the absolute interest, you ought not to make any gift over which will not take effect in a life or lives which shall be in existence at your death. The words “children,” “issue,” “heirs of the body,” or “heirs,” sometimes operate to give the parent the entire disposition of the estate, although the testator did not mean any such thing. They are seldom used by a man who makes his own will without leading to a lawsuit.’

Indeed we may add that, although the word ‘issue’ is scarcely ever used in private conversation, yet people who make their own wills almost invariably think proper to introduce it, and they scarcely ever use it in the legal sense. The popular sense of ‘issue’ is ‘children,’ but, in its legal sense, not only children but all descendants—

‘Et nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis’—

are included in its meaning. Hence the meaning of testators is constantly defeated. To take a recent instance. A bequest was made, ‘to A for life, and after his death, for his *issue*.’ Very plain language, the testator probably thought. But it happened that A died, leaving nine children, thirty-one grandchildren, and twelve great-grandchildren; so the property was divided into fifty-two shares, one for each of the descendants of A. Indeed it would be no exaggeration to say that a very large proportion of all the testamentary litigation of England during the last two

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\* Handy Book, p. 165.

hundred years has arisen from the misuse of this word, and yet the blundering and the consequent litigation are proceeding apace, and are probably greater now than ever.

But it is not merely in providing for ulterior gifts that difficulty may arise. If a man bequeaths all his property, or certain sums of money, he generally uses intelligible language; but when he attempts to give his property specifically, he often fails to describe it, or (which comes to the same thing) the lawyers fail to discover his meaning.

The meaning of the expressions 'household furniture' or 'household stuff' would seem, at first sight, pretty clear. But what do the Courts understand by it? \*

'Household furniture' comprises everything that contributes to the use or convenience of the householder or ornament of the house, and will carry household linen and china, both useful and ornamental. It is said, if one devise to another all his 'household stuff,' hereby do pass his plate, couches, tables, stools, forms, beds, vessels of wood, brass, pewter, earth, and the like; but not his apparel, books, weapons, tools for artificers, cattle, victuals, corn, ploughgear, and the like. 'Household furniture' has indeed been held not to include, among other things, a silver sun-dial, camera obscura, telescope, globes, nor a case of butterflies, as not being such articles as were in use or in any respect necessary or convenient for a householder. Yet, in a late case of a bequest of a testator's dwelling-house and premises at R——, and also all and singular the household furniture and other household effects of and belonging to him in the said dwelling-house and premises at the time of his decease, the legatee was held entitled to a turning-apparatus, models of a cutter and mortar, and an organ, and to a pair of pistols, they being *prima facie* intended for the protection of the house; but not to a cow, a pony, nor a parrot in a cage, nor to fowling-pieces, unless it was proved that they were kept for the defence of the house, which *prima facie* they were not; nor to a hay-stack, if for sale and not for use. Pictures, both hung up and in case, have been held to be furniture, but books not. Under the above bequest, however, in *Cole v. Fitzgerald*, about one hundred volumes of books in general circulation were held to pass; but Sir John Leach said that he expressed no opinion whether such a bequest would or would not comprehend a gallery of pictures kept as specimens of art, or a library of scarce books.

The mere word 'money' will not include stock. But in a bequest of all the testator's money in the Bank of England, Three

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\* See Ward on Legacies.

per Cent. and Five per Cent. Bank Annuities were held to pass, it appearing that the testator never had any money in the Bank.

A bequest of 'jewels' by a nobleman was held not to pass his Collar and Garter, nor the buckle in his bonnet; nor will a watch pass as 'jewels' or 'plate.'

By 'medals' Lord Hardwicke thought that current coin, if curious pieces and kept with medals, would pass, as even medals themselves were once current coin. Where there was a bequest of 'my cabinet of curiosities, consisting of coins, medals, gems, and Oriental stones, and other valuable things,' &c., diamond earrings, a pearl necklace, and other ornaments of the person, which were usually kept in and shown as part of the testatrix's cabinet, but which were also occasionally worn by her, were held not to pass, the wearing making the distinction.

The devise of a 'house,' it seems, will not carry hangings and looking-glasses, which are matters of ornament and furniture, and not to be taken as part of the house or freehold.

But any one who is confident that his own powers of expression will carry him safe through all these dangers may read with profit Roger North's account of his father's will, as shown to the testator's son, afterwards the Lord Keeper Guildford.\*

'It fell out that his lordship, by a cast of his skill in this kind (conveyancing), prevented his father's being utterly disappointed of the effect intended by his last will; for the good lord [North] had the general notions of the law, as many others have, who, nevertheless, coming to the execution of business, blunder most abominably. And it is very strange, but very true, that if a layman (as the lawyers style those not bred to the profession) studies the law never so hard, and pursues in a course of reading and commonplacing with all imaginable perseverance, yet he shall be far from competent to judge of or capable to direct in business. So this good nobleman, intending to give his lady all his personal estate, free from debts and legacies, and to charge those on his land, and (subject, &c.) to settle it strictly on his family, had contrived thus. He made his wife his executrix, and charged debts and legacies upon the land, and limited it especially on his sons and their issue male successively without trustees to support, &c. When this was done, he bethought himself that, however in prudence it did not become him to trust his nimble young lawyer to draw his will, and to give him an opportunity to steal in somewhat for himself, unawares to him, yet, after the will was made, he ought not to secrete it from so great a lawyer as he was. And thereupon he sent for him, and with a speech let him know that, however (for reasons that satisfied himself) he was not consulted in the making his will, yet now he should see it. But he must not expect to alter one tittle or syllable in it, for he had considered it so well that he

\* North's 'Lives,' vol. i. p. 146.

should not need, if he were disposed to trust, his advice. His lordship [Lord Guildford] perused it over, and his father asked him how he liked it. He answered with a question whether he intended that Lady North should have anything of his personal estate or nothing. "I intend her all, and have," said he, "given it her by making her sole executrix." That was his skill. But the lawyer told him "that would not do, but only in cases where no debts were; and charging his land did not ease his personal estate, unless it were made an express legacy, with a declaration to exempt it. For the heir had an equity to turn all debts upon the personal estate in ease of the land; and the latter should not be charged till the other was exhausted." This was news to the lord, and made him start. Then the lawyer asked further if it was his intent that any of his sons might sell his estate, and frustrate their own children and the rest of his remainders. "No," said he, "I intend none of them shall sell." "But here they may," said the lawyer, "for the remainders to sons, before any born, are contingent; and a feoffment or fine of the tenant for life destroys the contingencies, and his estate becomes a fee simple." These discoveries made such an impression upon the spirits of the old lord that he said, "Son, you see my intent; go and make it as it should be;" which was done; and, as things fell out in that family, that action of his lordship's [Guildford] was a preservation of the estate, and prevented the good old lady from being left destitute; who, otherwise, had been left without a bed to lie on, but what she must have purchased by anticipating her jointure. So it is when men will pursue in professions they were not educated in.

If it be thought that modern improvements have made will-making easy, let us listen to Lord St. Leonards:—

'I am somewhat unwilling to give you any instructions for making your will without the assistance of your professional adviser, and I would particularly warn you against the use of printed forms, which have misled many men. They are as dangerous as the country schoolmaster or the vestry clerk. It is quite shocking to reflect upon the litigation which has been occasioned by men making their own wills or employing incompetent persons to do so. To save a few guineas in their lifetime, men leave behind them a will which it may cost hundreds of pounds to have expounded by the Court before the various claimants will desist from litigation. Looking at this as a simple money-transaction, lawyers might well be in despair if every man's will were prepared by a competent person.

'It were useless for me to attempt to show you how to make a strict settlement of your property, and therefore I will not try. I could, without difficulty, run over the names of many judges and lawyers of note, whose wills, made by themselves, have been set aside or construed so as to defeat every intention which they ever had. It is not even a profound knowledge of law which will capacitate a man to make his own will unless he has been in the habit of making the wills of others.'



Those who really attach any importance to their bequests ought to state their intentions in writing, and hand the paper to a solicitor, who will at a small expense get a will drawn by counsel accordingly. But in order that a man's intentions may be fully stated, he must ascertain what they are, and must consider the state of his family and of his property.

If he merely gives all his property to one person—say his wife—for life, and directs it to be divided at her death among others—say his children—many things may happen which he would not like. Let us suppose that he has just settled his affairs to his liking, has bought, we may say, a leasehold house for his wife and family to reside in after his decease, and has with great care selected the precise investments that seem to him best; the first act of his executors must be to sell his house (for that is property of a wearing-out nature) and all the investments, except such of the public funds as are sanctioned for this purpose by the law (recently somewhat enlarged);\* his wife and family will thus receive an income considerably reduced. There will be no guardian having legal authority (the mother has not) to administer the fortunes of the children, to apply the income to their maintenance, education, or advancement, to superintend their education, and guard their persons in case of dispute. For all these purposes the Court of Chancery must be put in motion; and how much expense is incident to Chancery proceedings, even in their improved form, we need not stop to suggest. It is obvious that in no country can the time and attention of highly trained and experienced professional men be occupied except for a fair remuneration.

Every will should contain an appointment of executors, and (if there be children under age) of guardians, together with full powers of investing and managing the trust funds, and of retaining them, if advisable, in the state in which the testator has left them. The experience of many generations has, in course of time, created a very convenient system of rules for this purpose; but a set of rules which are to form a code for the management of the property of a family for one or two generations cannot be comprised in a few words, nor applied with safety by an unlearned person.

In making a will, then, there are three matters to be attended to:—to know exactly what your own wishes are; to get them properly expressed on paper; to execute the paper when prepared. In the first place, a man ought to consider well what it is that he really wants to do. Upon this subject he ought to bear in mind the following points suggested by Lord St. Leonards:—

\* Handy-Book, p. 203.

‘If your children are entitled to portions, you should declare whether you intend what you give them by your will to be in addition to their portions, or in satisfaction of them. I have already advised you, if you make any provision for your wife, to state whether you mean it to be in lieu of dower.

‘If you have given your children legacies by your will, and afterwards advance portions with them on their marriage, you should declare by a codicil whether they are still to be entitled to the legacies. If you have advanced them in your lifetime, and then make any provision for them by your will, you should declare whether you mean it to be in addition to the advances. So, if you give a legacy by your will, and you afterwards give another to the same person by a codicil, you should declare whether or not you mean him to have both.

‘Where a man has a large family to provide for, it is often advisable to direct all his property to be turned into money, out of which he may order his debts and legacies to be first paid, and the residue to be laid out at interest in the names of trustees for the benefit of his family.’

Those who have daughters will do well to bear in mind the advantage which may arise from bequeathing their portion to trustees for their separate use, so as to secure something for them in case their husbands should be unfortunate.

Persons who are disposed to give their property for charitable or public purposes ought to bear in mind that no land, or money, or securities to be laid out in the purchase of land, or money secured on mortgage, can be given for any such purposes except by a deed executed at least twelve calendar months before the death of the donor, and enrolled in Chancery within six months after its execution. But to bequests of money or other personal estate not connected with, nor to be invested in, real property, no such conditions are attached. Questions sometimes arise, what are charitable uses? and it would seem that almost any bequest that has at all in view the public benefit, and not the gratification of a mere whim, is considered to be for a charitable purpose, and therefore void, if the subject of it be land or connected with land. This character of ‘charitable’ has been held to attach to gifts for relief of aged, impotent, and poor people; for maintenance of sick and maimed soldiers and mariners; for ease of poor inhabitants concerning payment of taxes; for aid of young tradesmen, &c.; for marriage of poor maids; for education in any form; for relief or redemption of prisoners or captives; for repair of bridges, churches, &c.; or a bequest of an annual fee to the clerk of a parish to keep the chimes in repair, to play certain psalms, or to the vicar or curate of a particular place for preaching an annual sermon on a certain day; but not to a bequest of money to be raised out of real estate for the purpose of erecting a monument to the testator.

In the case of a devise of land to form a perpetual botanical garden, there was some doubt; but Lord Chancellor Eldon 'thought that, upon the expression of the testator *that he trusted it would be a public benefit*, he might venture to declare it void.'

Upon the whole, and especially considering the scanty encouragement afforded by the law to such good deeds as these, we willingly fall back upon the doctrine of the sermon already cited. 'Chrysostom,' says Mr. Charters, 'in his book on the priesthood, advises not to fund but to disperse the alms that are gathered. The fund of the poor is the charity of the faithful. Do what you can for the existing poor in life and at death, leaving future wants to future almoners and testators.'

But when the will has been prepared, how should it be executed? Lord St. Leonards has answered this question.

'I advise you to make your will in the following manner:—  
'Take care that, if written on several separate sheets of paper, they are all fastened together, and that the pages are numbered. Sign your name at the bottom of each sheet, and state at the end of your will of how many pages your will consists.

'If there are any erasures or interlineations, put your initials on the margin opposite to them, and *notice them in the attestation*.

'The attestation should be already written at the end of the will, and may be in this form:—

"Signed by the abovenamed testator in the presence of us present at the same time, who have hereunto signed our names as witnesses thereto in the presence of the said testator and in the presence of each other. [The words interlined in the st line of the th page having been just added, and the erasures in the th and th lines in page having been just made.]"

'Formerly there was a wide distinction between real and personal estate, for a devise of the former required three witnesses, while to a bequest of the latter no witness was required. Now, whatever is the nature of the property, two witnesses are required to every will or codicil.'

'The two persons intended to be the witnesses should be called in, and told that you desire them to witness your will; and then, you should sign your name in their presence, and desire them each to look at the signature. Your signature should follow your will, but should precede the signatures of the witnesses; for if you were to sign after they had signed, your will would be void. When, therefore, you have signed, they should sign their names and residences at the foot of the attestation. You will observe that, according to the attestation, neither of the witnesses, although he has signed the attestation, should leave the room until the other witness has signed also. Remember that they must both sign in your presence, and therefore you should not allow them to go into another room to sign, or even into any recess,

recess, or any other part of the same room where it is possible that you might not be able to see them sign. If, therefore, you do not choose them to sign after you at the same table or desk, have a table placed close to you before they come into the room, so as to create no confusion, at which they can and ought to sign before leaving the room. . . . . Even if you are ill and confined to your bed, you should have a table ready at your bedside, at which the witnesses should sign after you, and you should not turn your back upon them whilst they are signing. These simple precautions will render it impossible to impeach your will for want of its due execution. . . . . If you cannot sign your name yourself, some other person may do so for you, in your presence and by your direction, but this should be noticed in the attestation. It will be no objection that the person signing for you is also one of the attesting witnesses. . . . . Although one of the witnesses is unable to write, yet the other cannot sign for him.

‘Although a witness cannot give effect to his signature by recognition, yet you will have discovered that you, the maker of the will, may, if you please, sign your name in the absence of the witnesses, provided you acknowledge *your signature*, not merely the will, in their presence. *But the witnesses should see that the will is signed by you.* Pray attend to this: if you do not sign in their presence, point out your signature carefully to them, although you need not tell them that it is your will, but it is better to do so. . . . . Even gestures by a testator, intimating that he has signed the will, and wishes the witnesses to attest it, have been held sufficient, when they saw the signature.’

‘Creditors or executors may prove the execution of a will to which they are attesting witnesses; but no person to whom you give a legacy, or to whose wife or husband you give one, should be a witness to your will; for although the testimony of such a witness would be good, the legacy to him or her or to his or her wife or husband would be void.

‘If you add a codicil to your will, you should call it a codicil, and should execute it and have it attested just as if it were an original will. Remember that you cannot give a single additional legacy without once more going through these ceremonies.

‘Any alterations should be made by a regular codicil, and not by obliteration or interlineation.

‘Although by a codicil, duly executed, you may set up a prior will, not duly executed, yet you cannot by a will, though duly executed, give validity to any future codicil you may make not duly executed.

‘Your wife cannot make a will unless of property settled to her separate use, or which she has power [conferred upon her by some distinct instrument] to dispose of by will, or of personal property with your consent.’

To which we may add, that if a wife makes a will of personalty with the consent of her husband, and the husband dies in her

her lifetime, she must re-execute the will after his death, otherwise it is inoperative; for the effect of his consent is merely to bar his right, as personal representative of his wife, if he survives her.

Minors are incompetent to make a will. Deaf, dumb, and blind persons are competent, if they can be made to understand the nature of the act. Soldiers and sailors in actual service are exempted from the formalities prescribed by the Act, and may still make nuncupatory wills.

‘Your will,’ continues Lord St. Leonards, ‘may be revoked by another will or codicil executed in the manner I have already pointed out, or by some writing declaring an intention to revoke it, and which must be executed in like manner; or by the burning, tearing, or otherwise destroying the same by yourself or by some person in your presence and by your direction, with the intention of revoking the same.’

Practically, it may be said that, if you wish to revoke your will, you must either reduce it to ashes, or at least tear or cut out your signature, for it will not do merely to cross out your name or the names of the witnesses with a pen.

Marriage also has the effect of totally revoking a will; and when a man marries, he should immediately make a new will to meet the obligations which he has imposed upon himself. If he really mean his old will to stand, he must at once re-execute it, or declare his intention by a codicil duly executed.

What has been said applies to English and Irish wills only. But it is to be remembered that real property must be devised according to the law of the country in which it is situated. Thus any one who has a house or land in Scotland, or even money lent on mortgage in that country, must dispose of them according to the laws of Scotland—that is to say, he must, by a deed of disposition in trust, executed at least sixty days before his death, make over his property to trustees for the purposes of his testament, which may either be contained in the same instrument or in any will or codicil. It is only the deed of disposition that needs to be confirmed by the disposer’s living for sixty days; the will or codicils may be executed at any time; and both the deed and the will or codicil ought to be executed and attested substantially in the manner we have mentioned, but never without the use of a form prepared by his legal adviser.

It is wonderful that, in the nineteenth century, so inconvenient a law as that which makes it impossible to dispose of real property in Scotland, otherwise than by a deed executed sixty days before death, should be suffered to exist. Personal property, wherever

wherever situated, is said in law to follow the person, and it will pass under a will executed according to the law of the country in which the deceased was domiciled. Thus, money in Scotland (not lent on heritable bond, i.e. mortgage) will pass by the English will of its late proprietor if he was domiciled in England; but if he was domiciled in France, the will must have been executed according to the forms required by the French law. Now that our habits have become cosmopolitan and migratory, it is often a difficult question where a man was domiciled at the time of his death, for he may have had houses in two countries, and may not have made it clear which of them he regarded as his real and permanent home. His life and conversation are very particularly scrutinised on such occasions, and evidence has to be collected in various quarters, frequently at an enormous cost. The courts would have been deprived of many interesting discussions, if testators had taken care to execute their wills according to the forms of both the countries with which they were connected.

Finally, let testator and executor remember their duties as laid down by the minister of Wilton.

‘For the sake of a surviving friend and executor, we should settle everything in our own power to settle, make the will clear and distinct, and communicate our inclination in lesser matters.

‘The duties of a survivor are—to be faithful in any trust reposed, and to love and honour the memory of the dead. He will shrink from the unfriendly, unfeeling practice of printing diaries, and unfinished works, and private letters, and confidential conversation, and careless table-talk.’

ART. V.—1. *Scenes of Clerical Life* [containing *The Sad Fortunes of the Reverend Amos Barton*; *Mr. Gilfil's Love Story*; and *Janet's Repentance*]. By George Eliot. Second Edition. 2 vols. Edinburgh and London, 1859.

2. *Adam Bede*. By George Eliot. Sixth Edition. 2 vols. 1859.

3. *The Mill on the Floss*. By George Eliot. 3 vols. 1860.

WE frequently hear the remark, that in the present day everything is tending to uniformity—that all minds are taught to think alike, that the days of novelty have departed. To us, however, it appears that the age abounds in new and abnormal modes of thought—we had almost said, forms of being. What could be so new and so unlikely as that the young and irreproachable maiden daughter of a clergyman should have produced so extraordinary a work as ‘*Jane Eyre*,’—a work of which we were compelled



compelled to express the opinion that the unknown and mysterious 'Currer Bell' held 'a heathenish doctrine of religion; that the ignorance which the book displayed as to the proprieties of female dress was hardly compatible with the idea of its having been written by a woman; but that, if a woman at all, the writer must be 'one who had, for some sufficient reason, long forfeited the society of her own sex.'\*

In attempting to guess at the character and circumstances of the writer, a reviewer could only choose among such types of men and women as he had known, or heard, or read of. An early European settler in Australia, in conjecturing whether his garden had been ravaged by a bird or by a quadruped, would not light readily on the conception of an ornithorhynchus; and assuredly no one accustomed only to ordinary men and women could have divined the character, the training, and the position of Charlotte Brontë, as they have been made known to us by her biographer's unsparing revelations. It was not to be expected that any one should have imagined the life of Heworth parsonage; the gifted, wayward, and unhappy sisterhood in their cheerless home; the rudeness of the only society which was within their reach; while their views of anything beyond their own immediate circle, and certain unpleasing forms of school-life which they had known, were drawn from the representations of a brother whose abilities they regarded with awe, but who in other respects appears to have been an utterly worthless debauchee; lying and slandering, bragging not only of the sins which he had committed, but of many which he had not committed; thoroughly depraved himself, and tainting the thoughts of all within his sphere. There was, therefore, in 'Jane Eyre,' as the reviewer supposed, the influence of a corrupt male mind, although this influence had been exerted through an unsuspected medium. We now know how it was that a clergyman's daughter, herself innocent, and honourably devoted to the discharge of many a painful duty, could have written such a book as 'Jane Eyre;' but without such explanations as Mrs. Gaskell has placed (perhaps somewhat too unreservedly) before the world, the thing would have been inconceivable. Indeed there is very sufficient evidence that the Quarterly reviewer was by no means alone in entertaining the opinions we have referred to: for the book was most vehemently cried up—the society of the authoress, when she became known, was most eagerly courted—assiduous attempts were made (greatly to her annoyance) to enlist her, to exhibit her, to trade on her fame

\* Vol. lxxxiv., p. 175-6.



—by the very persons who would have been most ready to welcome her if she had been such as the reviewer supposed her to be. And it is clear that the gentleman who introduced himself to her acquaintance on the ground that each of them had 'written a naughty book' must have drawn pretty much the same conclusions from the tone of Miss Brontë's first novel as the writer in this Review.

In like manner a great and remarkable departure from ordinary forms and conditions has caused extreme uncertainty and many mistaken guesses as to the new novelist who writes under the name of George Eliot. One critic of considerable pretensions, for instance, declared his belief that 'George Eliot' was 'a gentleman of high-church tendencies'; next came the strange mystification which ascribed the 'Eliot' tales to one Mr. Joseph Liggins; and finally, the public learnt on authority that the 'gentleman of high-church tendencies' was a lady; and that this lady was the same who had given a remarkable proof of mastery over both the German language and her own, but had certainly not established a reputation for orthodoxy, by a translation of Strauss's 'Life of Jesus.'

It is now too late to claim credit for having discovered the female authorship before this disclosure of the fact. But it seems to us impossible, when once the idea has been suggested, to read through these books without finding confirmation of it in almost every page. There is, indeed, power such as is rarely given to woman (or to man either); there are traces of knowledge which is not usual among women (although some of the classical quotations might at least have been more correctly printed); there is a good deal of coarseness, which it is unpleasant to think of as the work of a woman; and, as we shall have occasion to observe more fully hereafter, the influence which these novels are likely to exercise over the public taste is not altogether such as a woman should aim at. But, with all this, the tone and atmosphere of the books are unquestionably feminine. The men are a woman's men—the women are a woman's women; the points on which the descriptions dwell in persons of each sex are those which a woman would choose. In matters of dress we are assured that 'George Eliot' avoids the errors of 'Jane Eyre'; for no doubt she has had better opportunities of study than those which were afforded by the Sunday finery of Heworth church. The sketches of nature, of character, of life and manners, show female observation; penetrating where it alone could penetrate, and usually stopping at the boundaries beyond which it does not advance.

The tales which have appeared under the name of 'George Eliot'

Eliot' are five in number—the first three being together considerably shorter than either of the later two. Perhaps we might assume that our readers in general are acquainted with the plots of these stories; yet, if only for the sake of recalling them to memory, it may be well here to sketch the main outlines as briefly as possible, by way of laying a foundation for our remarks.

The first, 'The Sad Fortunes of the Reverend Amos Barton,' is the slightest and simplest of the 'Scenes of Clerical Life.' Mr. Barton, a curate, with an income of eighty pounds a-year, with an angelic but sickly wife and a host of hungry little children, allows himself to be duped by the title of a 'Countess Czerlaski,' the handsome English widow of a Polish dancing-master. The countess quarrels with her brother, Mr. Bridmain, and throws herself on the hospitality of the Bartons. Her visit lasts beyond all reasonable time, the unfortunate couple are eaten up by the expense of providing for her, Mr. Barton's character is aspersed on account of his kindness to her, and Mrs. Barton dies of working for her. Mr. Barton loses his curacy, goes into another neighbourhood, and, after many years, revisits his wife's grave in company with his children.

The next story tells how the Rev. Maynard Gilfil loved Tina Sarti, an Italian orphan, who had been brought to England by Sir Christopher and Lady Cheverel, and lived under their shadow in a dignified country house. Tina, however, had fixed her affections on Sir Christopher's nephew, Captain Wybrow; and when the captain pays court to a beautiful, rich, and lofty heiress, the little Italian girl is so exasperated by his conduct, that she resolves to stab him at an appointed interview. She is happily spared this crime, as, on reaching the place of meeting, she finds the faithless captain dead from a sudden attack of heart-disease. After a decent interval she marries Mr. Gilfil, but dies in giving birth to her first child; and Mr. Gilfil is represented to us (as the writer professes to have known him) in age—a clergyman of the 'old school,' a good deal of a humourist, and to outward appearance as unromantic a person as need be, but keeping a chamber in his house sacred to the memory of his wife, and cherishing in his heart a lifelong sorrow for his early bereavement.

The last 'Scene of Clerical Life' shows how Robert Dempster, a brutal and drunken attorney in a little country town, came by his vices to a bad end—how his wife Janet, who had taken to drinking in order to support his outrageous treatment of her, was reclaimed—and how Mr. Tryan, an 'evangelical' curate, who had contributed to her reformation, succeeded in establishing an evening lecture at the parish church in the face of strong opposition, and died in consequence of his zealous pastoral labours.

The

The 'Scenes of Clerical Life' (which had originally appeared in 'Blackwood's Magazine') were followed by 'Adam Bede,' a novel of the usual dimensions. The time of this story is fixed in the end of the eighteenth century. Adam—a tall stout carpenter, clever at his work, and likely to prosper in the world—falls in love with Hetty Sorrel, the niece of a jolly and substantial farmer, Mr. Poyser. Unluckily, Hetty also attracts the admiration of Arthur Donnithorne, the grandson and heir-apparent of the squire of the parish; her head is turned, and her virtue gives way. After a written explanation by Arthur that she cannot be his wife, she consents to marry Adam Bede; but before the time appointed for the marriage she secretly gives birth to a child, which she leaves to perish in a wood. She is tried, is condemned, and is all but executed, when Donnithorne rushes in on horseback with a reprieve. Hetty is transported, and dies when she is about to return; Donnithorne does penance by serving his country abroad; and Dinah Morris, a Methodist preacher, who had converted her cousin Hetty in prison, and had long withstood the love-making of Adam's Wesleyan brother Seth, finds out that her vocation is not for celibacy, and bestows her hand on Adam himself.

In the 'Mill on the Floss' the persons on whom the chief interest is supposed to depend are Tom and Maggie Tulliver, the children of a rough, honest, hot-tempered, obstinate, litigious miller. Old Tulliver is ruined by a lawsuit about 'erigation,' and has a stroke of paralysis, from which he recovers so far as to carry on the management of the mill under the new owner, Wakem, a lawyer whom he regards as the cause of his misfortunes. But, although determined to serve Wakem faithfully, he makes a solemn resolution of vengeance against him and his, and causes Tom to record it in the family Bible. Tom suits himself to the change of circumstances, and, by means of his aunt's husband, Mr. Deane, who is a partner in the firm, he finds employment under Guest and Company, the principal merchants in the neighbouring town of St. Ogg's. After a few years, by means of Tom's earnings and his father's savings, the Tulliver creditors are paid in full; but the old miller, in returning triumphant from a dinner given on the occasion, falls in with his master and enemy Wakem, quarrels with him, horsewhips him, and dies of the excitement and exertion. With this scene the second volume of the novel ends.

The third volume brings the brother and sister before us after an interval of some years. Maggie has grown up from a dark odd-looking child into a 'queenly beauty,' and, after having been a teacher in an inferior boarding-school, goes on a visit to her cousin Lucy Deane. Here she renews her acquaintance with

Wakem's

Wakem's son Philip,\* whom she had known as Tom's school-fellow, and with whom, at an intermediate stage of the story, she had had some love-passages in the highest degree offensive to her brother. Philip is described as refined and accomplished, but is deformed, and acutely sensible of his deformity. But Maggie loves him all the better for a defect which enables her to mingle pity with her love; and as Philip succeeds in obtaining his father's consent, there is no hindrance to their union but the family vindictiveness and personal repugnance of Tom, which Maggie is not disposed to consider as insuperable. The course of true love, however, is disturbed by Mr. Stephen Guest, the elegant young man *par excellence* of the little trading town; for this eligible youth, although virtually engaged to Lucy Deane, falls violently in love with her cousin, and Maggie feels a corresponding attraction, which she in vain endeavours to resist. Being unexpectedly disappointed of other company, she allows herself to go alone into a boat on the Floss with Stephen, who without her knowledge lets the boat be carried out to sea, and tells her that she has now so committed herself as to have no choice but a Gretna-Green marriage with him. But at the last moment her better feelings reassert their power, and, from the port where they land, she returns to St. Ogg's. After this awkward escapade Tom refuses to acknowledge his sister, and all St. Ogg's is open-mouthed against her, until at last the difficulties of the story are rather violently and clumsily ended by her being drowned in a rising of the Floss, in company with Tom, whom she had heroically rescued from the ruins of the paternal mill.

On looking at these very slight sketches we cannot but be struck by the uniformly melancholy ending of the tales. The first culminates in the death of the heroine (a word which in relation to these stories must be very loosely interpreted), Mrs. Barton; the second, in the death of the heroine, Mrs. Gilfil; the third, in the death of the hero, Mr. Tryan; the fourth, in the death of one of the heroines, Hetty Sorrel; the fifth, in the simultaneous death of the heroine and her brother, who is, we suppose, to be regarded as the chief hero. Surely this is an exaggerated representation of the proportion which sorrow bears to happiness in human life; and the fact that a popular writer has (whether consciously or not) brought every one of the five stories which she has published to a tragical end gives a very uncomfortable idea of the tone of our present literature. And other such symptoms are only too plentiful—the announcement

\* The authoress does not seem to have considered how such farcical names as Tulliver and Wakem would sound when inherited by the children of the original bearers.

of a novel with the title of 'Why Paul Ferroll killed his Wife' being one of the latest. With all respect for the talents of the lady who offers us the solution of this question, we must honestly profess that we would rather not know, and that we regret such an employment of her pen.

And in 'George Eliot's' writings there is very much of this kind to regret. She delights in unpleasant subjects—in the representation of things which are repulsive, coarse, and degrading. Thus, in 'Mr. Gilfil's Story,' Tina is only prevented from committing murder by the opportune death of her intended victim. In 'Janet's Repentance,' a drunken husband beats his beautiful but drunken wife, turns her out of doors at midnight in her night-dress, and dies of '*delirium tremens* and *meningitis*.' The wife is exhibited to us as staggering about the streets, and in the history of her amendment we find such a passage as the following:—

'On removing the last bundle of letters from one of the compartments [of her deceased husband's bureau], she saw a small nick in the wood, evidently intended as a means of pushing aside the moveable back of the compartment. . . . She pushed it back at once, and saw—no letters, but a small spirit-decanter, half full of pale brandy, Dempster's habitual drink.

'An impetuous desire shook Janet through all her members; it seemed to master her with the inevitable force of strong fumes, that blind our senses before we are aware. Her hand was on the decanter; pale and excited, she was lifting it out of its niche; when, with a start and a shudder, she dashed it to the ground, and the room was filled with the odour of the spirit. Without staying to shut up the bureau, she rushed out of the room, snatched up her bonnet and mantle which lay in the dining-room, and hurried out of the house.\*'

So, in 'Adam Bede' we have all the circumstances of Hetty's seduction and the birth and murder of her illegitimate child; and in the 'Mill on the Floss' there are the almost indecent details of mere animal passion in the loves of Stephen and Maggie. If these are, as the writer's more thoroughgoing admirers would tell us, the depths of human nature, we do not see what good can be expected from raking them up,—not for the benefit of those whom the warnings may concern (for these are not likely to heed any warnings which may be presented in such a form), but for the amusement of ordinary readers in hours of idleness and relaxation. Compare 'Adam Bede' with that one of Scott's novels which has something in common with it as to story—the 'Heart of Midlothian.' In each a beautiful young woman of the

\* 'Scenes of Clerical Life,' i. 294.

peasant class is tried and condemned for child-murder; but, although condemned on circumstantial evidence under a law of peculiar severity, Effie Deans is really innocent, whereas Hetty Sorrel is guilty. In the novel of the last generation we see little of Effie, and our attention is chiefly drawn to the simple heroism of her sister Jeanie. In the novel of the present day, everything about Hetty is most elaborately described: her thoughts throughout the whole course of the seduction, her misery on discovering that there is evidence of her frailty, her sufferings on the journey to Windsor and back (for it is the Effie and not the Jeanie of this tale that makes a long solitary journey to the south), her despairing hardness in the prison, her confession, her behaviour on the way to the gallows. That all this is represented with extraordinary force we need not say; and doubtless the partisans of 'George Eliot' would tell us that Scott could not have written the chapters in question. We do not think it necessary to discuss that point, but we are sure that in any case he *would* not have written them, because his healthy judgment would have rejected such matters as unfit for the novelist's art.

The boldness with which George Eliot chooses her subjects is very remarkable. It is not that, like some writers, she fails in the attempt to represent people as agreeable and interesting, but she knowingly forces *disagreeable* people on us, and insists that we shall be interested in their story by the skill with which it is told. Mr. Amos Barton, for instance, is as uninteresting a person as can well be imagined: a dull, obtuse curate, whose poverty gives him no fair claim to pity; for he has entered the ministry of the English Church without any particular conviction of its superiority to other religious bodies; without any special fitness for its ministry; without anything of the ability which might reasonably entitle him to expect to rise; and without the private means which are necessary for the support of most married men in a profession which, if it is not (as it is sometimes called) a lottery, has very great inequalities of income, and to the vast majority of those who follow it gives very little indeed. Mr. Barton is not a gentleman—a defect which the farmers and tradespeople of his parish are not slow to discover, and for which they despise him. He is without any misgivings as to himself or suspicion of his deficiencies in any way, and his conduct is correctly described in a lispng speech of the 'secondary squire' of his parish, 'What an ath Barton makth of himthelf!' Yet for this stupid man our sympathy is bespoken, merely because he has a wife so much too good for him that we are almost inclined to be angry with her for her devotion to him.

Tina is an undisciplined, abnormal little creature, without good looks



looks or any attractive quality except a talent for music, and with a temper capable of the most furious excesses. Although Janet is described as handsome, amiable, and cultivated, all these good properties are overwhelmed in our thoughts of her by the degrading vice of which she is to be cured; while her prophet Mr. Tryan, although very zealous in his work, is avowedly a narrow Calvinist, wanting in intellectual culture, very irritable, not a little bitter and uncharitable, excessively fond of applause without being very critical as to the quarter from which it comes, and strongly possessed with the love of domination. Tom Tulliver is hard, close, unimaginative, self-confident, repelling, with a stern rectitude of a certain kind, but with no understanding of or toleration for any character different from his own. Philip Wakem is a personage as little pleasant as picturesque. Maggie, as a child—although in her father's opinion 'too clever for a gell'—is foolish, vain, self-willed, and always in some silly scrape or other; and when grown up, her behaviour is such, even before the climax of the affair with Stephen Guest, that the dislike of the St. Ogg's ladies for her might have been very sufficiently accounted for even if they had not had reason to envy her superior beauty.

But of all the characters for whom our authoress has been pleased to bespeak our interest, Hetty Sorrel is the most remarkable for unamiable qualities. She is represented as 'distractingly pretty,' and we hear a great deal about her 'kitten-like beauty,' and her graceful movements, looks, and attitudes. But this is all that can be said for her. Her mind has no room for anything but looks and dress; she has no feeling for anybody but her little self; and is only too truly declared by Mrs. Poyser to be 'no better than a peacock, as 'ud strut about on the wall, and spread its tail when the sun shone, if all the folks i' the parish was dying'—'no better nor a cherry, wi' a hard stone inside it.'\* Over and over this view of Hetty's character is enforced on us, from the time when, early in the first volume, we are told that hers 'was a springtide beauty; it was the beauty of young frisking things, round-limbed, gambolling, circumventing you by a false air of innocence.'† For example:—

'Hetty's dreams were all of luxuries: to sit in a carpeted parlour, and always wear white stockings; to have some large, beautiful earrings, such as were all the fashion; to have Nottingham lace round the top of her gown, and something to make her handkerchief smell nice, like Miss Lydia Donnithorne's when she drew it out at church; and not to be obliged to get up early, or be scolded by anybody. She

\* 'Adam Bede,' i. 228; ii. 75.

† Ibid. i. 119.

thought,



thought, if Adam had been rich, and could have given her these things, she loved him well enough to marry him; but as to marrying Adam [in his actual circumstances], there was nothing to tempt her to do that.\*

Again:—

'They are but dim, ill-defined pictures that her narrow bit of an imagination can make of the future; but of every picture she is the central figure, in fine clothes. . . . Does any sweet or sad memory mingle with this dream of the future—any loving thought of her second parents—of the children she had helped to tend—of any youthful companion, any pet animal, any relic of her own childhood even? Not one.†

Again, when she receives the letter in which Arthur Donniethorne tells her that she must give up all thought of marriage with him:—

'She hated the writer of that letter—hated him for the very reason that she hung upon him with all her love, all the girlish passion and vanity that made up her love. . . . Hers was a luxurious and vain nature; there was not much room for her thoughts to travel in the narrow circle of her imagination.‡

Her conduct throughout is such as to offend and disgust; and the authoress does not seem to be sufficiently aware that, while the descriptions of the little coquette's beauty leave that to be imagined, her follies and faults and crimes are set before us as matters of hard, unmistakeable fact, so that the reader is in no danger of being blinded by the charms which blinded Adam Bede, and Hetty consequently appears as little else than contemptible when she is not odious. Yet it is on this silly, heartless, and wicked little thing that the interest of the story is made to rest. Her agonies, as we have already said, are depicted with very great power; yet, if they touch our hearts, it is merely because they are agonies, and our feeling is unmixed with any regard for the sufferer herself.

This habit of representing her characters without any concealment of their faults is, no doubt, connected with that faculty which enables the authoress to give them so remarkable an air of reality. There are, indeed, exceptions to this, as there are in almost every work of fiction. Thus, Sir Christopher and Lady Cheverel strike us as old acquaintances whom we have known not in real life, but in books. We are not altogether sure of stately old Mrs. Irwine, and are sceptical as to Dinah Morris, notwithstanding the very great pains which the authoress has evidently bestowed on her—perhaps because she is utterly unlike

\* 'Adam Bede,' i. 142-3.

† Ibid. i. 226.

‡ Ibid. ii. 68, 70,  
such

such female Methodists as have fallen within our own (happily, small) experience; and Bob Jakin is a grotesque caricature, which would have been far better done by Mr. Dickens, who is undeniably great in the production of grotesques, although we do not remember that throughout the whole of his voluminous works he has ever succeeded in embodying a single natural and lifelike character. But, with a very few exceptions, 'George Eliot's' personages have that appearance of reality in which those of Mr. Dickens are so conspicuously wanting. And while Mr. Dickens's views of English life and society are about as far from the truth as those of the French dramatists and romancers, 'George Eliot' is able to represent the social circumstances in which her action is laid with the strongest appearance of verisimilitude. We may not ourselves have known Shepperton, or Hayslope, or St. Ogg's; but we feel as much at home in them as if we had.

Mrs. Poyser is, we believe, regarded by general consent as the best character in these volumes; and she is a character to be remembered by every reader who has made her acquaintance. We all know that large, comely farmer's wife, always bustling, always complaining, as if (in Scotch phrase) it were impossible to *overtake* her work, yet always getting through in a style which is the pattern and the envy of her neighbourhood. We know her loud sharp tongue, her kind heart, her fund of homely sense, and her command of illustrative comparisons: we admire her as equally great in scolding the maid-servants, rebuking Hetty, arguing with Dinah, exchanging thrusts with the woman-hating schoolmaster Bartle Massey, and 'having her say out' to old Squire Donnithorne. 'Her tongue,' says her spiritual pastor, Mr. Irwine, 'is like a new-set razor. She is quite original in her talk too; one of those untaught wits that help to stock a country with proverbs.'\* How amusing is her mixture of respect for Dinah with contempt for Dinah's religion!

'It comes over you sometimes as if she'd a way o' knowing the rights o' things more nor other folks have. But I'll never give in as that's 'cause she's a Methodist, no more nor a white calf's white 'cause it eats out o' the same bucket wi' a black un.'†

Again—

"'You've got notions i' your head about religion more nor what's i' the catechism and the Prayer-book."

"'But not more than what's in the Bible, aunt," said Dinah.

"'Yes, and the Bible too, for that matter," Mrs. Poyser rejoined, rather sharply; "else why shouldn't them as know best what's in the Bible—the parsons and people as have got nothing to do but to learn

\* 'Adam Bede,' ii. 93.

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† Ibid. i. 281.

it—

it—do the same as you do? But for the matter of that, if everybody was to do like you, the world must come to a stand-still; for if everybody tried to do without house and home, and with poor eating and drinking, and was allays talking as we must despise the things o' the world, as you say, I should like to know where the pick o' the stock, and the corn, and the best new-milk cheese 'ud have to go to. Everybody 'ud be wanting bread made o' tail-ends, and everybody 'ud be running after everybody else to preach to 'em, instead o' bringing up their families, and laying by against a bad harvest. It stands to sense as that can't be the right religion."\*\*

Again—

"I'm quite willing you should go and see th' old woman, for you're one as is allays welcome in trouble, Methodist or no Methodist; but for the matter o' that, it is the flesh and blood folks are made on as makes the difference. Some cheeses are made o' skimmed milk, and some o' new milk, and it is no matter what you call 'em; you may tell which is which by the look and smell."†

Again, when Dinah wishes to return from the comfortable Loamshire [Warwickshire] farm-house to the bleak region of Stonyshire [Derbyshire], where she had been accustomed to work in a factory:—

"I never saw the like o' you, Dinah; when you've once took anything into your head, there's no more moving you than the rooted tree. You may say what you like, but I don't believe *that's* religion; but what's the Sermon on the Mount about—as you're so fond o' reading to the boys—but doing what other folks 'ud have you do? But if it was anything unreasonable they wanted you to do—like taking your cloak off and giving it to 'em, or letting 'em slap you i' the face—I dare say you'd be ready enough: it's only when one 'ud have you do what's plain common sense, and good for yourself, as you're obstinate th' other way."

"Nay, dear aunt," said Dinah . . . . "I feel drawn again towards the hills, where I used to be blessed in carrying the Word of life to the sinful and desolate."

"You feel! Yes," said Mrs. Poyser, returning from a parenthetic glance at the cows, "that's allays the reason I'm to sit down wi' when you've a mind to do anything contrairy. What do you want to be preaching for more than you're preaching now? Don't you go off, the Lord knows where, every Sunday, a-preaching and praying? And have n't you got Methodists enow at Treddles'on to go and look at, if church folks' faces are too handsome to please you? An' is n't there them i' this parish as you've got under hand, and they're like enough to make friends wi' old Harry again as soon as your back's turned? There's that Bessy Crange—she'll be flaunting i' new finery three weeks after you're gone, I'll be bound: she'll no more go on in her new ways without you, than a dog 'ull stand on its hind legs when

\* 'Adam Bede,' i. 110-11.

† Ibid. i. 135.

there's nobody looking. But I suppose it does na matter so much about folks' souls i' this country, else you'd be for staying with your own aunt, for she's none so good but what you might help her to be better."\*

It adds to the individuality and seeming truth of Mrs. Poyser's portrait that she is not described as having the rosy complexion and the uninterrupted health which we might naturally connect with her voluble and pungent tongue, and her generally strong and dominant character; but she is pale, and is often disabled by illnesses, which she turns to account in the way of awful threats and omens. And, while unassailable at all other points, she is utter weakness with regard to 'that blessed child' her little 'Totty.' Totty, we may observe in passing, is one of many children whom our authoress has painted—all very much of one type—fat, healthy, utterly spoiled, decidedly rather troublesome, and wonderfully lifelike.

Mrs. Hackit, in 'Amos Barton,' has a good deal of Mrs. Poyser's humour; and Mrs. Linnet, in 'Janet's Repentance,' combines something of Mrs. Poyser's worldly shrewdness with the profession of 'evangelical' doctrine, in a very amusing way:—

'Mrs. Linnet had turned a reader of religious books since Mr. Tryan's advent; and as she was in the habit of confining her perusal to the purely secular portions, which bore a very small proportion to the whole, she could make rapid progress through a great number of volumes. On taking up the biography of a celebrated preacher, she immediately turned to the end to see what disease he died of; and if his legs swelled, as her own occasionally did, she felt a stronger interest in ascertaining any earlier facts in the history of the dropsical divine—whether he had ever fallen off a stage-coach, whether he had married more than one wife, and, in general, any adventures or repartees recorded of him previous to the epoch of his conversion. She then glanced over the letters and diaries, and whenever there was a predominance of Zion, the River of Life, and notes of exclamation, she turned on to the next page; but any passage in which she saw such promising nouns as "small-pox," "pony," or "boots and shoes," at once arrested her.'†

And the good lady's talk is quite up to the level of this description.

The picture of Mr. Gilfil in his old age is admirably done. From this we revert to the story of his early love, in which he appears as a very different sort of person. And then the two portraits are reconciled in the 'Epilogue,' which we may quote as a favourable specimen of the writer's reflective style:—

'To those who were familiar only with the grey-haired vicar, jog-

\* 'Adam Bede,' vol. ii. 282-4.

† 'Scenes of Clerical Life,' ii. 81.

ging leisurely along on his old chestnut cob, it would, perhaps, have been hard to believe that he had ever been the Maynard Gilfil who, with a heart full of passion and tenderness, had urged his black Kitty to her swiftest gallop on the way to Callam, or that the old gentleman of caustic tongue, and bucolic tastes, and sparing habits, had known all the deep secrets of devoted love, had struggled through its days and nights of anguish, and trembled under its unspeakable joys. And indeed the Mr. Gilfil of those late Shepperton days had more of the knots and ruggedness of poor human nature than there lay any clear hint of in the open-eyed, loving Maynard. But it is with men as with trees—if you lop off their finest branches, into which they were pouring their young life-juice, the wounds will be healed over with some rough boss, some odd excrescence; and what might have been a grand tree expanding into liberal shade, is but a whimsical, misshapen trunk. Many an irritating fault, many an unlovely oddity, has come of a hard sorrow, which has crushed and maimed the nature just when it was expanding into plenteous beauty; and the trivial erring life which we visit with our harsh blame, may be but as the unsteady motion of a man whose best limb is withered.

And so the dear old vicar, though he had something of the knotted whimsical character of the poor lopped oak, had yet been sketched out by nature as a noble tree. The heart of him was sound, the grain was of the finest; and in the grey-haired man who filled his pocket with sugarplums for the little children, whose most biting words were directed against the evil-doing of the rich man, and who, with all his social pipes and slipshod talk, never sank below the highest level of his parishioners' respect, there was the main trunk of the same brave, faithful, tender nature that had poured out the finest, freshest forces of its life-current in a first and only love—the love of Tina.

Tulliver may be cited as another well-imagined and well-executed character, with his downright impetuous honesty, his hatred of 'raskills,' and his disposition to see rascality everywhere; his resolution to stand on his rights, his good-natured contempt for his wife, his very justifiable dislike of her sisters, his love for his children, and his determination that they shall have a good education, cost what it may,—the benefits of education having been impressed on his mind by his own inability to 'wrap up things in words as aren't actionable,' and by the consequent perception that 'it's an uncommon fine thing, that is, when you can let a man know what you think of him without paying for it.\* His love of litigation is reconciled with his belief that 'the law is meant to take care o' raskills,' and that 'Old Harry made the lawyers' by the principle that the cause which has the 'biggest raskill' for attorney has the best chance of success; so that honesty need not despair if it can only

\* 'The Mill on the Floss,' i. 32.

secure the professional assistance of accomplished roguery. And when, notwithstanding this, the law and Mr. Wakem have been too much for him, great skill is shown in the description of poor Tulliver's latter days; his prostration and partial recovery; the concentration of his feelings on the desire to wipe out the dishonour of insolvency, and to avenge himself on the hostile attorney. Indeed, we confess that, notwithstanding his somewhat unedifying end, Tulliver is the only person in 'The Mill on the Floss' for whom we can bring ourselves to care much.

The reality of which we have been speaking is connected with a peculiar sort of conscientiousness in the authoress, as if she had actually witnessed all that she describes, and were resolved to describe it without any attempt to refine beyond the naked truth. Thus, the most serious characters make their most solemn and most pathetic speeches in provincial dialect and ungrammatical constructions, although it must be allowed that the authoress has not ventured so far in this way as to play with the use and abuse of the aspirate. And her dialect appears to be very carefully studied, although we may doubt whether the Staffordshire provincialisms of 'Clerical Life' and 'Adam Bede' are sufficiently varied when the scene is shifted in the latest book to the Lincolnshire side of the Humber. But where a greater variation than that between one midland dialect and another is required, 'George Eliot's' conscientiousness is very curiously shown. There is in 'Mr. Gilfil's Story' a gardener of the name of Bates, who is described as a Yorkshireman, and in 'Adam Bede' there is another gardener, Mr. Craig, whose name would naturally indicate a Scotchman. Each of these horticulturists is introduced into the dialogue, and of course the reader would expect the one to talk Yorkshire and the other to talk some variety of Scotch. But the authoress, apparently, did not feel herself mistress of either Scotch or Yorkshire to such a degree as would have warranted her in attempting them, and therefore, before her characters are allowed to open their mouths, she, in each case, is careful to tell us that we must moderate our expectations: 'Mr. Bates's lips were of a peculiar cut, and I fancy this had something to do with the peculiarity of his dialect, which, as we shall see, was individual rather than provincial.'\* 'I think it was Mr. Craig's pedigree only that had the advantage of being Scotch, and not his "bringing up;" for, except that he had a stronger burr in his accent, his speech differed little from that of the Loamshire people around him.'† In short, except that lucifer matches are twice introduced as familiar things in days when

\* 'Scenes of Clerical Life,' i. 191.

† 'Adam Bede,' i. 302.



the tinder-box was the only resource in general use for obtaining a light,\* we have not observed anything in which the authoress could be 'caught out.'

But this conscientious fidelity has very serious drawbacks. It seems as if the authoress felt herself under an obligation to give everything literally as it took place; to shut out nothing which is superfluous; to suppress nothing which is unfit for a work of fiction (for not only have we a report of Dinah Morris's sermons, but the very words of the prayer which she put up for Hetty in the prison); to abridge nothing which is tiresome. People and incidents are described at length, although they have little or nothing to do with the story. We may mention as instances the detailed history and character which are given of Tom Tulliver's tutor, the Reverend Walter Stelling, and the account of Mr. Poyser's harvest-home, which, however good in itself, is utterly out of place between the crisis and the conclusion of the story. But most especially we complain of the fondness which the authoress shows for exhibiting uninteresting and tiresome people in all their interminable tediousness; and if the morbid tone which we have already mentioned reminds us of a French school of novelists, her passion for photographing the minutest details of dullness reminds us painfully of those American ladies who contribute so largely to the literature of our railway-stalls, by flooding their boundless prairies of dingy paper with inexhaustible masses of blotchy type. We quite admit the naturalness of the tradespeople and other small folks whom this writer has perhaps explored more deeply than any earlier novelist; but surely we have far too much of them. It has indeed been said that we are spoiled by the activity of the present day for enjoying the faithful picture of what life was in country parishes and in little country towns fifty years ago; but we really cannot admit the justice of this attempt to throw the blame on ourselves. Dullness, we may be sure, has not died out within the last half century, but is yet to be found in plenty; and, if times were dull fifty or a hundred years ago, the novelists of those days—Scott and Fielding, and Smollett, and even Goldsmith in his simple tale—did not make their readers groan under their dullness. Let us hear some part of what George Eliot herself has to say in behalf of her practice:—

'It is for this rare, precious quality of truthfulness that I delight in many Dutch paintings which lofty-minded people despise. I find a source of delicious sympathy in these faithful pictures of a monotonous, homely existence, which has been the fate of so many more

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\* \* Adam Bede,' i. 219, 362.



among my fellow-mortals than a life of pomp or of absolute indigence, of tragic suffering or of world-stirring actions. I turn without shrinking from cloud-borne angels, from prophets, sibyls, and heroic warriors, to an old woman bending over her flower-pot, or eating her solitary dinner, while the noonday light, softened, perhaps, by a screen of leaves, falls on her mob-cap, and just touches the rim of her spinning-wheel, and her stone-jug, and all those cheap, common things which are the precious necessities of life to her; or I turn to that village wedding, kept between four brown walls, where an awkward bridegroom opens the dance with a high-shouldered, broad-faced bride, while elderly and middle-aged friends look on, with very irregular noses and lips, and probably with quart pots in their hands, but with an expression of unmistakeable contentment and good will. "Foh!" says my idealistic friend, "what vulgar details! What good is there in taking all these pains to give an exact likeness of old women and clowns? What a low phase of life! What clumsy, ugly people!"

'But, bless us! things may be loveable that are not altogether handsome, I hope? . . . Do not impose on us any æsthetic rules which shall banish from the region of art those old women scraping carrots with their work-worn hands, those heavy clowns taking holiday in a dingy pot-house, &c. . . . In the world there are so many of these common, coarse people, who have no picturesque sentimental wretchedness! It is so needful we should remember their existence, else we may happen to leave them quite out of our religion and philosophy, and frame lofty theories which only fit a world of extremes,' &c.\*

But are we likely to feel more kindly towards such people as those of whom we are now complaining, because all their triviality, and smallness, and tediousness are displayed at wearisome length on paper? If some Dutch painters bestowed their skill on homely old women and boozy boors, there is no evidence that they were capable of better things, and their choice of subjects is no justification for one who certainly can do better. Nor do we complain that we have an old woman or a coarse merry-making occasionally, but that such things in their monotonous meanness fill whole rooms of 'George Eliot's' gallery; and, in truth, the real parallel to her is not to be found in the old Dutchmen who honestly painted what was before their eyes, but rather in the perverseness of our modern 'pre-Raphaelites.' It is of these gentlemen—who, by the way, in their reactionary affectations are the most entire opposites of the simple, unaffected, and forward-striving artists who really lived before Raphael—it is of these gentlemen, with their choice of disagreeable subjects, uncomely models, and uncouth attitudes, their bestowal of superfluous labour on trifling details, and the consequent obtrusiveness of

\* 'Adam Bede,' i. 262-64.

subordinate things so as to mar the general effect of the work, that 'George Eliot' too often reminds us.

How very wearisome is the conversation of the clique of inferior women who worship Mr. Tryan! how dismally twaddling is that respectable old congregationalist, Mr. Jerome, with his tidy little garden and his 'little chacenut hoss'! We feel for Mr. Tryan when in the society of such people, although to him it was mitigated by the belief that he was doing good by associating with them, and by that love of incense from any quarter which is described as part of his character. But why should it be inflicted in such fearful doses on us, who have done nothing to deserve it, who have no 'mission' to encounter it, and are entirely without Mr. Tryan's consolations under the endurance of it?

Adam Bede's mother is another sore trial of the reader's patience—with her endless fretful chatter, and all the details of her urging her sons, one after the other, to refresh themselves with cold potatoes: nay, we are not reconciled to these vegetables even by the fact that on one occasion they are recommended as 'taters wi' the gravy in 'em.'\* But it is in 'The Mill on the Floss' that the plague of tedious conversation reaches its height. Mrs. Tulliver is one of four married sisters, whose maiden name had been Dodson, and in these sisters there is a studious combination of family likeness with individual varieties of character. Mrs. Tulliver herself—whose 'blond' complexion is generally associated by our authoress with imbecility of mind and character—belongs to that class of minds of which Mrs. Quickly may be considered as the chief intellectual type. Mrs. Pullet—the wife of a gentleman farmer, whose great characteristic is a habit of sucking lozenges, and whom Tom Tulliver most justly sets down as a 'nincompoop'—is almost sillier than Mrs. Tulliver. She has the gift of tears ever ready to flow, and sheds them profusely on the anticipation of imaginary and ridiculous woes. Her favourite vanity consists in drawing dismal pictures of the future and in priding herself on the bodily sufferings of her neighbours; that one had 'been tapped no end o' times, and the water—they say you might ha' swum in it if you'd liked;' that another's 'breath was short to that degree as you could hear him two rooms off;' and her highest religion—the loftiest exercise of her faith and self-denial—is the accumulation of superfluous clothes and linen, in the hope that they may make a creditable display after her death. Mrs. Deane is 'a thin-lipped woman, who made small well-considered speeches on peculiar occasions, repeating them afterwards to her husband, and asking him if she had not spoken

\* 'Adam Bede,' i. 54.

very properly; and of her we see but little. But of the eldest of the four, Mrs. Glegg, we see so much that we are really made quite uncomfortable by her; for she is a very formidable person indeed,—utterly without kindness, bullying everybody within her reach (her husband included), holding herself up as a model to everybody, and shaming all other families—especially those into which she and her sisters had married—by odious comparisons with the Dodsons. All this we grant is very cleverly done. The grim Mrs. Glegg and the fatuous Mrs. Tulliver and Mrs. Pullet talk admirably in their respective kinds; and we can quite believe that there are people who are not unfairly represented by the Dodsons—with the narrow limitation of their thoughts to their own little circle—the extravagantly high opinion of their own vulgar family, with the corresponding depreciation of all in and about their own rank who do not belong to it—their perfect conviction that their own family traditions (such as the copious eating of salt in their broth) are the standard of all that is good—their consecration of all their most elevated feelings to the worship of furniture, and clothes, and table-linen, and silver spoons—their utter alienation from all that, in the opinion of educated people, can make life fit to be enjoyed. The humour of Mrs. Glegg's determination that no ill desert of a relation shall interfere with the disposal of her property by will on the most rigidly Dodsonian principles of justice, according to the several degrees of Dodsonship, is excellent; and so is the change in her behaviour towards Maggie, whom, after having always bullied her, she takes up for the sake of Dodsondom's credit when everybody else has turned against her. But of all the sisters we get very tired; and surely there ought to be some limit to the amount of such dialogue as the following, cleverly executed as we admit it to be:—

“He's got a wonderful memory, Pullet has. I should be badly off if he was to have a stroke, for he always remembers when I've got to take my doctor's stuff; and I'm taking three sorts now.”

“Three o' the pills as before every other night, and the new drops at eleven and four, and the 'fervescing mixture when agreeable,” rehearsed Mr. Pullet, with a punctuation determined by a lozenge on his tongue.

“Pullet keeps all my physic-bottles; did you know, Betsy?” said Mrs. Pullet. “He won't have one sold. He says it is nothing but right people should see 'em when I'm gone. They fill two o' the long store-room shelves a'ready: but,” she added, beginning to cry, “it's well if they ever fill three. I may go before I've made up the dozen o' these last sizes. The pill-boxes are in the closet in my room;

room; you'll remember that, sister; but there's nothing to show for the boluses if it isn't the bills."

"I'm sure, sister, I can't help myself," said Mrs. Tulliver; "there's no woman strives more for her children; and I'm sure at scouring-time this Lady-day—as I've had all the bed-hangings taken down—I did as much as the two gells put together; and there's this last elder-flower wine I've made, beautiful. I allays offer it along with the sherry, though sister Glegg will have it I'm so extravagant. And as for liking to have my clothes tidy, and not go a fright about the house, there's nobody in the parish can say anything against me in respect o' backbiting and making mischief, for I don't wish anybody any harm; and nobody loses by sending me a pork-pie, for my pies are fit to show with the best o' my neighbours'; and the linen's so in order, as if I was to die to-morrow I should n't be ashamed. A woman can do no more nor she can." \*

The writer does not seem to be aware that the fools and bores of a book, while they bore the other characters, ought not to bore but to amuse the reader, and that they will become seriously wearisome to him if there be too much of them. Shakespeare has contented himself with showing us his Dogberry and Verges, his Shallow and Slender, and Silence, to such a degree as may sufficiently display their humours; but he has not filled whole acts with them, and, even if he had, a five-act play is a small field for the display of prolix foolishness as compared with a three-volume novel. Lord Macaulay has been supposed to speak sarcastically in saying that he 'would not advise any person who reads for amusement to venture on a certain *jeu d'esprit* of Mr. Sadler's as long as he can procure a volume of the Statutes at Large;† but we are afraid that we should not be believed if we were to mention the books to which we have had recourse by way of occasional relief from the task of perusing 'George Eliot's' tales.

In the case of 'these emmet-like Dodsons and Tullivers,' the authoress again defends her principle. 'I share with you,' she says, 'the sense of oppressive narrowness; but it is necessary that we should feel it, if we care to understand how it acted on the lives of Tom and Maggie.'‡ We must confess that we care very little for Tom and Maggie, who, although the inscription on their tombstone and the motto on the title-page of the book tell us that 'in their death they were not divided,' do not strike us as having been 'lovely and pleasant in their lives.' We do not think the development of the brother and the sister a matter of, any great interest; and, if it were, we believe that a sufficient ground might

\* 'The Mill on the Floss,' ii. 174-77. † 'Miscellaneous Writings,' ii. 68.

‡ 'The Mill,' &c., ii. 150.

have been laid for our understanding it without so severely trying our patience by the details of the 'sordid life' amid which their early years were spent.

Another mistake, as it appears to us, is the too didactic strain into which the authoress occasionally falls—writing as if for the purpose of forcing lessons on children or the poor, rather than for grown-up and educated readers. The story of 'Janet's Repentance' might, with the omission of a few passages such as the satirical flings at Mr. Tryan's female worshippers, be made into a very edifying little tract for some 'evangelical' society. Mr. Tryan's opponents are all represented as brutes and monsters, drunkards and unclean, enemies of all goodness; while, with the usual unscrupulousness of party tract-writers, we are required to choose between an alliance with such infamous company and unreserved adhesion to the Calvinistic curate, without being allowed any possibility of a third course. And, in addition to Mr. Tryan's victory, there is the conversion of Mrs. Dempster, not only from drunkenness to teetotalism (which might form the text for a set of illustrations by Mr. Cruikshank, in the moral style of his later days), but from hatred to love of the Gospel according to Mr. Tryan. In its place we should not care to object to such a story, or to a great deal of the needless talk which it contains both of sinners and of saints; but we *do* object to it in a book which is intended for the lighter reading of educated people, and the more so because we know that it comes from a writer who can feel nothing of the bitter but conscientious bigotry which the composition of such a story in good faith implies.

Again, some parts of 'The Mill on the Floss' distressingly remind us of Miss Edgeworth's intense instructiveness. Here, for instance, is a scene which throws some light on the characters of Tom and Maggie:—

"The knife descended on the puff and it was in two; but the result was not satisfactory to Tom, for he still eyed the halves doubtfully. At last he said—

"Shut your eyes, Maggie."

"What for?"

"You never mind what for. Shut 'em when I tell you." Maggie obeyed.

"Now, which 'll you have, Maggie, right hand or left?"

"I'll have that with the jam run out," said Maggie; keeping her eyes shut to please Tom.

"Why, you don't like that, you silly. You may have it if it comes to you fair, but I shan't give it you without. Right or left; you choose now. Ha-a-a!" said Tom, in a tone of exasperation, as Maggie peeped: "you keep your eyes shut now, else you sha'n't have any."

'Maggie's power of sacrifice did not extend so far; indeed I fear she

she cared less that Tom should enjoy the utmost possible amount of puff, than that he should be pleased with her for giving him the best bit. So she shut her eyes quite close, till Tom told her to "say which," and then she said, "Left-hand."

"You've got it," said Tom, in rather a bitter tone.

"What!" the bit with the jam run out?"

"No; here, take it," said Tom, firmly, handing decidedly the best piece to Maggie.

"Oh! please, Tom, have it; I don't mind. I like the other; please take this."

"No, I shan't," said Tom, almost crossly, beginning on his own inferior piece.

Maggie, thinking it was no use to contend further, began too, and ate up her half-puff with considerable relish, as well as rapidity. But Tom had finished first, and had to look on while Maggie finished her last morsel or two, feeling in himself a capacity for more. Maggie did not know Tom was looking at her: she was see-sawing on the elder-bough, lost to almost everything but a vague sense of jam and idleness.

"Oh! you greedy thing!" said Tom, when she had swallowed the last morsel. He was conscious of having acted very fairly, and thought she ought to have considered this, and made up to him for it. He would have refused a bit of hers beforehand, but one is naturally at a different point of view before and after one's own share of puff is swallowed.

Maggie turned quite pale. "Oh! Tom, why did n't you ask me?"

"I was n't going to ask you for a bit, you greedy. You might have thought of it without, when you knew I gave you the best bit."

"But I wanted you to have it, you know I did," said Maggie, in an injured tone.

"Yes, but I was n't going to do what was n't fair, like Spouncer. He always takes the best bit, if you don't punch him for it; and if you choose the best with your eyes shut, he changes hands. But if I go halves, I'll go 'em fair; only I would n't be a greedy."\*

In reading of Maggie's early indiscretions, we—hardened, grey-headed reviewers as we are—feel something like a renewal of the shame and mortification with which, long decades of years ago, we read of the weaknesses of Frank and Rosamond,—as if we ourselves were the little girl who made the mistake of choosing the big, bright-coloured bottle from the chemist's window, or the little boy who allowed himself to be deceived by the flattery of the lady in the draper's shop. In order that her hair may have no chance of appearing in curls on a great occasion (according to her mother's wish), Maggie plunges her head into a basin of water. On getting an old dress and a bonnet from her unloved aunt Glegg, she bastes the frock along with the roast beef on the following Sunday, and souses the bonnet under the pump. In

\* 'The Mill on the Floss,' i. 77.

consequence of the continual remarks of her mother and aunts, about the un-Dodsonlike colour of her hair, she cuts it all off. She makes the most deplorable exhibition of her literary vanity at every turn. Out of spite she pushes her cousin Lucy, when arrayed in the prettiest of dresses, into the 'cow-trodden mud,' and thereupon she runs off to a gang of gipsies, with the intention of becoming their queen,—an adventure from which we are glad that she is allowed to escape with less of suffering than Miss Edgeworth might perhaps have felt it a matter of duty to inflict on her. For the Toms and Maggies, the Franks and Rosamonds, of real life, such monitory anecdotes as these may be very good and useful; but it seems to us that they are out of place in a book intended for readers who have got beyond the early domestic schoolroom.

We cannot praise the construction of these tales. The plots are very slight; the narrative drags painfully in some parts, and in other parts the authoress has recourse to very violent expedients, as where she brings in the 'startling Adelphi stage-effect' of the flood to drown Tom and Maggie, in order to escape from the unmanageable complication of her story. Both in 'Adam Bede' and in 'The Mill on the Floss' the chief interest is over long before the tale comes to an end; and in looking at the whole series together we see something of repetition. Thus, both Tina and Hetty set their hearts on a young man above their own position, and turn a deaf ear to a longer-known, more suitable, and worthier suitor. Each disappears at a critical time, and each, after a disappointment in the higher quarter, falls back on a marriage with the humbler admirer; with the difference, however, that, as Hetty had committed murder, and as Tina had just been saved from doing so, the marriage in the first case never actually takes place, and in the second it ends after a few months. And as a smaller instance of repetition, we may compare the bedroom visit of the seraphic Dinah Morris to the earthly Hetty with that of the pattern Lucy Deane to the tempestuous Maggie Tulliver.

There is less of affectation in these books than in most of our recent novels, yet there is by far too much. Among the portions which are most infected by this sin we may mention the descriptions of scenery,—thanks, doubtless, in no small measure, to the influence of that very dangerous model Mr. Ruskin. Take, by way of example, the opening of a description from 'Adam Bede':—

CHAPTER VI.

THE HALL FARM.

'EVIDENTLY that gate is never opened, for the long grass and the great hemlocks grow close against it; and if it were opened, it is so rusty that



that the force necessary to turn it on its hinges would be likely to pull down the square stone-built pillars, to the detriment of the two stone lionesses which grin with a doubtful carnivorous affability above a coat of arms surmounting each of the pillars. It would be easy enough, by the aid of the nicks in the stone pillars, to climb over the brick-wall, with its smooth stone coping; but by putting our eyes close to the rusty bars of the gate, we can see the house well enough, and all but the very corners of the grassy enclosure.\*

Or look at the opening of 'The Mill on the Floss':—

#### 'CHAPTER I.

##### 'OUTSIDE DORLOOTE MILL.

'A WIDE plain, where the broadening Floss hurries on between its green banks to the sea, and the loving tide, rushing to meet it, checks its passage with an impetuous embrace. On this mighty tide the black ships, laden with the fresh-scented fir planks, with rounded sacks of oil-bearing seed, or with the dark glitter of coal, are borne along to the town of St. Ogg's, which shows its aged fluted red roofs and the broad gables of its wharves between the low-wooded hill and the river brink, tinging the water with a soft purple hue under the transient glance of this February sun. Far away on each hand stretch the rich pastures. How lovely the little river is, with its dark changing wavelets! It seems to me like a living companion while I wander along the bank and listen to its low placid voice, as to the voice of one who is deaf and loving. I remember those large dripping willows—I remember the stone bridge,' &c.

Here, in addition to the general affectation, the reader may observe two offensive features which are continually repeated, and often in a far more offensive form—the affectation of smartness in the heading of the chapter, and the needless intrusion of the writer's personality. This intrusion is generally connected with the introduction of reflections which are intended to have the effect of lofty and subtle sarcasm. Here is a specimen which, if the subject be considered, is absolutely shocking; but we must remember that we have to do with the translator of Strauss:—

'Milk and mildness are not the best things for keeping, and, when they turn only a little sour, they may disagree with young stomachs seriously. I have often wondered whether those early Madonnas of Raphael, with the blond faces and somewhat stupid expression, kept their placidity undisturbed when their strong-limbed, strong-willed boys got a little too old to do without clothing. I think they must have been given to feeble remonstrance, getting more and more peevish as it became more and more ineffectual.†

Again, when Tom Tulliver has borrowed an old drill-sergeant's sword, with which he intends to astonish his sister:—

\* 'Adam Bede,' i. 99.

† 'The Mill on the Floss,' i. 16.

'If you think a lad of thirteen would not have been so childish, you must be an exceptionally wise man, who, although you are devoted to a civil calling, requiring you to look bland rather than formidable, yet never, since you had a beard, threw yourself into a martial attitude and frowned before the looking-glass. It is doubtful whether our soldiers would be maintained if there were not pacific people at home who like to fancy themselves soldiers. War, like other dramatic spectacles, might possibly cease for want of a "public."'\*

Again:—

'And I am not sure that even honest Mr. Tulliver himself, with his general view of law as a cockpit, might not, under opposite circumstances, have seen a fine appropriateness in the truth that "Wakem was Wakem;" since I have understood from persons versed in history that mankind is not disposed to look narrowly into the conduct of great victors when their victory is on the right side.'†

We know, of course, that there are precedents in our late literature for the frequent introduction of the author's reflections, and we allow that such a practice *may* find its right place. But we do not think that 'George Eliot' has caught the art of using this sort of sarcastic parabasis rightly, and her reflections for the most part appear to us to savour more of pertness than of wisdom. In speaking, however, of her affectations, we are bound to give her credit for having got rid of one which was distressingly frequent in her earlier writings—the affectation of such smartness of phrase as is to be found in the following passage from the second page of 'Scenes of Clerical Life':—

'Ample galleries are supported on iron pillars, and in one of them stands the crowning glory, the very clasp or aigrette of Shepperton church-adornment, namely, an organ, not very much out of repair, on which a collector of small rents, differentiated by the force of circumstances into an organist, will accompany the alacrity of your departure after the blessing by a sacred minuet, or an easy "Gloria."

'Immense improvement! says the well-regulated mind, which unintermittingly rejoices in the new police, the Tithe Commutation Act, the penny post, and all guarantees of human advancement, and has no moments when Conservative-reforming intellect takes a nap, while imagination does a little Toryism by the sly, revelling in regret that dear, old, brown, crumbling, picturesque inefficiency is everywhere giving place to spick-and-span new-painted, new-varnished efficiency, which will yield endless diagrams, plans, elevations, and sections; but alas! no picture. Mine, I fear, is not a well-regulated mind: it has an occasional tenderness for old abuses; it lingers with a certain fondness over the days of nasal clerks and top-booted parsons, and has a sigh for the departed shades of vulgar errors.'

We are sure that the authoress would not now write thus, and

\* 'The Mill on the Floss,' i. 330.

† Ibid. ii. 113.

the fact that she has overcome one great error of taste leads us to hope that she may hereafter cure herself of others.

Before concluding our article we must notice the authoress's views on two important subjects which enter largely into her stories—love and religion. That ladies, of their own accord and uninvited, fall in love with gentlemen is a common circumstance in novels written by ladies; and we are very much obliged to Madame D'Arblay, Miss Austen, and the other writers of the softer sex, who have let us into the knowledge of the important fact that such is the way in real life. But the peculiarity of 'George Eliot,' among English novelists, is that in her books everybody falls in love with the wrong person. She seems to be continually on the point of showing us, with the author of 'The Rovers'—

'How to two swains one nymph her vows may give,  
And how two damsels with one lover live.'

Love is represented as a passion conceived without any ground of reasonable preference, and as entirely irresistible in its sway. Tina bestows her affections on Captain Wybrow, while the Captain, without caring for anybody but himself, is paying his addresses to Miss Assher; and Mr. Gilfil is pining for Tina, whom, if he had any discernment at all, he could not but see to be quite unfitted for him. Adam Bede is in love with the utterly undeserving Hetty, while Dinah Morris and Mary Burge are both in love with Adam, Hetty with Arthur Donnithorne, and Seth Bede with Dinah. At last, Hetty is got out of the way, Dinah comes to a clearer understanding of her feelings towards Adam, and Adam, on being made aware of this, is set on by his mother to make a successful proposal; but 'quiet Mary Burge' subsides into a bridesmaid, and Seth, the 'poor wool-gatherin' Methodist,' is left without any other consolation than that of worshipping his sister-in-law.

But it is in 'The Mill on the Floss' that the unwholesome view which we have mentioned finds its most startling development. Maggie is in love with Philip, and Philip with Maggie; Stephen Guest is in love with Lucy Deane, and Lucy with Stephen, while at the same time she has an undeclared admirer in Tom Tulliver. But as soon as Maggie and Stephen become acquainted with each other, they exercise a powerful mutual attraction, and the mischief of love (as the passion is represented by our authoress) breaks loose in terrible force. The reproach which Tom Tulliver had coarsely thrown in Philip's teeth, that he had taken advantage of Maggie's inexperience to secure her affections before she had had any opportunity of comparing him with other men, turns out to be entirely just. Stephen is a mere underbred

underbred coxcomb, and is intended to appear as such (for we do not think that the authoress has failed in an attempt to make him a gentleman); his only merit, in so far as we can discover, is a foolish talent for singing, and, except as to person, he is infinitely inferior to Philip. But for this mere physical superiority the lofty-souled Maggie prefers him to the lover whom she had before loved for his deformity; and the passion is represented as one which no considerations of moral or religious principle, no regard to the claims of others, no training derived from the hardships of her former life or from the ascetic system to which she had at one time been devoted, can withstand. Here is a delicate scene, which is described as having taken place in a conservatory, to which the pair had withdrawn on the night of a ball:—

‘Maggie bent her arm a little upward towards the large half-opened rose that had attracted her. Who has not felt the beauty of a woman’s arm?—the unspeakable suggestions of tenderness that lie in the dimpled elbow, and the varied gently-lessening curves down to the delicate wrist, with its tiniest, almost imperceptible nicks in the firm softness?’

‘A mad impulse seized on Stephen; he darted towards the arm and showered kisses on it, clasping the wrist.’

‘But the next moment Maggie snatched it from him, and glanced at him like a wounded war-goddess, quivering with rage and humiliation.’

‘“How dare you?” she spoke in a deeply-shaken, half-smothered voice: “what right have I given you to insult me?”’

‘She darted from him into the adjoining room, and threw herself on the sofa panting and trembling.’\*

We should not have blamed the young lady if, like one of Mr. Trollope’s heroines, she had made her admirer feel not only ‘the beauty of a woman’s arm,’ but its weight. But, unwarned by the grossness of his behaviour on this occasion, she is represented as admitting Stephen to further intercourse; and, although she rescues herself at last, it is not until after having occasioned irreparable scandal. A good-natured ordinary novelist might have found an easy solution for the difficulties of the case at an earlier stage by marrying Stephen to Maggie, and handing over Lucy (who is far too amiable to object to such a transfer) to her admiring cousin Tom; while Philip, left in celibacy, might either have been invested with a pathetic interest, or represented as justly punished for the offence of forestalling. But George Eliot has higher aims than ordinary novelists, and to her the transfer which we have suggested would appear as a profanation. Her characters, therefore, plunge into all manner of sacrifices of reputation and happiness; and it is not until Maggie and Tom

\* iii. 156.

have been drowned, and Philip's whole life embittered, that we catch a final view of Mr. Stephen Guest visiting the grave of the brother and sister in company with his amiable wife, *née* Lucy Deane. If we are to accept the natural moral of this story, it shows how coarse and immoral a very fastidious and ultra-refined morality may become.

It is with reluctance that we go on to notice the religion of these books; but since religion appears so largely in them, we must not decline the task. To us, at least, the theory of the writer's 'High-Church tendencies' could never have appeared plausible; for even in the 'Scenes of Clerical Life' the chief religious personage is the 'evangelical' curate Mr. Tryan, and whatever good there is in his parish is confined to the circle of his partisans and converts; while in 'Adam Bede' the Methodist preacheress, Dinah Morris, is intended to shine with spotless and incomparable lustre. Yet, although the highest characters, in a religious view, are drawn from 'evangelicism' and Methodism, we find that neither of these systems is set forth as enough to secure the perfection of everybody who may choose to profess it.

'It may be that some of Mr. Tryan's hearers had gained a religious vocabulary rather than religious experience; that here and there a weaver's wife, who a few months before had been simply a silly slattern, was converted into that more complex nuisance a silly and sanctimonious slattern; that the old Adam, with the pertinacity of middle age, continued to tell fibs behind the counter, notwithstanding the new Adam's addiction to Bible-reading and family prayer; that the children in the Sunday-school had their memories crammed with phrases about the blood of cleansing, imputed righteousness, and justification by faith alone, which an experience lying principally in chuck-farthing, hop-scotch, parental slappings, and longings after unattainable lollipops, served rather to darken than to illustrate; and that at Milby, as in all other times and places where the mental atmosphere is changing and men are inhaling the stimulus of new ideas, folly often mistook itself for wisdom, ignorance gave itself airs of knowledge, and selfishness, turning its eyes upwards, called itself religion.'\*

Mr. Parry, although agreeing with Mr. Tryan in opinion, is represented as no less unpopular and inefficient than Mr. Tryan was the reverse; and the Reverend Amos Barton is a hopeless specimen of that variety of 'evangelical' clergymen to which the late Mr. Conybeare gave the name of 'low and slow,'—a variety which, we believe, flourishes chiefly in the midland counties. On the other hand, Mr. Gilfil and Mr. Irwine, clergymen of the 'old school,' are held up as objects for our respect and love; and

\* 'Scenes of Clerical Life,' ii. 163-4.

Mr. Irwine is not only vindicated by Adam Bede in his old age, in comparison with his evangelical successor Mr. Ryde, but the question between high and low church, as represented by these two, is triumphantly settled by a quotation which Adam brings from our old friend Mrs. Poyser :—

‘Mrs. Poyser used to say—you know she would have her word about everything—she said Mr. Irwine was like a good meal o’ victual, you were the better for him without thinking on it; and Mr. Ryde was like a dose o’ physic, he griped and worried you, and after all he left you much the same.’ \*

In ‘The Mill on the Floss,’ too, the ‘brazen’ Mr. Stelling is represented as ‘evangelical,’ in so far as he is anything; while Dr. Kenn, a very high Anglican, is spoken of with all veneration; although, perhaps, ‘George Eliot’s’ opinion as to the efficiency of the high Anglican clergy may be gathered from the circumstance that when the Doctor interferes for the benefit of Maggie Tulliver, he not only fails to be of any use, but exposes himself to something like the same kind of gossip which had arisen from Mr. Amos Barton’s hospitality to Madame Czerlaski. As to Methodism, again, the reader need hardly be reminded of the sayings which we have quoted from Mrs. Poyser. And while the feeble and ‘wool-gathering’ Seth Bede becomes a convert, the stronger-minded Adam holds out, even although he is so tolerant as to marry a female Methodist preacher, and to let her enjoy her ‘liberty of prophesying’ until stopped by a general order of the Wesleyan Conference.

From all these things the natural inference would seem to be that the authoress is neither High-Church nor Low-Church nor Dissenter, but a tolerant member of what is styled the Broad-Church party—a party in which we are obliged to say that breadth and toleration are by no means universal. It would seem that, instead of being exclusively devoted to any one of the religious types which she has embodied in the persons of her tales (for as yet she has not presented us with a clergyman of any liberal school), she regards each of them as containing an element of pure Christianity, which, although in any one of them it may be alloyed by its adjuncts and by the faults of individuals, is in itself of inestimable value, and may be held alike by persons who differ widely from each other as to the forms of religious polity and as to details of Christian doctrine.

But what is to be thought of the fact that the authoress of these tales is also the translator of Strauss’s notorious book? Is

\* ‘Adam Bede,’ i. 269.

the Gospel which she has represented in so many attractive lights nothing better to her, after all, than 'fabula ista de Christo?' Are the various forms under which she has exhibited it no more for her than the Mahometan and Hindoo systems were for the poet of Thalaba and Kehama? Has she been carrying out in these novels the precepts of that chapter in which Dr. Strauss teaches his disciples how, while believing the New Testament narrative to be merely mythical, they may yet discharge the functions of the Christian preacher without exposing themselves by their language to any imputation of unsoundness? But, even apart from this distressing question, there is much to interfere with the hope and the interest with which we should wish to look forward to the future career of a writer so powerful and so popular as the authoress of these books—much to awaken very serious apprehensions as to the probable effect of her influence. No one who has looked at all into our late fictitious literature can have failed to be struck with the fondness of many of the writers of the day for subjects which at an earlier time would not have been thought of, or would have been carefully avoided. The idea that fiction should contain something to soothe, to elevate, or to purify seems to be extinct. In its stead there is a love for exploring what would be better left in obscurity; for portraying the wildness of passion and the harrowing miseries of mental conflict; for dark pictures of sin and remorse and punishment; for the discussion of questions which it is painful and revolting to think of. By some writers such themes are treated with a power which fascinates even those who most disapprove the manner in which it is exercised; by others with a feebleness which shows that the infection has spread even to the most incapable of the contributors to our circulating libraries. To us the influence of the 'Jack Sheppard' school of literature is really far less alarming than that of a class of books which is more likely to find its way into the circles of cultivated readers, and, most especially, to familiarize the minds of our young women in the middle and higher ranks with matters on which their fathers and brothers would never venture to speak in their presence. It is really frightful to think of the interest which we have ourselves heard such readers express in criminals like Paul Ferroll, and in sensual ruffians like Mr. Rochester: and there is much in the writings of 'George Eliot' which, on like grounds, we feel ourselves bound most earnestly to condemn. Let all honour be paid to those who in our time have laboured to search out and to make known such evils of our social condition as Christian sympathy may in some degree relieve or cure. But we do not believe that any good end is to be effected by fictions which fill  
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the mind with details of imaginary vice and distress and crime, or which teach it—instead of endeavouring after the fulfilment of simple and ordinary duty—to aim at the assurance of superiority by creating for itself fanciful and incomprehensible perplexities. Rather we believe that the effect of such fictions must be to render those who fall under their influence unfit for practical exertion; while they most assuredly do grievous harm in many cases, by intruding on minds which ought to be guarded from impurity the unnecessary knowledge of evil.

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ART. VI.—1. *The Debates on the Grand Remonstrance, November and December, 1641.* By John Forster.

2. *Arrest of the Five Members by Charles I.; a Chapter on English History Re-written.* By John Forster.

THE characteristics of Mr. Forster's mind are, in many respects, eminently fitted to the subjects he selects for historical disquisition. He finds his heroes in men who were thoroughly in earnest, and earnestness is the distinguishing attribute of his own vigorous understanding. To much patience of research he unites a remarkable power of generalization, and he groups his details so as to render clear and prominent the facts he desires to enforce. His style itself is in accordance with his theme—solid and impressive; animated, where occasion permits, with a severe and manly eloquence. As his nature is hearty and his convictions deep, so his preferences cannot fail to be decided. But if such preferences sometimes warp his judgment, a similar charge must, more or less, apply to every historical commentator on the period from which, as it is truly said, 'the factions of modern times trace their divergence.'

And those men, to whom the preferences of Mr. Forster are thus boldly given and openly avowed, are never to be spoken of without respect, nor judged without a certain degree of indulgence, by critics whose opinions are disciplined by the study of our history, and whose sentiments are warmed by an appreciation of our freedom. To those men, illustrated afresh by the learning and the eloquence of the writer whose works are now before us, we owe lasting obligations; but not the least obligations are the warnings which their errors have bequeathed.

With a masterly hand Mr. Forster has shaped forth the large image of Pym, and has placed it on the height which its proportions demand. Pym was, in fact, not only the most popular man at that time in England, but, perhaps, as a practical politician the ablest and most effective. What Mr. Disraeli said of the late

late Sir R. Peel may more accurately be said of Pym—‘he was the greatest Member of Parliament that ever lived.’ He thoroughly understood his audience and his theatre. No business was too large, none too small for him. Historians before Mr. Forster have failed to make clear to the reader the prodigious power of this man’s nature. Mr. Forster is the first who shows him as his age knew; let us add that Mr. Forster too fondly judges him as his followers judged. Pym, more than Hampden, and far more than Vane, represents the House of Commons in its quarrel with Charles from the date of the Grand Remonstrance to the day when Pym himself was buried at Westminster amongst the monuments of kings, feebler and less despotic than himself. He was a chief who united most of the qualities that serve and adorn the leader of party: pre-eminent experience in public affairs, unrelaxing vigilance in the attention bestowed on them, profound mastery in those ready tactics by which occasions to weaken or wound an adversary are fearlessly seized and unscrupulously improved. Even his personal appearance favoured the part he played. Nature gave him the burly frame that impresses the eye with a sense of power, and the broad front that seems to defy enmity and invite confidence. His eloquence was more elaborate than Clarendon’s description would lead a reader unacquainted with his speeches to infer. Ready in debate and ingenious in reply, there is yet the evidence of much careful preparation in his more important harangues; the arguments are arranged with the deliberate logic of written composition, and enforced or embellished with no common rhetorical skill. Tinged, but not imbued, with the religious colourings of the day, his style is chastened to a more neutral tint than that which offends a cultivated taste in most of the Puritan leaders. It is impossible not to recognise in his discourses, as in his actions, a consummate man of the world: he had lived more in general society, and familiarised his reasonings more with the ideas of a metropolis, than most of his associates. He was free from the formal affectations of the Puritans in his manners as in his dress. He was proverbially gallant to women; and tempers so disposed are generally hearty and genial in their intercourse with men. He was careless in money-matters; and it is perhaps to his honour that he died in embarrassed circumstances. The House of Commons voted 10,000*l.* to the payment of his debts—a large sum, considering the value of money at that time. Rigid probity in pecuniary matters was not the special attribute of the Parliamentary party, after the events of the Civil War permitted them to tamper with the resources exclusively at their control. Making allowance

allowance for partial untruth and general exaggeration in the account of the manner in which the anti-Royalist members of the House of Commons contrived to enrich themselves, which was published after the abrupt dissolution of the Long Parliament—cupidity and corruption, whether in the malappropriation of public money or the transfer of private property subjected to forfeit and sequestration, were as shameless, even amongst the more respectable patriots of ‘the Supreme Council,’ as might be expected from representatives who had long ceased to hold themselves accountable to constituents. But though Pym is accused by Clarendon of a due share in the prevalent frailty, the accusation is much too unsupported to allow us to accept against Pym himself the evidence on which he would have ruthlessly condemned an opponent. For he was a hearty hater; and whether sincerely suspicious or politically uncharitable, he deepened every shadow that fell upon an adversary. Honest Jack Lee, more than a century later, vehemently upbraided some fellow Whig for betraying the interests of the party in a chance remark, ‘that the Duke of Richmond (then separated from the Whigs) was a very handsome man.’ Jack Lee was a politician after Pym’s own heart. Pym can see nothing but deformity when he looks at an antagonist. It would be ludicrous, had the consequences been less tragic, to observe the gravity with which he accepts the absurdest rumours as the most conclusive testimonies, if only those rumours affect the King or the King’s friends; and how, undisturbed by the substantial dangers in which his panic, real or assumed, involves his country, he keeps the public in constant terror by denunciations of visionary massacres and impracticable plots. In the casuistry which a subtle intellect adapts to the popular understanding, Pym was unsurpassed. With equal skill he could defend as a sacred bulwark, or brush aside as a gossamer cobweb, the laws and constitution of the realm. In the prosecution of Strafford, when laws and constitution are plainly insufficient to establish the capital crime of high treason, Pym resolves society itself into its first principles, and mounts from the Plantagenets up to primeval Nature for a precedent that may crush his victim. Statutes fail, testimonies are defective; But, cries Pym, ‘the Earl is condemned by the light of Nature, the light of common reason—the element of all laws out of which they are derived, the end of all laws to which they were designed.’ But small account does Pym make of the ‘light of Nature,’ ‘the light of reason,’ and the ‘element of all laws,’ when those venerable guides to human polity rebuke the vindictive passions which he invoked them to sanction and assist. That a wife should aid her husband in his peril is a truth more agreeable

agreeable to the 'light of Nature' and 'the element of all laws' than that a political offender should be condemned to death, not by the laws of his country, but by abstract propositions on the origin of society. Yet when the Queen brings a small force to the assistance of Charles, Pym—the woman-lover, Pym—heads that barbarous impeachment against the Queen for high treason, which the just resentment of Mr. Hallam stigmatises as a 'violation of the primary laws and moral sentiments that preserve human society.'

But if Pym had the vehemence of Achilles, he had no less notably the craft of Ulysses. He could avail himself of the most dishonourable agencies, yet with such adroitness and plausibility that, in the eyes of the public, their dishonour did not sully himself. He converted into his most serviceable spy the mistress of Strafford, the confidante of Henrietta.\* He reconciled the sanctimonious purism of the younger Vane to an act which in our day would exclude its perpetrator from the pale of gentlemen, and which barbed with a just insult Cromwell's exclamation, 'The Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane!' †

Pym's

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\* The object of Lady Carlisle in her unspeakable perfidy must always remain a mystery. We dismiss, as a conjecture irreconcilable with the slightest knowledge of human nature, the supposition that she desired to avenge on Charles the death of Strafford, which was compassed by Pym; nor, though Pym was as much accused of licentiousness by his enemies as Strafford had been by his, do we believe that the intercourse between Pym and Lady Carlisle was that of criminal love. But she was debased into his compliant tool by the same power of character which had charmed her in Strafford. Nothing is more common amongst women of that stamp than a kind of slavish idolatry, not so much of intellectual eminence as of the reputation that belongs to it. They fall in love with celebrity, and flatter themselves that they thus gain equality with genius.

† We refer to the paper which cost Lord Strafford his head, and we take Vane's own account of his conduct respecting it. He said, 'that his father, being in the North with the King the summer before, had sent up his keys to his secretary, then at Whitehall, and had written to him, his son, that he should take from him those keys which opened his boxes where his writings and evidences of his land were, to the end that he might cause an assurance to be perfected which concerned his wife.' The case so far stands thus: the elder Vane, then Secretary of State, and as such sworn to keep secret the affairs of council within his cognizance, entrusts his son with the power to search amongst certain receptacles for a strictly private paper affecting that son's marriage settlement. The son was not then a young man new to public affairs, and ignorant of the sanctity of his father's obligations to secrecy. He himself had been a governor in Virginia; he was at that time a servant of the Crown as Treasurer of the Navy—he was therefore necessarily aware of the duties that attach to office, and the inviolable respect that is due to official documents. Well, then, young Vane, having found the private papers which alone he had been permitted to look for, and 'dispatched what depended thereon,' states that 'he had the curiosity to desire to see what was in a red velvet cabinet that stood with the other boxes, and therewith required the key of that cabinet from the secretary, as if he still wanted something towards the business his father had directed.' Here, then, is a public man, a gentleman, who, trusted with keys for a special purpose confined to his own private affairs, coolly owns to the unutterable

Pym's political opinions at the commencement of the Long Parliament were not extreme. His intimacy with the Earl of Bedford, so long as that great nobleman lived to influence the councils of the popular party, combined with his own worldly sense to keep him aloof from the democratic rant of a Haselrig and the theological crotchets of a Vane. Even after the Earl of Bedford's death 'he was not,' says Clarendon, 'of those furious resolutions against the Church as the other leading men were. . . . Mr. Pym was concerned and passionate in the jealousies of religion, and much troubled with the countenance which had been given to those opinions that had been imputed to Arminius, yet himself professed to be very entire to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England.' And in civil polity, Mr. Forster truly observes, 'Even Hampden's accession, after his

unutterable baseness and breach of trust of prying into a cabinet which he is not privileged to open, and tells his father's secretary a deliberate lie, in order to obtain the key. On opening this cabinet he finds that it contains the official papers which his father is sworn to keep secret from him as from all men. What would have been the first impulse of any man of the most ordinary honour? Surely to have veiled his eyes and relocked the cabinet. Young Vane on the contrary determinately sets to work to read them. He finds the very notes taken by his father as Secretary of State, part of them couched in cipher. He has thus his father's official honour and sworn oath in his hands. He still reads on—no cipher is sacred to him. And having discovered in these notes something that appears to implicate the man with whom, by the way, himself and his father have a personal quarrel, he deems himself bound in conscience to communicate the contents to some person of better judgment than himself. And the person he selects out of the whole world to show the notes officially taken by his father at the King's council board, and the implications therein contained against his father's official colleague, is the head of the opposition to the King, and the bitterest and most ruthless personal enemy of the man against whom he has detected an evidence which it was dishonour and perfidy in himself to have seen. He shows it to Pym, lets Pym take a copy of it; and then, without a word to his father, replaces it in the velvet cabinet. We take the younger Vane's own account, and do not add to it Lord Clarendon's belief that the whole was a trick between the two Vanes for the purpose of destroying Strafford, against whom they had a grudge. And we know not which conveys a lower estimate of personal honour—the act itself, or the unconscious ignoring of the most self-evident obligations of social life with which the tale was confessed and gloried in.

The use made of the document is of a piece with the manner in which it was obtained. Though the pretence for giving to Pym a copy of it was the imminent danger with which the kingdom was threatened, it was kept concealed for several months, and the secret possession of it thus led to the fraudulently-obtained introduction of the monstrous clause in the bill of attainder against Lord Strafford, 'to make one witness, with divers circumstances, as good as two.'

With regard to Strafford himself, he was so formidable to liberty, both from his designs and from his genius, that the popular party were justified in all attempts to remove him from the King's councils, and incapacitate him from returning to them. But his sentence was an outrage on the laws of England, and the speech in which St. John, as Solicitor-General, stated that, 'though the testimony against Strafford was not clear, yet in this way of bill private satisfaction to each man's conscience was sufficient, and that the Earl had no title to plead law, because he had broken the law,' was an exposition of principle that made every life in England insecure.

return

return from Scotland, to what was called the Root-and-branch Party of the State, had not entirely carried Pym along with it.' But if Pym's political tenets were comparatively temperate, such temperance was rendered practically valueless by the heat of his political animosities. Mr. Hallam ascribes the errors of the Commons in the Long Parliament 'to the excess of two passions, resentment and distrust.' And the chief cause of Pym's popularity was the conspicuous fidelity with which he represented those two passions in their excess. Thus, partly by temper, partly by position as a political leader, he was rapidly carried on to a course of action utterly inconsistent with the theoretical doctrines which he had the credit of holding, and was soon only to be distinguished from the Strodes and the Haselrigs by the superior capacity with which he gave to violent aggressions the character of sage precautions. In times of revolutionary excitement or popular agitation, no leader is so dangerous to order as he who, commending violence, makes the public believe he himself has no wish to be violent. For moderation seems to be struck out of all councils which the time can admit, when the man who is respected as moderate heads the men who are feared as extreme. To the Root-and-branch Party Pym gave vigour and authority precisely because he did not wholly belong to it. And many a timid politician became gradually familiarised to the destruction of the monarchy, till the scaffold of Charles rose above its wrecks, by that phraseology of decorous moderation in which Mr. Pym—no Root-and-branch man—clothed the darkest insinuations against the King with professions of devoted affection for His Majesty; and, insisting on the sanctity of the constitution, argued all its elements away.

Such was the man who, as Clarendon tersely expresses it, 'was the most able to do hurt that hath lived in any time.' Such was the man who, had he so pleased, was at that time the most able to do good. In his strong hands were peace and the freedom already won; civil war, and its inexorable consequence—the subjugation of freedom to military force. Pym made his choice: we will examine it.

The first proceedings of the Long Parliament were characterised by the vigour of patriots and the wisdom of statesmen, who saw clearly before them objects essential to good government, and compatible with the genius of the constitution they reformed. Within less than a year from the opening of that Parliament the Triennial Bill was passed; ship-money declared to be illegal; the power of arbitrary taxation by the Sovereign annulled; the Star-chamber abolished. The Court of High Commission, with the jurisdiction of inferior but oppressive tribunals,

—such

—such as the Courts of the President and Council of the North, of Wales and the Welch Marches—no longer obstructed the broad and open current of English justice. The unpopular and feudal encroachments of the Crown in forest boundaries were permanently repressed; and not only was the normal constitution of England thus purified from the abuses which Charles and his predecessors had introduced, but, as Mr. Hallam remarks, ‘it was formed such nearly as it now exists.’

The merit of these great achievements is not to be ascribed solely to the men who, at a subsequent period under Pym, constituted the popular party. It is due in an equal degree to the politicians of a more temperate school, amongst whom Lord Falkland is conspicuous, even less for the culture of an exquisite intellect, than the sincerity of an incorruptible patriotism. A royalist peer, Lord Andover, made the first motion for the abolition of the Star Chamber. Hyde was Chairman of the Committee which brought in the Bill for abolishing the Court of York. Members of either House of Parliament in whom the pride of descent and the interests of property gave reasonable hostages for the safety of order amidst changes propitious to freedom, were the earliest champions of reforms that retrenched the royal prerogative and the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. And it is noticeable that foremost in the van of reform are the names of those whose families had held high place in the courts or councils of the Tudors—the Russells, the Sidneys, the Seymours, the Cecils, the Lyttons. The amount of property in the House of Commons itself was immense, and must be recognised as a principal cause of the paramount influence it so rapidly acquired. In one of the earlier parliaments of the reign the wealth of the members of the Lower House was computed at three times (at least) the amount of the wealth to be found in the Upper; it could not have been much less at the commencement of that Long Parliament which, after the civil war, recruited its emptying benches with fanatic adventurers whose fortunes were as needy as their spirit was sordid and their intelligence savage. We approach the time when the phalanx, hitherto united in the constitutional redress of genuine grievances, became divided: when Falkland was severed from the side of Pym—when Holborne, the eloquent lawyer against ship-money, argued no less warmly in defence of the Anglican Church:—we must ask ourselves to which of these two classes of reformers was rational liberty the most indebted: the class that was contented with obtaining those solid results which at the distance of two centuries we now enjoy, or the class that deliberately risked the chances of civil war for the sake of objects which, as we will show later,



later, have never been attained to this day,—and never could be attained without the annihilation of all the tempered attributes by which the freedom of a limited monarchy saves a state from the uncontrolled despotism of a popular chamber, or the iron order of military rule.

We must, however, start from one capital cause of all the later calamities that befell the time, and in which all subdivisions of the popular party must share the blame. That cause is found in the first direct violation on the part of the Long Parliament, not only of the English Constitution, but of every principle of safe government, by which monarchy and representative institutions can be brought into concord. We mean the Act hurried through all its stages in the House of Commons in two days, and by which the Parliament could not be dissolved without its own consent. It was passed by the Lords simultaneously with the attainder of Strafford, and it was pretended that the Act was necessary to prevent Charles from saving his Minister by dissolving the Parliament that impeached him.

But the Lords, in a conference with the Commons, had suggested an amendment that would have equally disabled the King from quashing the proceedings against Strafford, while it would have saved the State from an outrage by which in fact the People were set aside long before the Monarchy was abolished. The Lords proposed in this conference that the Act against the dissolution of Parliament without the consent of both Houses should be limited to two years; if, therefore, the popular leaders had only required a security against Charles for the purpose of justice upon Strafford, this amendment would have been accepted as effectual for the object in view; unhappily the Commons adhered to their original demand,—the Lords yielded,—the King consented,—and in three days the Constitution of England was virtually destroyed. A House of Commons was changed into an irresponsible tribunal, independent of the most salutary prerogative of the Crown, and only by its own consent made amenable to constituents for the use of its powers.

It is evident that thus, if the dissensions between King and Commons continued, there could be no appeal to the people for arbitration except by the sword; and by this Act, therefore, men who looked towards the chances of the future were compelled to familiarize their eyes with the prospect of civil war.

But whatever may be said of the pretexts for this calamitous measure, the House of Commons had thus obtained precisely that, the alleged want of which constitutes the apology made by Mr. Forster and other admirers of the extreme popular party for the

the subsequent exactions and excesses to which that party was impelled. They obtained security against the King's practical power to restore arbitrary rule. The House of Commons had already deprived the King of all means to obtain money without their consent: they proved in their proceedings against Strafford and Laud the stern reality of their privilege to hold responsible by the heaviest penalties the advisers whom the Crown might select; and by thus securing their own continued existence, they effected a guarantee against the King, immeasurably stronger than any which at this hour the reformed House of Commons has against any Sovereign who may harbour designs similar to those ascribed to Charles I., and cover those designs by the popular qualities and the genius for affairs, the want of which made Charles himself impotent against his enemies and fatal to his friends.

We think that Mr. Forster loses sight of this security throughout the whole of his reasonings, and that it never ought to be forgotten by those who look into his animated pages for the vindication of the Grand Remonstrance and its impassioned partisans.

We now approach the date of this famous memorial. Let us pause for a moment and allow Mr. Forster 'to seize the occasion to observe where some of the prominent people sit.'

'The member whose manuscript record chiefly has been quoted, Sir Simonds D'Ewes, will guide us to the knowledge here and there, in jotting down his own speeches; for as it was then the custom to avoid mention as well of the place represented as of the member's name, the principal mode of indicating a previous speaker was by some well known personal quality, or by his position in the house. Sir Simonds himself sat usually by the Speaker's chair, on the lowermost form close by the south end of the clerk's table; and there, whatever the subject of debate might be, or the excitement going on around him, this precise self-satisfied puritan gentleman sat, writing-apparatus forming part of his equipment, his eyes close to the paper (for their sight was defective), and ever busily taking his Notes: but it was his custom, when he spoke, to go up two steps higher, that he might more easily be heard by the whole house. In this position, Mr. Harry Marten, the member for Berkshire, was, "the gentleman below." Mr. Pym, the acknowledged chief of the majority of the Commons, is ever in his "usual place near the Bar," just beyond the gallery on the same right-hand side of the house at entering. Sir John Culpeper, member for Kent, and so soon to be Chancellor of the Exchequer, is "the gentleman on the other side of the way." He sat upon the left-hand side; and near him, most generally together, sat Hyde and Falkland; Mr. Geoffrey Palmer, the member for Stamford, and Sir John Strangways, sitting near. On the same side at the upper end, on the Speaker's right, sat the elder Vane, member for Wilton, for a few days longer

Secretary

Secretary of State and Treasurer of the Household ; near whom were other holders of office. Sir Thomas Jermyn, his Majesty's Comptroller, who sat for Bury St. Edmund's ; Sir Edward Herbert the Attorney-General, who sat for Old Sarum ; Oliver St. John the Solicitor-General, member for Totness, still holding the office in the King's service which had failed to draw him over to the King's side ; Mr. Coventry, member for Evesham and one of the King's house ; and young Harry Vane, member for Hull, and Joint-treasurer of the Navy ; all sat in this quarter, on the Speaker's right. Near them sat also Mr. Edward Nicholas, Clerk of the Council, soon to be Sir Edward and Secretary of State in place of Windebank, now an anxious auditor and spectator of this memorable debate, which he was there to report to the King. Between these members and Hyde, on the same side of the house, sat the member for Wilton, Sir Benjamin Rudyard ; Sir Walter Earle ; William Strode ; and lawyer Glyn, the member for Westminster. Mr. Herbert Price, the member for Brecon, with Mr. Wilmot, member for Tamworth, and a knot of young courtiers, sat at the lower end of the house on the same side, immediately on the left at entering. John Hampden sat on the other side, behind Pym ; and between him and Harry Marten, sat Edmund Waller ; on one of the back benches, Cromwell ; not far from him, Denzil Hollis ; and under the gallery, the member for Oxford University, the learned Mr. Selden. Near him sat lawyer Maynard, the other member for Totness ; and over them, in the gallery itself, that successful lawyer Mr. Holborne ; Sir Edward Dering ; and the member for Leicestershire, Sir Arthur Haselrig. But our list must come to a close.

This is a masterly example of the best and truest kind of historical scene-painting. The hints from which the sketch is furnished forth could only be gleaned by a mind quick to discern and trained to discriminate, while they are so carefully arranged as not to violate but to render vivid the fidelity of the outlines to which they lend the freshness of colour and the movement of life. So much for the scene. A word or two now on the time in which it is enacted.

The great reforms we have cited have been effected. The execution of Strafford has deprived the King of the only man who united the desire for arbitrary government with a genius equal to the accumulating difficulties of so criminal an ambition. The King himself, with an acuteness that he rarely evinced, has recognised that simple mode of reconciling the powers of a free Parliament with the safety of monarchical institutions, by which in our own day the business of the State is carried on. He has sought to form an administration from the party which had a prevalent influence in Parliament. Through the patriotic interposition of the Earl of Bedford, the popular movement was to be regulated to the ends compatible with constitutional monarchy by imposing on the conscience of its leaders the responsibilities that

that attach to advisers of the Crown. Pym was to have been Chancellor of the Exchequer, Denzil Hollis Secretary of State, Hampden, Lord Essex, and Lord Say to have had suitable places in the Administration. Unhappily the Earl of Bedford's sudden death frustrated these negotiations; but at least they were assurances that the King was not unprepared to admit of that solution of the difficulties of the time, which is alone consonant with the genius of the free Government that the popular party sought to effect; and even in spite of the Earl's death, Charles at least made such advances in that wise direction as were in his power. Lord Essex, the popular idol, was appointed Lord Chamberlain; St. John, the intimate associate of Hampden and Pym, had been appointed Solicitor-General at the beginning of the Parliament. We think it was the duty of calm statesmen and true patriots to have hailed these attempts to establish Parliamentary government on its natural basis, and to have assisted and encouraged the King in maturing out of such attempts an administration which in itself would be another guarantee for the liberties already achieved. We do not think, therefore, that Mr. Forster justly represents the conduct of the men he refers to, or the character of the time he depicts, by such a paragraph as this:—

‘Immediately after the execution of Strafford, which Hyde and his associates helped more largely than any other section of the House to accomplish, they began steadily and secretly to employ every artifice and all the advantages which their position in the Commons gave them to bring about a reaction favourable to the King.’

We think it a more correct interpretation of their policy to say, that as with Strafford's death died the last chance of restoring arbitrary rule—except indeed by the force of arms in the chances of civil war—so the more temperate and far-seeing members of the popular party wished no longer to inflame those contests between the Monarchy and the Commons, which might end in the destruction of one or the other; but rather to reconcile both, as in case of disagreement they would be reconciled now, through the medium of councillors whom the confidence of Parliament might commend to the service of the Crown. Hyde did in this but carry out the same policy by which the Earl of Bedford would have transferred Hampden and Pym from the lead of the Opposition to the guidance of the King. Nor does Mr. Forster appear to us to have any warrant for the assumption that, ‘with so much semblance of amended administration and such pretences of half popular measures as the ingenuity of Hyde could furnish, if Charles could be brought to concede only

only so much, there was yet the means of striking a heavy blow for recovery of the old prerogative.'

For Hyde himself, though no doubt he became more and more of a Royalist in proportion as the uses of Royalty were made clear by its trial and fall—in proportion as liberty was whirled on through the phases of fanatic revolution, to be debased by a Barebones and deposed by a Cromwell; yet, at the time Mr. Forster refers to, Hyde would certainly have aided no blow for the recovery of the 'old prerogative,' which, up to that moment, he had sought to check and abridge; nor do the State papers composed by himself, as the Royal replies and manifestos, advance other doctrines than those which at this day would be accepted by the advisers of a constitutional Sovereign. And we are sure that not Pym himself could more stubbornly than Falkland have resisted the restoration of those arbitrary powers against which no man had contended with steadier courage or nobler passion. Clarendon implies more than he himself wholly approved of the liberal bias of his illustrious friend, when he says 'nor had he (Lord Falkland) any veneration for the Court, but only such a loyalty to the King as the law required from him.' This is clear from the dislike which the more heated Cavaliers entertained towards Falkland, and their resentful fear of the conciliatory counsels which he urged upon the King after the war broke out.

The concessions that, whether yielded by or wrung from Charles at the commencement of the Long Parliament, had already changed a despotic into a limited monarchy, necessarily produced the effect which is the immediate consequence of great reforms in ancient institutions; they divided the Liberal party by making clear the differences amongst its members, which had been compromised or postponed till the objects on which there was agreement in common were achieved.

Falkland, for instance, was desirous of retrenching the civil powers of the hierarchy, and had differed from 'his inseparable friend,' Hyde, in speaking in favour of the Bill for taking away the Bishops' votes in Parliament. But Falkland was equally desirous of preserving the Anglican Church itself; and, when six months after he changed his opinion as to the Bishops' votes, and opposed a proposition similar to that which he had before approved, his public reply to Hampden's reproof for inconsistency seems to us a more intelligible excuse than it does to Mr. Forster, viz., that 'he had been persuaded to believe many things which he had since found to be untrue;' and when Mr. Forster says 'that what the alleged misrepresentations were has never been explained,' he has overlooked Clarendon's statement \* as to the question in

\* B. III., p. 152.

point, viz., that Falkland had declared 'that Mr. Hampden had assured him that, if that Bill might pass, nothing more would be attempted to the prejudice of the Church.'

In a word, that happened then which happens daily now—moderate men discovered that the ulterior objects of associates with whom they had previously acted were such as, either long concealed or lately ripened out of new events, differed essentially from the objects for which they had at the onset accepted a companionship and shared a struggle. And with this separation of party, as necessarily there flowed back towards the King much of the loyalty that, lost by the errors of earlier misrule, was conciliated by the redress of grievances and the surrender of noxious powers. For the first time in his reign, Charles found partisans in men of enlightened opinions, of popular services, of great weight in Parliamentary discussion. Out of a loyalty thus dignified, not unreasoning and servile, the public began to gather confidence that the King might gain wise councillors, and the remaining differences between the Crown and the Commons be peacefully adjusted. It was confessedly to stem that current of returning loyalty and to convert that growing hope into fresh distrust, that Pym thus early framed and subsequently proposed the Grand Remonstrance.

The debates on this momentous question are given by Mr. Forster with a breadth and fulness of detail worthy of their importance. All that zeal, research, force of style, and felicity of arrangement can do to vindicate this measure and condemn its opponents has been done by Mr. Forster; but we must confess that we rise from the perusal of the case, thus eloquently advocated and adorned, with a profound conviction that the Grand Remonstrance was either a great blunder or a great crime. A great blunder, if Pym and his party were sincere in the opinions they professed, and cherished no desire for the abolition of monarchy and the downfall of the constitution; a great crime if, for the sake of such objects, they conspired to deepen the breach between large classes of their countrymen, and submit liberty and order to the hazards of civil war.

We think that Mr. Hallam, who is certainly not more partial to Charles than Mr. Forster himself, states the substance of the Remonstrance fairly, if succinctly, when he says,—'This, being a recapitulation of all the grievances and misgovernment that had existed since his (Charles's) accession, which his acquiescence in so many measures of redress ought, according to the common courtesy due to Sovereigns, to have cancelled, was hardly capable of answering any other purpose than that of reanimating the discontents almost appeased, and guarding the people against

the confidence they were beginning to place in the King's sincerity.' Indeed, Mr. Forster himself does not deny that such were the objects, and these objects he employs his ingenuity to vindicate. We grant that there was enough in Charles's character to justify all reasonable precautions against the duplicity which constituted its main defect both as king and man. But we say with Mr. Hallam, that 'if he were intended to reign at all, or reign with any portion either of the prerogatives of an English king or the respect claimed by every sovereign, the Remonstrance of the Commons would but prolong an irritation incompatible with public tranquillity.' The Remonstrance itself was unfair in conception, exaggerated in statement, and a violent breach of constitutional practice in the manner in which it was introduced and shaped. Unfair in conception: because to enumerate evils that have been legally redressed under an existing system and a reigning sovereign, is to afford a reasonable presumption that the evils remaining may be equally redressed under the same sovereign and the same system; while this enumeration was so worded as to appeal to popular passion against both. Exaggerated in statement: for, as if the errors of Charles's earlier government were not sufficiently grave of themselves, the Remonstrance does not scruple to violate truth in the endeavour to heighten and to multiply them. It states, for instance, that the loss of the Rochelle fleet by the help of our shipping sent forth and delivered to the French was in opposition to the *advice* of Parliament, and led to the loss of that important place. But the plain fact is, not only that Parliament gave no advice on the matter, but that it was wholly unacquainted with the course Charles had adopted until the consequences became known; nor was the fleet nor the town of Rochelle lost by the help of our shipping, for the mariners of the English ships sent deserted rather than fight against the Huguenots. Again, the Remonstrance accuses Charles of forsaking the Elector Palatine by not continuing the war with Spain, when the fact was that for continuing that war the Parliament left him wholly without money. And to these dangerous attempts to envenom the national spirit against Charles's earlier administration, was added the more inflammable accusation against himself and his councillors, of originating and sustaining the rebellions and massacres in Ireland, upon evidence incredible to all dispassionate reasoners at that day—in our day wholly set aside—and in the teeth of Charles's earnest, but fruitless, appeals to his Parliament for help to put down the rebellion and punish the massacres. The Remonstrance was flagrantly unconstitutional in the mode and form in which it was sent forth. There is no valid reply to Sir John Culpeper's argument that all remonstrances



remonstrances should, by the spirit and the practice of the constitution, be addressed to the King and not to the people, because it belonged to the King only to redress grievances. But this memorial was not addressed to the King; it was a personal appeal to the people against the King. The sovereign is spoken of as a third person, and is made a defendant, with the Commons for his accuser and the public for his judge. This form of document was in itself a revolution without precedent in the history of the monarchy. It may be said, as it was said, that something in the nature of the particular time justified such departure from the constitution. But the particular time was one in which Charles had committed no overt act to justify a measure so aggressive; a time in which, as it is acknowledged, he was not alienating public opinion, but winning it back; and even the miserable plea that he was suspected of abetting the Irish rebellion, or that while in Scotland he was privy to attempts on Hamilton and Argyle, could not be urged: for the Remonstrance had in reality been predetermined by the revolutionary leaders before the rebellion broke out in Ireland or the King had departed for Scotland. Still more unsound was the pretext that the Parliament required an apology for its past proceedings. As Culpeper truly said, 'Parliament had not been scandalized by any public act, and needed not, therefore, any public declaration to clear itself.'

Revolution is always begun when there is an appeal made to a people through unprecedented channels, foreign to their constitution, in denunciation of an established executive. Now supposing that this was one of those rare crises in history in which such a revolution was inevitable or called for, it clearly would have become the one House of Parliament to have sought the co-operation of the other in giving to such an appeal the requisite character of dispassionate solemnity. But Pym and his party insisted on making the Remonstrance an act of the Commons, wholly apart from the other branch of the Legislature, and that upon arguments quoted from Pym's speech by Mr. Forster, which were utterly fallacious;—the one argument being that 'many of the Lords were accused in the Remonstrance,' the other that 'it dealt throughout with subjects that had been only agitated in that House.' The last argument is a direct untruth. The Remonstrance dealt with all the grievances of the reign which had been redressed by Act of Parliament and agitated alike in both Houses. And with regard to the first argument, members of the House of Commons were as much accused in reality as members of the House of Lords; and unless the Commons meant to implicate, not individual peers, but the Upper

Chamber itself, as well as the Throne, in the appeal to the people, justice demanded that the Lords at least should have the opportunity to consider and discuss the accusation levelled at any of their body.

The whole proceedings connected with this firebrand were in accordance with its violent and ominous nature. In the debate that the Declaration should be printed, Hyde had said that 'if the motion were persisted in, he should ask leave of the House to have liberty to enter his protest.' On this a debate ensued, when, about one o'clock of the morning (we avail ourselves here of Mr. Forster's spirited narrative),

'Mr. Geoffrey Palmer, a lawyer of the Middle Temple, stood up. He should not be satisfied, he said, for himself or those around him unless a day should be at once appointed for discussion whether the right to protest did not exist in that House, and meanwhile he would move, with reference to such grave discussion, that the Clerk should note the names of all those whose claim to protest would then have to be determined.

'At these words the excitement broke out afresh; loud cries of "All! All" burst from every side where any of Hyde's party sat, and Palmer, carried beyond his first intention by the passion of the moment, cried out unexpectedly that he *did* for himself then and there protest, for himself and all the rest—"of his mind," he afterward declared that he meant to have added, but for the storm which suddenly arose.

'The word *All* had fallen like a lighted match upon gunpowder. It was taken up, and passed from mouth to mouth, with an exasperation bordering on frenzy; and to those who in after years recalled the scene, under that sudden glare of excitement after a sitting of fifteen hours,—the worn-out weary assemblage, the ill-lighted dreary chamber, the hour sounding One after midnight, confused loud cries on every side breaking forth unexpectedly, and startling gestures of violence accompanying them,—it presented itself to the memory as a very Valley of the Shadow of Death. "All! all!" says D'Ewes, was cried from side to side; "and some waved their hats over their heads, and other took their swords in their scabbards out of their belts, and held them by the pummels in their hands, setting the lower part on the ground; so as, if God had not prevented it, there was very great danger that mischief might have been done. All those who cried *All*, *all*, and did the other particulars, were of the number of those that were against the Remonstrance." And among them was the promising young gentleman of the King's house, Mr. Philip Warwick, the member for Radnor, who bethought him, as we have seen, of that brief Scriptural comparison from the wars of Saul and David, his application of which comprised all that, until now, was known to us of this extraordinary scene. He thought of what Abner said to Joab, and Joab to Abner, when they met on either side of the pool of Gibeon; and how, having arisen at the bidding of their leaders to make

make trial of prowess, their young men caught every one his fellow by the head, and thrust his sword in his fellow's side, and so fell down together: a result which might have followed here, had not the sagacity and great calmness of Mr. Hampden, by a short speech, prevented it.

'It is not perhaps difficult to imagine, from what D'Ewes goes on to say of the short but memorable speech, with what exquisite tact and self-control this profound master of debate calmed down the passions of that dangerous hour. He saw at once that the motion for printing could not then with safety be persisted in; and, reminding the House that there might be many who, having supported the Remonstrance, might yet be opposed to the printing of it, he asked how any one could so far know the minds of such as to presume to enter a protest for *them*? "Some who were against the printing of the Remonstrance," says D'Ewes, "yet disavowed Mr. Palmer's desiring to have a protestation entered in their names; and Mr. Hampden demanded of him how he could know other men's minds? To whom Mr. Palmer answered, having leave of the House to speak, that he having once before heard the cry, "All, All," he had thereupon desired to have the said protestation entered in all their names.'

But if Hampden had the merit of allaying the storm, Pym, the next day, must bear the blame of reviving it. There can be no doubt that Hyde was wrong in supposing the Commons had the right to protest, which custom has made a privilege of the Lords. There is as little doubt that Palmer, in the heat of the moment, had committed an indiscretion in his motion. But there is no doubt the other way, that Hyde had a perfect Parliamentary right to raise the question whether or not there was anything in the regulations and precedents established in one House of Parliament which should forbid its members to claim such a mode of recording opinion as had been adopted in the practice of the other House; and that when Palmer had explained the intention of his cry, and apologised for any unpremeditated inadvertence, liberty of speech required that he should have no further punishment than a reprimand from the Chair. It seems scarcely credible that for this trivial fault the Pym party insisted that Mr. Palmer should be sent to the Tower, and that he was actually kept in that prison from the 26th of November to the 8th of December, on the morning of which day his humble petition, in which he acknowledged his offence and the justice of the House, obtained his discharge.

When the Remonstrance and the Petition conjoined with it were presented to the King by a committee appointed for that purpose, Charles, after saying very justly, 'I suppose you do not expect me to answer now to so long a petition?' and adding, 'As to this business of yours, I shall give you an answer with

with as much speed as the weightiness of the business will permit'—accompanied the Royal message with a request that there might be no publishing of the Declaration till the House had received his answer. In the printing of the Remonstrance a few days after the Royal request to the contrary, Mr. Forster, we think, successfully vindicates the House of Commons from the charge of breach of faith with the King which Clarendon brings against it. The House of Commons had given no acquiescence to the request made by Charles. But we do not the less consider that the defiance of a request so reasonable in itself was an outrage upon that decent respect which is the safest privilege that subjects can concede to a sovereign. Having sought the redress of grievances in the Remonstrance, the House of Commons were bound to wait for a reply before calling in the popular passions to their aid, by the circulation of a vehement attack on the entire reign and character of their Sovereign. And when Mr. Forster so far confirms the expressions of Clarendon, 'that that fatal Remonstrance poisoned the hearts of the people, and was the first inlet to the inundations,' by saying 'that such expressions are so many tributes to the vigour and capacity of his opponents, and to the largeness and wisdom of the outwork they had taken when they launched this Great Remonstrance,' it seems to us that the simple reply to Mr. Forster is to be found in this fact, that the Remonstrance, having thus rendered a civil war inevitable, not only risked, but actually lost, that for which the Remonstrance contended. Mr. Forster cites as a proof of the gravity of the conjuncture, in final and lasting vindication of the Remonstrance, Cromwell's declaration, that 'if the Remonstrance had been rejected he would have sold all he had the next morning, and never seen England again.' The man who thus spoke was the man who foresaw in the effect of the Remonstrance the opening to his ambition—the man who was enabled by the Remonstrance, not only to take the head from his Sovereign's shoulders, but the mace from the House of Commons. The Pym party, and all they strove for, disappear amongst fierce fanatics, as the ignorant passions and the armed force they had invoked became the agents of hypocrisy and ambition. And when Liberty returned again with the advent of William of Orange, what returned with it?—the reforms demanded by Pym and his party—the abolition of prelacy? the substitution of a Presbyterian Kirk for the English hierarchy? laws against Papacy, as severe and unwise as were ever hatched against heretics in the conclave of an inquisition? the right of the House of Commons to the command of the army, and its more than Royal prerogative as the Supreme Council, whose simple ordinances had the force of law

law without assent of King or Lords? Not one of these things, be they good or bad. The reforms which were re-established, and which we now enjoy, were the reforms not of Pym and St. John, but of Hyde and Falkland—the reforms already achieved before the Grand Remonstrance was flung forth to substitute the soldier for the reformer—the reforms which the opponents of the Remonstrance sought to save from the perilous lottery into which the advocates of the Remonstrance cast them. All that we owe to the violent men are the military usurpation of Oliver Cromwell, and the reaction to arbitrary monarchy under Charles II.

But the Remonstrance is printed. Events press on rapidly. Charles is hurried towards the fatal error which might have been anticipated by those who sought with pertinacious and malignant craft to exasperate all his infirmities of temper. But before we come to the attempted Arrest of the Five Members, it is at least just to Charles to set forth some of those insults that might have stung to imprudence a much calmer judgment, and some of those outrages on his most unquestionable prerogatives which might have misled a prince much more temperate into the belief that aggression on his part had become necessary for the defence of his throne.

When, after the execution of Strafford, Charles went to Scotland, the Commons followed up an endeavour to appoint 'a protector of the realm, to pass laws in his absence, without having recourse to the King,' by ordinances that generally set aside his authority. In August, one to disarm recusants; in November, one authorising the Earl of Leicester to raise men for the defence of Ireland without a warrant under the Great Seal. Monarchy itself is incompatible with the assumptions in these acts, by which subjects are armed or disarmed without the assent of their monarch. Under pretext of seeing that the Articles of Pacification were executed, a committee of six are appointed to attend the King—in reality as spies upon his actions. It is with pain that we find the lofty name of Hampden among those debased by such an office. The care of this committee was to keep alive a chronic state of alarm throughout the kingdom: they communicate to the Parliamentary Committee, which sat in London during the recess, 'that when there was a design in England to seduce the King's army and interrupt the Parliament, there was the like design at that time in Scotland; that the principal party named in that design in Scotland, the Lord Crauford, is a person suspected to be popishly affected, and therefore may have correspondence with the like party in England.' Upon these apprehensions the Commons propose, and the Lords agree, that there should be a strong guard kept in the cities

cities of London and Westminster, and care taken for the defence of the whole kingdom; and that an express message be sent to the Committee of both Houses in Scotland that the Parliament of England was ready to give the Scots all necessary assistance against those who should disturb the peace; and the same day they order the Earl of Essex, who held commission from the King as General of the South of the Trent, to place a guard at Westminster for the security of Parliament, which was done.

These flagrant usurpations of regal authority, intended to excite the terror of England to the prejudice of Charles, were based upon an 'incident,' as it was called in the jargon of the day, that furnished not the slightest justification for proceedings so revolutionary. The account of this incident is given thus by Burnet in his *Life of the Marquis of Hamilton*. 'A gentleman not known to the Marquis of Hamilton brought to him and the Earl of Argyle the discovery of a plot which he said was laid for their lives and the Earl of Lanerick's, which he said he could justify by one witness who was invited to the execution of it. The Marquis carried the tale to the King without naming particulars, which could not be done safely by the law of Scotland, since he had but one witness to prove the treason by. The King desired him to sift the thing to the bottom, and bring him what further evidence he could find. In the evening other presumptions were brought to the Marquis, but no clear evidence, and Hamilton, with the other Scots Lords, and half-a-dozen servants, went to his country-house, twelve miles from Edinburgh, and sent his excuse to the King with an account of the reasons. The Scots Parliament took the whole matter into consideration; those who had given the information owned what they had said; those on whom the plot was fixed did as positively deny all. So that, no clear proof being brought, the Scots Parliament could come to no other decision, but that the Lords had good reason to withdraw themselves, and so they were invited to return to their places in Parliament, which they did.' Whether we accept this version of the story or that of Lord Clarendon, which implicates Montrose in a positive offer to Charles to kill both Argyle and Hamilton\*—an expedient 'which the King abhorred'—still it is indisputable that Charles himself courted the fullest and most public inquiry, a present trial in the face of the Scots Parliament, and even shed tears in

\* See, however, 'Quarterly Review,' vol. lxxix. p. 10, where Mr. Mark Napier's defence of his hero is noticed. The main point in that defence is certainly a very strong one; that Montrose was, at the period referred to, a close prisoner in the hands of the enemies of himself and of the King, and could have had no personal access to Charles; while the assertion of Clarendon (who was not then in Scotland) is, that the proposal was made by Montrose to the King in a personal interview.



the passion with which he urged it; and obvious it is, that the Scots Parliament was the proper tribunal to sift the truth, and was certainly not then in a humour to spare the King, against whom the investigation that ensued could discover nothing. And it was on this matter which the Scots Parliament had full power to examine, that the English Parliament set aside the Constitution of England, and ordered the King's generals to dispose of the King's forces without the King's orders. The Rebellion in Ireland is raging; the House of Commons send instructions to their Committee of spies in Scotland, that they had just come to believe that the conspiracies and convulsions in Ireland were but the effects of the counsels of those who continued in credit, authority, and employment about His Majesty; and they accompany a prayer in itself constitutional and proper, if there were any counsellors against whom they could prove such a charge, with the following insolent and gratuitous threat,—‘that if His Majesty did not condescend to their supplication, *they* should be forced to resolve upon some way of defending Ireland from the rebels, and of securing themselves from mischievous counsels and designs, and commend those aids and contributions which should be raised for the reducing of Ireland to the custody and disposing of such persons of honour and fidelity as *they* had cause to confide in.’

It is impossible not to see in such language the complete negation of all the powers assigned to a Sovereign, however limited his functions. And the affront was the more ungracious, because Charles had devoted himself, during his stay in Scotland, to the most liberal concessions to the popular party there; and, while his friends complained, not without justice, that they were neglected, preferments were lavished on Presbyterian preachers, and dignities on the popular chiefs.\*

When Charles returned to London, having, by large surrenders of his prerogative and some bitter compromise of human pride, fully succeeded in his mission of pacifying Scotland,—when the Great Remonstrance so cruelly turns back the loyalty with which he is greeted in his metropolis,—though he very properly disallows the guard which Lord Essex had granted to Parliament during his absence, he offers another which the House of Commons refuse as appointed by the King—implying thereby that it is against the King himself they desire a guard. And on a tailor declaring

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\* Charles had the utmost difficulty in obtaining Montrose's release from prison only two days before his own departure from Scotland. Mr. Forster is in error when he says (p. 17) that ‘by the Crown's grace and favour Montrose was now (November, 1641) a Marquis.’ The warrant for his creation is dated at Oxford, the 4th May, 1644.



that he had, when walking in the fields, overheard persons whom he did not know talk of a conspiracy to murder 108 Lords and Commoners by 108 ruffians, at the price of 10*l.* a Lord and 2*l.* a Commoner, the House of Commons order all priests and Jesuits to be seized, and the deputy-lieutenants of suspected counties to put the people in a posture of defence. While these sturdy patriots, with swords by their sides, were thus tenderly careful of their own safety, what is their conduct to the men whose age and whose calling precluded them from self-defence? Twelve bishops, not threatened by the vague report of a tailor walking in the fields, but hustled, jostled, and affronted by a disorderly mob, send a protestation addressed to the King and the Lords, to the effect that though 'they had an undoubted right to sit and vote in Parliament, they had been menaced and assaulted by the multitude, and could no longer with safety attend their duty. For this reason they protest against all laws, votes, and statutes, as null and invalid, which should pass during the term of their constrained absence.'\*

No man acquainted with English law, or with the plainest principles of civilized justice, can deny that the Prayer and Protest in themselves are perfectly warranted by principle, and are only questionable as to the fact alleged, and as to the remedy required. In the Introductory Essay prefixed to his work on the Grand Remonstrance (a treatise admirable in the terse compactness of well-meditated thought) Mr. Forster does not fail to place amongst the most solid stepping-stones of English liberty the statute passed under Edward I., 'That forasmuch as election ought to be free, no man, by force of arms, nor by malice or menacing, should disturb any to make free election.' The liberty which so commendably protects from menace the vote of an elector in the reign of Edward is surely not shocked if invoked to protect from menace the vote of a senator in the reign of Charles. If electors are obstructed from going to a poll, an election is vitiated; if senators are obstructed from going to a senate, of which their votes influence the decision, is it not, at least, a fair inquiry whether votes taken in their constrained absence are valid? Mr. Forster argues that the complaint of the bishops was exaggerated. The Archbishop of York's gown was torn, but not, as Clarendon asserts, 'torn off his back.' This point is not for us to determine, it was one for the Lords at that time judicially to examine; it was for them to decide, 1st, whether the Bishops really were so molested by the multitude as to justify their complaint of constrained absence; 2ndly, whether, if so, they should

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\* Clarendon, B. iv. p. 140.

be protected, and in what manner; 3rdly, whether there was any reason or precedent for their plea that the votes taken in their absence were invalid. But to our mind nothing can excuse the monstrous iniquity by which the Commons actually impeached the Bishops for high treason, sequestered and imprisoned them, at the very moment when the Members of the Commons themselves were setting aside the Constitution, in order to guard their own persons, not from violence experienced, but from conspiracies rumoured. In their unscrupulous march towards the pure and simple despotism of an irresponsible tribunal, Pym and his party had shown as little respect to the rights of the subject as to the authority of the Crown. They not only sent to the Tower their own fellow Members for any expressions in the warmth of debate which offended their notions, but on evidence so frivolous that it might provoke a smile at the credulity that received it, and on the allegation of offences wholly foreign to their jurisdiction, without trial or hearing, they hurried the 'delinquent' to prison; they invented, under the name of delinquent, a crime hitherto unknown to English law. Did an elector venture to speak without due admiration of the popular representatives, he was 'a delinquent.' They sent to prison petitioners in behalf of the Constitution, they encouraged the riotous mob which clamoured for its overthrow. When the Peers voted a Declaration against disorderly tumults, the Lower House refused to concur in the Declaration. 'God forbid!' says Mr. Pym, when aid was asked to exert his influence to discountenance these tumultuous assemblages, 'that the people should be hindered from obtaining their just desires!' And when the sheriffs and justices appoint constables with watchers to protect the members assaulted on their way to either House, the Commons vote their orders a breach of privilege, and send one of the justices to prison. In their violent intimidation of opponents, in their encouragement to the licence of the populace, Pym and his partisans strike at freedom on the one hand and provoke anarchy on the other. The King thus sees that all his concessions have been in vain: in vain equally to bring respect to his throne, or tranquillity to that social order with the care of which, as chief magistrate, he is charged. The Commons have arrogated powers unknown to the law, incompatible with any form of government recognised by the constitution; they have said to the King, in their instructions to their Committee in Scotland, 'If you do not choose to obey us, we will do without you, levy our armies, and appoint their leaders.' They have said to the House of Lords (in the Resolution prepared by Pym, December 3, 1641), 'We are the representative body of the whole kingdom; your Lordships are  
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but particular persons: if you do not pass the laws we think necessary, then this House with such of the Peers as are more sensible of the safety of the kingdom may join together and represent the same to his Majesty.' In other words, the majority of the Commons can set aside any majority of the Peers. They have pronounced the declarations of the King illegal, and made their own imperative. They have the Tower for those who speak too warmly in defence of their Sovereign; they accord immunity and praise to his most envenomed aspersers; they refuse to put down the rebellion in Ireland, unless the Crown shall strip itself of those functions without which monarchy itself is a useless pageant; and they ascribe to their Sovereign the massacres he implores them to punish. At the time he has appeased the troubles in Scotland by lavish surrender of hereditary prerogatives, and re-enters London amidst demonstrations of joy, he is met by the Grand Remonstrance, and, without provocation on his part, returning loyalty is corrupted into fresh disaffection. It would not be in human nature if Charles had not felt resentment. Nor could any suppositions more naturally present themselves to his mind than that these ringleaders had perverted the judgment of the people; and that some show of spirit might be effective where all conciliation had so signally failed. He had with him a powerful party in both Houses; that party must melt away if its members were to be intimidated with impunity, its opponents encouraged by licence. In this temper of mind he would pause naturally to ask if those whom the courtiers round him must have regarded as traitors had not laid themselves fairly open to the penalties of treason. Such suggestions, heated by the vehement counsels of his haughty consort, shaped themselves into action, and Charles unhappily resolved to change the patient dignity of a defensive position for the critical experiment of an aggressive policy. He fell into the snare which the framers of the Grand Remonstrance had laid for him. They had calculated that a measure so insultingly hostile would provoke the hasty temper of Charles into some outbreak which might be cited in vindication of the course that had called it forth; his moderate request that the Remonstrance should not be published till his answer was given furnished an additional reason for the publication; the defiance of his request would sting him into imprudence. Meanwhile the popular disorders which the Remonstrance excited, and its framers encouraged, could scarcely fail to rouse some action of sovereignty that would be doubtless obnoxious and probably feeble. Their most sanguine expectations were realised by Charles when he suddenly sent his Attorney-General  
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to the House of Lords to enter an accusation against one of their order—Lord Kimbolton, and five Commoners—Hollis, Haselrig, Hampden, Pym, and Strode; and his Serjeant-at-Arms to the House of Commons to require of the Speaker the five gentlemen, Members of that House.

The whole of this proceeding is told by Mr. Forster with a stern minuteness and a dramatic force that must render his work a standard document to every diligent student of the time. We must refer the reader to his graphic recital of the steps taken by the Commons when the message reaches them; the order of the House (which might be prudential, but which Mr. Forster might have paused to remark was full as great a breach of the Constitution as Charles himself had committed in demanding the surrender of the impeached Members) that the Members for London should require of the chief magistrate and authorities of the City a military guard for the protection of the House;\* the reply to the King, conveyed that night by Falkland, Culpeper, Stapleton, and Hotham; the scene in the Queen's apartment, when the Queen persuaded the King to go himself the next morning to the House of Commons to demand the five Members; and, suspending for the moment the demur we shall afterwards raise as to Mr. Forster's implication of Hyde and Falkland as privy and consenting to the King's rash attempt, we place before the reader Mr. Forster's account of that awful hour when Charles 'went into that House of Commons where never King was (as they say) but once, King Henry the Eighth.' The narrative has been often told, but never with so happy a combination of historic fidelity in detail and dramatic vivacity in description.

The House had adjourned for an hour, from twelve to one:—

'Momentous was the hour during which the House thus adjourned its sitting, for within that brief space all the King's intention was betrayed. Up to the time of the adjournment, grave as were the causes of alarm, and the grounds for expecting some act of violence, the circumstance which gave its utmost gravity to the outrage contemplated does not appear to have been in any degree suspected even remotely. But now it was that Lady Carlisle managed to convey to Pym that the King meant to put himself at the head of those Whitehall desperadoes, and in person to demand, and if necessary seize, the accused members as they sat in their places in the House of Commons.

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\* In the fragments of Pym's speech for a guard upon the Houses at Westminster, it is curious to notice his characteristic propensity to press into solemn importance the shreds and scraps of frivolous gossip, with which he could never fail to be supplied by the system of espionage that furnished him and his associates with a Star Chamber of their own. 'One Mr. Buckle had said the Earl of Strafford's death must be avenged, and the House of Commons were a company of giddy-brained fellows.'

D'Ewes tells us that, "this day at dinner," the five Members also received a secret communication of the King's intention from the Lord Chamberlain of the household, Lord Essex, with advice that they should absent themselves.'

'The member for Banbury was still speaking when Pym, Hampden, Hollis, Haselrig, and Strode entered and took their seats, whereupon the Speaker directed it to be entered in the Journals that they had done so.

'Communication was now made to the House of the secret intelligence received, and then followed a debate, brief and pressing, but on which hung certain issues by which the future destinies of England were probably determined. Should the accused retire, or wait the King's arrival? Pym, Hollis, and Hampden, conscious of all the danger, appear to have been for quitting the House, Haselrig and Strode for remaining; and the dissentients were still urging reasons against retreat while yet, as they argued, no positive knowledge was before them of a necessity for abrupt departure, when a new actor came suddenly on the scene. Breathless with the exertion he had made to reach the House rapidly, to which end he had even clambered over the roofs of neighbouring buildings, there appeared at the door a friend of Nathaniel Fiennes, an officer of French birth settled in England, by name Captain Hercule Langres. Fiennes left his seat, exchanged some hasty words with the unexpected visitor, and immediately passed up to Mr. Speaker's chair: upon which Lenthall rose, and abruptly told the House, now a scene of extraordinary excitement, that the King already had left Whitehall at the head of a large company of armed men, and was approaching Westminster Hall.

'This closed debate. The motion before the House had been, that, considering there was an intention to remove five of their Members by force, to avoid all tumult let them be commanded to absent themselves: but the motion now substituted, and at once affirmed, was that the House give their Members leave to absent themselves, but enter no order for it. "It was a question," Haselrig afterwards said, "if we should be gone; but the debate was shortened, and it was thought fit for us, in discretion, to withdraw. Away we went. The King immediately came in, and was in the House *before we got to the water.*" Not, however, until violence had been used. For, even then, Strode, "crying out that he knew himself to be innocent, and that he would stay in the House though he sealed his innocence with his blood at the door," had to be dragged bodily out by his friend Sir Walter Earle, and placed in the barge which had been hastily provided, and was in waiting at the Westminster stairs.'

'Within the House, meanwhile, but a few minutes had elapsed since the Five Members departed, and Mr. Speaker had received instruction to sit still with the mace lying before him, when a loud knock threw open the door, a rush of armed men was heard, and above it (as we learn from Sir Ralph Verney) the voice of the King commanding  
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"upon their lives not to come in." The moment after, followed only by his nephew Charles, the Prince Elector Palatine, Rupert's eldest brother, he entered; but the door was not permitted to be closed behind him. Visible now at the threshold, to all, were the officers and desperadoes above named, of whom, D'Ewes proceeds, "some had left their cloaks in the Hall, and most of them were armed with pistols and swords, and they forcibly kept the door of the House of Commons open, one Captain Hide standing next the door holding his sword upright in the scabbard:" a picture which Sir Ralph Verney, also present that day in his place, completes by adding that "so the doors were kept open, and the Earl of Roxborough stood within the door, leaning upon it."

'As the King entered, all the members rose and uncovered, and the King also removed his hat; and it would not have been easy, says Rushworth, to discern any of the Five Members, had they been there, among so many bare faces standing up together. But there was One face, among the Five, which Charles knew too well not to have singled out even there; and hardly had he appeared within the chamber, when it was observed that his glance and his step were turned in the direction of Pym's seat close by the bar. His intention, baffled by the absence of the popular leader, can only now be guessed at; but, Rushworth adds, "his Majesty, not seeing Mr. Pym there, knowing him well, went up to the chair." We all, says D'Ewes, stood up and uncovered our heads, and the Speaker stood up just before his chair. "His Majesty, as he came up along the House, came the most part of the way uncovered, also bowing to either side of the House, and we all bowed again towards him, and so he went to the Speaker's chair on the left hand of it, coming up close by the place where I sat, between the south end of the clerk's table and me." As he approached the chair, Lenthall stepped out to meet him; upon which "he first spake," says D'Ewes, saying, "Mr. Speaker, I must for a time make bold with your chair." And then the King stepped up to his place and stood upon the step, but sat not down in the chair. And after he had looked a great while, he spoke again.'

"Gentlemen," said Charles, "I am sorry for this occasion of coming unto you. Yesterday I sent a serjeant-at-arms upon a very important occasion to apprehend some that by my command were accused of high treason; whereunto I did expect obedience, and not a message. And I must declare unto you here, that albeit no King that ever was in England shall be more careful of your privileges, to maintain them to the uttermost of his power, than I shall be, yet you must know that in cases of Treason no person hath a privilege. And therefore I am come to know if any of these persons that were accused are here."

Then he paused; and casting his eyes upon all the members in the House, said "I do not see any of them. I think I should know them."

"For I must tell you, Gentlemen," he resumed after another pause,



pause, "that so long as those persons that I have accused (for no slight crime, but for Treason) are here, I cannot expect that this House will be in the right way that I do heartily wish it. Therefore I am come to tell you that I must have them, wheresoever I find them."

"Then again he hesitated, stopped: and called out, "Is Mr. Pym here?" To which nobody gave answer.

"The awkwardness and effort manifest in these pauses and interruptions, the words that again and again recur, the needless and bald repetitions, in which we seem to hear the slow and laboured utterance with which Charles covered his natural impediment of speech, impress the imagination painfully.

"All the breaks and pauses, however, were omitted in the report directed to be published; and D'Ewes, surmising that not only such omissions had been made by the King's order, but also all mention of the reply given upon Charles's appeal to the Speaker, is careful to restore what was wanting. "But the King caused all that to be left out, namely, when he asked for Mr. Pym, whether he were present or not, and when there followed a general silence, that nobody would answer him. He then asked for Mr. Hollis whether he were present, and when nobody answered him, he pressed the Speaker to tell him, who, kneeling down, did very wisely desire his Majesty to pardon him, saying that he could neither see nor speak but by command of the House: to which the King answered, 'Well, well! 'tis no matter. I think my eyes are as good as another's.' And then he looked round about the House a pretty while, to see if he could espie any of them." Very welcome are all such additional touches to a picture so memorable.

"May it please your Majesty," said Lenthall, to the appeal that he should say where Pym was (for, as Rushworth himself, when he published his *Collections*, inserted his own report of the discreet speech of Mr. Speaker, and as the good Sir Simonds, had he lived to see it, would certainly have copied it in his *Journal*, it will here be most properly appended to an account which first gives to it all its significance), "I have neither eyes to see nor tongue to speak in this place, but as the House is pleased to direct me, whose servant I am here; and I humbly beg your Majesty's pardon that I cannot give any other answer than this to what your Majesty is pleased to demand of me." Words conceived indeed with a singular prudence. Impressed deeply by the attitude of the House, and inspired suddenly by the trust confided to him, a man little famous for magnanimity or courage displayed both for the moment in a remarkable degree, and rose to the occasion as greatly as the King sank beneath it. But sorrow and suffering are wiser teachers than anger and revenge. There was yet to come a day in Charles's life, when he too would rise to the demand of the time; when his natural infirmities would be visible no longer; and when men should wonder to behold, in one so infirm of purpose and difficult of speech, both unembarrassed accents and a resolute will.

"After that long pause described by D'Ewes,—the dreadful silence,



as one Member called it,—Charles spoke again to the crowd of mute and sullen faces. The complete failure of his scheme was now accomplished, and all its possible consequences, all the suspicions and retaliations to which it had laid him open, appear to have rushed upon his mind. “Well, since I see all my birds are flown, I do expect from you that you will send them unto me as soon as they return hither. But, I assure you, on the word of a King, I never did intend any force, but shall proceed against them in a legal and fair way, for I never meant any other. And now, since I see I cannot do what I came for, I think this no unfit occasion to repeat what I have said formerly, that whatsoever I have done in favour, and to the good, of my subjects, I do mean to maintain it. I will trouble you no more, but tell you I do expect, as soon as they come to the House, you will send them to me; otherwise I must take my own course to find them.”

But he did not leave, as he had entered, in silence. Low mutterings of fierce discontent broke out as he passed along, and “many members cried out aloud, so as he might hear them, *Privilege! Privilege!*” With those words, ominous of ill, ringing in his ear, he repassed to his palace through the lane, again formed, of his armed adherents; and amid audible shouts of as evil augury from desperadoes disappointed of their prey. Eagerly in that lobby had the word been waited for, which must have been the prelude to a terrible scene. Lady Carlisle alone had prevented it.

Few readers will fail to be impressed by the skilled and disciplined power with which these passages are composed; the scene moves, the actors live.

We must now pause to notice two controversial points which have been urged by Mr. Forster with great vigour of diction and ingenuity of reasoning.

That in the mode of procedure against the Five Members Charles committed an outrage on the privileges of Parliament and inflicted a violent shock upon public opinion, is a fact on which his warmest defenders must agree with his sternest accusers.

The first question that arises is one which was hotly debated at the time, and which Mr. Forster examines with great care—Did Charles intend to employ the armed men that accompanied him for the purpose of carrying off the accused Members by force, and at the risk of bloodshed? The King always asserted in his speeches and manifestoes that such was not his intention, that he came accompanied with even less than his ordinary guard. Against this statement Mr. Forster accumulates much presumptive evidence. But we still think the matter one that must remain in doubt. Even allowing the utmost force ascribed to the train that followed the King, it did not exceed 500

men; and supposing most of them were armed with pistols as well as the small swords usually worn at the time ('little swords' Clarendon calls them), such a force would have been very insufficient to have borne away, after a probable resistance, five popular idols through a fierce multitude habituated to assemble, and disregarding alike of the claims of prerogative and the forms of law. But out of this number only about four score, besides some of his pensioners, according to the authority on whom Mr. Forster most relies, entered the lobby of the House. The King commanded them not on their lives to enter in, and the only person who followed himself into the body of the House was his nephew, the Elector Palatine.

Had he then found the Members; had the scene which Mr. Forster assumes to have been anticipated by Charles actually ensued; had the accused refused to yield themselves to his summons; had the majority of their fellow Members gathered round them to defend; had the guard been summoned in to seize the persons the King selected; had an armed conflict been waged on the narrow floors of the House—Charles himself would probably have been the first man slain in the affray.

We think it most likely that Charles had matured no comprehensive design; that with the sanguine temper which was habitual to him, and which is rarely accompanied with foresight, he trusted to the imposing effect that his train would produce on the way—to the awe that his own presence in the hall would inspire; believed that he should succeed, and did not carry his thoughts beyond that belief. In our common experience of life we see daily that the greatest hazards are incurred with the least calculation. It is only the man endowed largely with that 'wisdom of business'—in which Charles was so lamentably deficient—who, in braving a perilous risk to which his impulse invites him, solves beforehand the problem contained in the question, 'And if I succeed, what then?' Nor can we imagine that if Charles had found the Members in their places, carried them off without armed collision, and actually lodged them in the Tower, the consequences would have been so fatal to freedom as Mr. Forster assumes. With the pitiful force at his command, Charles could no more have detained prisoners so illegally made than he could have saved Strafford, not less illegally condemned. With both Houses of Parliament against him, with the City, on whose loyalty he had so vainly built, in close league with the Commons, with the exasperated multitudes that had already infested the purlieus of his Court ripe for a revolt which would be rendered irresistible because strengthened by the sympathy of the middle class and sure of leaders from the upper,

upper, Charles could not have kept the Members in durance forty-eight hours. He had decided on a course in which success every way was impossible—a course from which Falkland and Culpeper, whom he had just called into office, must, if consulted, have been the most strenuous in dissuasion: Falkland from that respect to the usages of Parliament which Clarendon emphatically ascribes to him; Culpeper from the quick sense which he concentrated on the salient points of a debated case, and the military bluntness with which he was accustomed to speak out his rude free mind. In fact, the course taken by the King can only be accounted for by a profound study of his peculiar character, in which the predominance of hope made a large and dangerous attribute. It was this sanguine temperament that led him into his most notable miscalculations, and it was the more mischievous because accompanied by a persuasion of the efficacy of his own personal interposition, which had in it less of the arrogance of pride than the delusion of self-esteem. In contrast to Charles II., who, despite a harsh and homely visage, fascinated, where he so pleased, by the charm of manner,—Charles I., with a person and countenance that seen in the canvas of Vandyke command our admiring interest, failed to conciliate or impose on those whom he addressed. Mr. Hallam has remarked that ‘he had, in truth, none who loved him till his misfortunes softened his temper and excited sympathy.’ An ungracious and chilling manner, an imperfection of speech, a something about the living man which the painter has not transferred to the portrait, seem to have made him singularly unsuccessful wherever he relied on the effect of his presence. But of this he was insensible. His personal interposition ensured the destruction of Strafford, but he went out of his way to volunteer it. No less he counted on his personal interposition in the hall of the House of Commons. A man who habitually hopes, and grounds his hope on something inherent in himself, can seldom be wise in design, or fortunate in execution. A certain defiance of hope is necessary to the foresight which measures obstacles, and the precautions that ensure success. Charles believed that the City was with him, that the people were really with him, if certain deceivers of the people could be removed; just as he believed, when he set up his standard at Nottingham, that England would flock round it; that if he appeared before Hull, Hull would yield: thus he forgot the disasters of Naseby in the festivities of Ragland, and placed hope in those sure instruments of ruin—avowed understanding with English Papists, secret compact with Irish rebels; thus at a still more forlorn crisis of his fate he wrote to Digby, ‘that he did not despair of engaging either the

Presbyterians or the Independents to join him for the extermination of each other; and then (said the sanguine dreamer, duped by the hope of duping a St. John and a Cromwell) 'I shall really be King again;' thus, when guarded by Leven's sentinels in the Scottish camp, his answer to the Parliamentary propositions conveyed to him by Pembroke and Suffolk was a demand to be received in London to treat in person with his Parliament: confident, even then, in the effect of that Royal presence which had failed to restrain the conflicting jealousies of his own Oxford Council; and thus, not a month before he was borne from his palace to the judicial slaughter-house of Westminster-Hall, he said gaily, 'I have yet three games to play, the least of which gives me hope of regaining all.' It is credulity that misleads multitudes, and it is credulity that blinds rulers.

For the rash designs of a man of this temper, a very little encouragement from those who flatter his own hopes will suffice. We do not then agree with Mr. Forster that the King's attempt on the Members was part of a long-premeditated and deep-laid scheme for restoring arbitrary rule, though, no doubt, that idea seduced the fiery temper and shallow mind of Henrietta; and still less can we subscribe to the arguments by which Mr. Forster seeks to implicate Hyde and Falkland as accessories or confidants in the impeachment of the Members or the attempts to arrest them.

We do not attach the weight Mr. Forster appears to do, to the fact that Clarendon, as well as Falkland and Culpeper, believed the accused to be really guilty of the treason alleged. Does Mr. Forster himself believe they were innocent? There can be no doubt that these gentlemen had been the principal movers and promoters in the levying an armed force without the King's authority and in defiance of it. We apprehend that there are many not illiberal politicians of our day who entertain little doubt that such an act amounts to what the ancient laws of the realm declare to be high treason. Certain at least it is that the Commons had much less ground for impeaching the twelve Bishops for high treason, because they protested against acts passed and votes taken in their constrained absence, than a lawyer, of Whig principles, could find in the accusations against the five Members, if judged only by their avowed acts and public speeches. We see, therefore, no ground for supposing that, because Clarendon, Falkland, and Culpeper thought the Members guilty, Clarendon commits a deliberate falsehood when he says that none of the three were privy to those proceedings against the members, which he condemns as impolitic, and laments as calamitous. Every day a lawyer gives his opinion that there

is strong evidence in favour of a certain action, and adds his advice that, nevertheless, there are still stronger reasons why the action should not be brought. Clarendon is the author of the various Royal declarations in which the King is made to regret and apologise for the attempted arrest; and it is not consistent with that pride of intellect which is Clarendon's characteristic, not only to state, in a history designed for posterity, that an act of which he was secretly prevised was a disastrous error, but to place in the King's mouth expressions of regret for an act of which he himself was accomplice. There is still less cause, we think, to impute to Falkland and Culpeper connivance with or privy to the King's mistakes in the whole of this proceeding. They were both men of great personal and Parliamentary courage, and it does not seem credible that they, who as members of the King's Government were bound to defend his acts when consulted therein, should have remained silent on his behalf if they had been consulted; that Falkland should even have assented to be member and mouth-piece of the commissioners deputed by the House to represent to the King its sense of the outrage committed on its privileges. We therefore come to the conclusion that Clarendon's statement is correct in the main, and that Charles had no English adviser of political eminence in the proceedings against the accused members except the wayward and wrong-headed Digby.

In a very few sentences, Clarendon seems to lay before us the exact faults of character by which Digby would give the counsel and Charles adopt it.

'He (Lord Digby) was equal to a very good part in the greatest affair, but the unfittest man alive to conduct it, having an ambition and vanity superior to all his other parts, and a confidence peculiar to himself, which sometimes intoxicated, and transported, and exposed him. . . . His fatal infirmity is, that he often thinks difficult things very easy, and doth not consider possible consequences.

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'The King himself was the unfittest person alive to be served by such a counsellor, being too easily inclined to sudden enterprises, and as easily amazed when they were entered upon.'

Mr. Forster has laid great stress upon the instructions sent through Sir Edward Nicholas to the Lord Mayor, the night previous to the King's descent on the House of Commons, and has brought into much fuller display than preceding historians have done the consultations and preparations of that eventful night. But it does not appear to us that these preparations to guard against street tumults suffice to prove that even Sir Edward Nicholas was in the King's secret as to the intended arrest of the  
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five Members. Nor can Charles justly be said to have exceeded the powers lodged with every Executive in his orders to disperse any mob by which the safety of the metropolis might be endangered; while Mr. Forster has omitted to state that the Commons had violated the Constitution, in not only setting aside Charles's authority over the Tower, but in sending to Lord Newport to desire him to take the custody of that stronghold.

Baffled alike in his visit to the House of Commons and his appeal to the Common Council of the City, humiliated by the angry shouts of the populace, the King retires from Whitehall to Hampton Court, and thence to Windsor.

One fact the failure of the King's attempt must have made evident to every calm-judging politician. The popular leaders had nothing further to fear from Charles so long as they did not expose their trustiest ramparts, in the privileges of Parliament and the favour of public opinion, to the hazards of Civil War. Charles had concentrated and exhausted in this attempt at aggression all the resources at his command: the awe of his presence, the influence he could sway in the City, the garrison he could control at the Tower. But the whole force he could muster in the heart of his metropolis was a handful of roystering volunteers, ill-armed and worse disciplined. The City repelled him. The Tower failed him. His best friends shrank from his side in consternation. The House of Lords declared against him as firmly as the House of Commons. Even the signal audacity of the eloquent Digby was paralysed, and he had not a word to say in excuse for the action he had prompted. Thus the effort to regain authority by force had only served to make convincingly clear the weakness to which Royalty had become reduced when it moved in opposition to Law.

This was then the time in which a genuine statesman would have clearly seen that liberty could only be endangered if it descended from the vantage ground won in public opinion. The King was powerless against the law so long as peace could be preserved; he could not summon war to his aid so long as he could proclaim to the world no cause that adherents would fight for. He could no more have raised an army than he could have appeased a mob by the cry of 'The Old Prerogative—Ship Money and Star Chamber!' The swords of his least peers would not have flashed from their scabbards—at least in his defence—had he renewed an attempt on the privileges of either House of Parliament. But if the Opposition abused the advantage they had gained in his recent defeat—if they made demands so extravagant that all who valued monarchy as an institution would approve the monarch who refused to concede them—then  
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the whole question at issue would be at once changed;—then a war cry more alarming than that of the ‘Old Prerogative’ would be furnished to Charles. The loyalty estranged from the man would be restored to the institution of which he was the guardian; and patriots who loved freedom and had helped to win it might fairly prefer the cause of a monarchy limited by the reforms already achieved, to innovations at variance with the framework of the constitution and the galling despotism of intolerant faction.

For these reasons we think the course adopted by the popular leaders after the failure of the King’s attempt on the Five Members was precisely the reverse of that which was calculated to ensure to freedom and the nation the greatest certainty of good with the slightest hazard of evil.

At a time when their interest was so especially peace, every step they took was in the direction of war, and every demand they made shifted the issues at stake till the question became—‘not what shall be the securities against a feeble King?’ but ‘what shall be the safeguards for monarchy itself against the licentious republic of a Marten or the fanatical Utopia of a Vane?’ Pym was at that moment pre-eminently the master of the position. He was at the height of unsurpassed popularity both with Parliament and the public. His influence extended from the minds that he commanded to those that he opposed, because in marching towards the objects of the one he had professed a certain degree of sympathy with the predilections of the other. Heading avowed Puritans and suspected levellers, he had hitherto retained the special character of a sincere, if moderate, churchman—a loyal, if dauntless, subject. He had but to recognise the prudence of magnanimity—to prove consistent to the character by which he had sought to distinguish his political ethics from those of the Root-and-branch men—in order to have consolidated the new Constitution in that form in which it now stands before us, saved alike from the pikemen of Cromwell and the Cabal of Charles II. Never had English citizen so grand an opportunity to achieve the renown which posterity accords to the man who guards order from shock, and liberty from re-action. He cast that opportunity from him. What he gained in exchange we trust to make clear before we end.

In vain are all the unhappy King’s attempts to retract, apologise, and atone for his mistake—in vain he assents to the Bill by which Bishops are excluded from the House of Lords—in vain he offers to compromise his essential prerogative on the control over the Militia, agrees to nominate the persons recommended to him as lieutenants by commissions revocable at his pleasure, or make them



them irremovable for a year, provided they receive their orders from himself and the two Houses jointly—in vain Lord Bristol, whose high-spirited resistance to arbitrary rule had been so memorably evinced during the time when Charles was armed with the powers now wrenched from his grasp, endeavours to save the last remnants of monarchical government, and avert the horrors of fratricidal carnage. His motion to appoint ‘a Select Committee of both Houses, truly to state all the differences between the King and Parliament, with the most probable ways of reconciling them,—what the King ought to do to satisfy the people, and what security he should give,’—is met that day or the next by a vote of the Commons to the ‘effect that the King intended to make war against the Parliament; that whenever he did, it would be a breach of the trust reposed in him by his people; that whoever should serve and assist him in such wars would be a traitor by the fundamental laws of the kingdom;’ and ten days afterwards (the 2nd of June) they send to Charles the famous Nineteen Propositions, on which ‘to establish a good peace, and strict union between the King and the Parliament.’ As these Propositions embody the political creed of the Pym party, in opposition to the constitutional patriots, of whom Falkland was the most illustrious; as to effect the substance of these Propositions the Grand Remonstrance was, in truth, put forth by its framers: so it is impossible to regard the end and aim of the Remonstrance, or accurately to discriminate between the Pym party and the associates of Hyde and Falkland, without a brief summary of these Propositions themselves.

They contain one salutary doctrine which posterity has preserved, and that doctrine Charles would have accepted as monarchy accepts it now, viz. ‘that the great affairs of the kingdom may not be concluded or decided by the advice of private men, or by any unknown and unsworn councillors; and that no public act concerning the affairs of the kingdom which are proper for the Privy Council may be esteemed of any validity as proceeding from the Royal authority, unless it be done by the advice and consent of the major part of the Council, attested under their hands.’ This, however roughly worded, contains the substance of responsible parliamentary government, and Charles’s reply to it contains not less the substance of that responsible parliamentary government as now established. He says:—\*

‘We have and do assure you that there is no man so near to us in place or affection whom we will not leave to the justice of the law, if you shall bring a particular charge and sufficient proofs against him;

\* Rushworth, p. 3, vol. i., p. 725.

and we have given you (the best pledge of the effects of such a promise on our part, and the best security for the performance of their duty on theirs) a Triennial Parliament, the apprehension of whose justice will, in all probability, make them wary how they provoke it, and us wary how we choose such as by the discovery of their faults may in any degree seem to discredit our election.'

And, indeed, the whole theory of the existing constitution and the due solution of the problems of ministerial government, as appointed by the Crown, but checked by and amenable to the people through their representatives, by which is now worked the machinery of the State, are advanced and enforced by Charles in his answer to the Nineteen Propositions, with as much precision as any liberal constitutional lawyer of our time could deliver them:—

'There being three kinds of government—absolute monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy—and all these having their particular conveniences and inconveniences, the experience and wisdom of your ancestors hath so moulded them out of a mixture of these as to give to this kingdom, as far as human prudence can provide, the conveniences of all three without the inconvenience of any one. . . .

'In this kingdom the laws are jointly made by a king, by a House of Peers, and by a House of Commons chosen by the people, all having free votes and particular privileges. The government, according to these laws, is trusted to the king; power of treaties of war and peace, of making peers, of choosing officers and councillors for state, judges for law, commanders for forts and castles, giving commissions for raising men; to make war abroad, or to prevent and provide against invasions or insurrections at home; benefits of confiscation, power of pardoning, and some more of the like kind are placed in the king; and this kind of regulated monarchy, having this power to preserve that authority, without which it would be disabled to preserve the laws in their force, and the subjects in their liberties and properties, is intended to draw to him such a respect and relation from the great ones as may hinder the ills of division and faction, and such a fear and reverence from the people as may hinder tumults, violence, and licentiousness. Again, that the prince may not make use of this high and perpetual power to the hurt of those for whose good he hath it, and make use of the name of public necessity for the gain of his private favourites and followers to the detriment of his people,—the House of Commons, an excellent conservator of liberty, but never intended for any share in government, or the choosing of them that should govern, is solely entrusted with the first propositions concerning the levies of monies (which is the sinew as well of peace as of war), and the impeaching of those who for their own ends, though countenanced by any surreptitiously-gotten command of the king, have violated that law which he is bound, when he knows it, to protect, and to the prosecution of which they were bound to advise him, at least not to serve him in the contrary. And the Lords, being trusted with a judicatory power, are an excellent screen and bank  
between

between the prince and people to assist each against any encroachments of the other, and by joint judgment to preserve that law which ought to be the rule of every one of the three.'

This is the constitution of England. It is here expressed by Hyde, in language that conveys his and Lord Falkland's manifesto of political faith in contrast to that which Pym and his party set forth in the Nineteen Propositions and heralded in the Grand Remonstrance.

What was the constitution prepared by the Nineteen Propositions, taken as a whole? That the Parliament consisted not of King, Lords, and Commons, but of Lords and Commons alone. That the Parliament thus defined and shorn of its third member should in substance make the appointments under the Crown, to which was left only the mock prerogative of enforced assent; that if a vacancy in the Council occurred in the interval of Parliament, the assent of the majority of the Council should be necessary to filling up the place, the choice to be confirmed or void as Parliament, when it reassembled, might decide. That the government, education, and marriages of the King's children should be taken from his hands and given only to those whom Parliament might approve. That the children of Papists should be educated by Protestants in the Protestant faith. That the church government and liturgy should be reformed as both Houses might advise. That the service of the militia and the command and custody of all forts and castles should be in the hands of Parliament, the King being compelled to appoint those whom Parliament should name. That no peer, made hereafter, should sit in Parliament but with the consent of both Houses. This, with the reserved addition of a law to deprive the Crown altogether of its right of veto, which, though not included in the Nineteen Propositions, was sure to be tacked to them if they were conceded, since its principle had been already affirmed by a majority of the Commons—this was the constitution proposed by the Pym party; for the sake of this constitution they refused all compromise and exposed to the issue of battle all the reforms hitherto effected in conjunction with Hyde and Falkland; and, when Mr. Forster would represent the Pym party as having secured to us by their firmness or pertinacity the blessings we now enjoy, we answer that this is the constitution which perished with the men who conceived it; while that which Hyde describes and for which Falkland fell survives in all the vigour which Pym could have given to it without bloodshed—had not Pym made himself the pioneer to Cromwell.

We here pause, for a moment, to glance at the view of Lord Falkland's

Falkland's character and choice of action, with which Mr. Forster has enriched the last edition of his work on the Grand Remonstrance. It would be surprising, indeed, if a writer like Mr. Forster, whose tastes had been evinced in criticisms admirable for delicate appreciation of beauty, and whose sympathies of man and of scholar are too large and too genial to be cramped within the parish-bounds of Party—did not bow to the charm with which the image of Falkland fascinates every purer eye. In that conflict of giants, each passion, each interest, finds its representative and type. Honour and Genius elect Falkland as their own. With warmth noble in an adversary, and in diction worthy of a critic, Mr. Forster renders eloquent justice to 'those prodigious parts of learning and knowledge, that inimitable sweetness and delight in conversation, that flowing and obliging humanity and goodness to mankind, that primitive simplicity and integrity of life.' . . . But Mr. Forster, while thus just to Falkland's character, appears to us wholly to misconceive those motives of conduct which were not only consistent with, but inherently elemental to, the character itself.

Mr. Forster says, 'He (Falkland) is generally assumed to have been the incarnation of moderate and temperate counsels—that he is the man of all others of our civil conflict who is most generally supposed to have represented therein the monarchical principle. . . . But the real truth is that Falkland was far more of an apostate than Strafford, for his heart was really with the Parliament from the first, which Strafford's never was, and never to the end did he sincerely embrace the cause with which his gallant and mournful death has eternally connected him.' These assumptions are not merely inconsistent with, but directly antagonistic to, that pervading attribute of Falkland's character, which Mr. Forster in a subsequent passage states with emphatic candour, viz., 'that so severely did he adore truth that he could as easily have given himself to steal as to dissemble.' We think that Mr. Forster in the judgment he pronounces confounds two things essentially different, and ascribes to want of sympathy with a cause, that rectitude of judgment which has no sympathy with supporters by whose intemperance the cause is injured. That which pre-eminently distinguished Falkland amongst the actors of his time was his passion for justice. He was thus naturally the champion of the weak; he could not endure the sight of oppression. And by a consistency of character which bears down all the petty inconsistencies in detail from which no man of ardent temperament is free, the same tendencies that made him oppose Charles when powerful and oppressive—attracted him to Charles when feeble and oppressed.

Falkland,

Falkland, no doubt, from the first to the last, was a lover of Liberty: but Liberty as her image would present itself to the mind of a scholar and the heart of a gentleman. It is no proof of apostacy from the cause of Liberty if he thought that a time had come when Liberty was safer on the whole with King Charles than with 'King Pym.'

Though he had taken an active part in the attainder of Strafford, it is probable that the circumstances connected with the execution of that formidable minister produced on his mind the same reaction which Mr. Forster has observed it had produced in a large section of the public, 'when the King, to all appearances, was now the weaker party, and the popular leaders became conscious of daily defection from their ranks.' When Falkland looked back to the trial and fall of Strafford—he, 'who denounced ever with vehement indignation the liberty of opening private letters upon suspicion that they might contain matter of dangerous consequence,' must have felt morally shocked that it was by the purloining of a paper still more sacred than a private letter, and by Pym's adroit management of Vane's deliberate breach of honour, that Strafford had been cheated to the block.

Falkland abhorred the employment of spies: 'he could account no single preservation to be worth so general a wound and corruption of human society as the cherishing such persons would carry with it.' But Pym's policy was one webwork of espionage from the Countess of Carlisle to the tailor walking in the field. Even Hampden must have lost the confidence of Falkland when he accepted the commission to be a spy upon his King. Thus, in the man's nature, the same instincts that roused him against the Star Chamber of Charles would estrange him from the councils of Pym.

And his instincts were in strict accordance with all we can fairly assume as his political creed. Every Reformer, with a mind so cultured as Falkland's, places before him some definite goal beyond which he declines to be hurried away. The objects Falkland desired to attain, were Monarchy divested of all pretensions to absolutism, and a Church purified from all sympathies with papacy—excluded from all penal jurisdiction in civil affairs. In fine, a Monarchy without a Strafford, and a Church without a Laud. These objects attained, Falkland's goal was reached—he stopped; Pym went on. It is not apostacy to stop at a good attained, because associates that had helped to attain it advance towards the risks in which the good may be lost. When, after carrying his Reform Bill with the aid of Mr. Hume, Lord Grey refused to proceed to other Reform Bills to which Mr. Hume invited him, was Lord Grey an apostate? Or if Pym had survived

survived to gaze aghast on the Revolution he had headed rushing on to extravagances which Falkland's more provident reason foresaw, would Pym have been an apostate if he too had stopped short, and clung to whatever was left of the constitution of England, rather than march with Sydney towards a Republic, half Platonic, half Pythagorean, or inaugurate with Harrison a government for the Millennium under the reign of Saints?

Falkland, it is true, had no personal enthusiasm for Charles; he had, it is true, no sympathy with the Digbys and the Jermyns—he had nothing more in common with the Ultra-Royalists than Pym would have had with the Fifth Monarchy Men.

But we have not the smallest doubt that—with 'all his doubts and self-questionings,' all his apprehensions of evil whichever side might prevail for a time,—his conviction of the enduring superiority of the abstract principle which obtained his preference was sincere and profound, and that amidst his prophetic sorrow he never repented the choice he had made. Falkland's claim to wisdom is indeed the greater if, unblinded to the faults of the perishable monarch, he entwined his name with all that has since adorned and embellished freedom under that constitutional monarchy for which Pym would have substituted the 'Nineteen Propositions.' Moderation has its creed as well as fanaticism, and there are moments when it may equally need its martyrs. With all his gifts, Falkland, doubtless, wanted that which is often mistaken for conviction, viz., that mysterious faculty of will which, less the attribute of conviction than of imperious egotism, forces a kind of tyranny upon others, and so often gives to the men of action authority over the men of thought. In our intercourse with life we constantly see some man to whom we concede no special honesty, no paramount intellect, no superior knowledge, but who establishes a moral despotism in the circles in which he moves. This faculty is distinct from the mere power of intellect, with which it may or may not be combined. Napoleon I. had it—so had George III. With this gift Pym was unquestionably endowed to a sovereign degree. By it he stamped, as it were, the likeness of his own mind upon the Parliament and upon the public; by it he consolidated into singleness of action a party in itself heterogeneous and discordant; subjugating to his lead a Vane and a Hampden, as well as a Haselrig and a Strode; so that while he lived there was no law in England so potent as the will of Pym.

On the other hand, this gift wholly failed to the finer intellect of Falkland. He could not exercise control even over Hyde, who revered his virtues with so admiring a love; he could not mould to his counsels even Charles, to whose cause his acces-

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sion gave the dignity of patriotism and offered a guarantee for justice. And unhappily Charles was one with whom advice had weight in proportion as singleness of will overbore his own vacillation of purpose. It was idle to argue with him, for no casuist in his realm could argue more subtly than himself; but something of that timidity often noticeable in men, otherwise obstinate, who are by constitution both irritable and shy, made him more ductile to the confident, who said roughly, 'Do,' than to the adviser who roused his talent for controversy, and gave him an excuse for his characteristic and often conscientious irresolution, in placing before his hopes and his fears the various reasons why a thing should be done. It was thus that he had been controlled by councillors immeasurably inferior to himself in understanding: Laud, whose heated decisiveness was proportional to the narrowness of his scope, as a flame warms with but little fuel, if it burns up through contracted flues; Buckingham, in whose half-insolent, half-familiar domineering, the rich vitality of animal spirits gave force of character to levity of mind. And if the night before the attempted arrest of the Five Members Charles had summoned a council of all the sages in his kingdom, he would have found plausible replies to their dissuasive reasonings, though he had not a word to say to Henrietta's absolute command, 'Allez, poltron, and pull out those rogues by the ears.'

Unquestionably, therefore, Falkland had to undergo severe disappointments, bitter mortifications, from the hour he entered the King's service to the day of his death. In the council at Oxford his advice, which would have saved Charles, was constantly overruled by advisers who lured Charles on to destruction. A man less sincere in his conviction that his choice, nevertheless, was right—a man more swayed by vanity or self-interest—would have resigned in disgust a post in which he was condemned to incur many responsibilities for decisions which he had opposed in vain. Chafed by similar mortifications the Earls of Bedford, Holland, and Clare, though they fought with the King at Newbury, abandoned his cause and returned to Parliament, expressing their repentance for an interval of loyalty which had been so ungraciously welcomed. The fear of similar mortifications retained from the King's council-board the prudent Northumberland, and chilled back the secret inclinations of the popular Essex.

But Falkland had attached himself to a principle, and not to a man—to a principle that—inseparably interwoven with the woof not only of our civil laws, but our social habits—could not fail, at last, to reconcile royalty and freedom. And when sadly persuaded that he could, in his own generation, serve that cause



no longer by his life, he rendered to it what, under such circumstances, is the noblest and most lasting service man can render to the cause he adopts—the example of a glorious death. The principle itself with which it is truly said ‘his death eternally connected him,’ has survived to vindicate the far-sighted sagacity of his choice; travelling on through the storms which obscured it in those days to illumine the atmosphere we breathe in our own, as light, though it pass through the winds, is not moved from its course by their rage.

The conclusions which we draw from our survey of Lord Falkland’s character and conduct appear to us to bring into clearer light the one great mistake which pervaded the politics of the Pym party, and still more or less distorts the judgment of their historical panegyrists. The mistake we mean is this. Pym and his more peculiar associates professed devoted attachment to the abstract principle of monarchy: they so contrived their opposition to the one monarch they distrusted, as to destroy the rights and safeguards indispensable to the permanent conservation of the principle of monarchy itself. If they were sincere in their attachment to monarchy, but persuaded that constitutional freedom was rendered hopelessly unsafe by the duplicity of Charles, or the rashness of his advisers, then it would surely have been well to concentrate their policy on a change of King rather than on a system of securities which altered the whole framework of government, debased the Crown into the mockery of ‘a gilded sign,’ and corrupted the virtue of the representative body by enriching the greed of faction with all the patronage that belongs to an executive. A change of King instead of a complete reversal of the relations between King and people, incompatible with prolonged existence of monarchy, would have been comparatively easy, since few persons had interest in keeping Charles on his throne, while all reasonable men had an interest in preferring English monarchy, with the checks already imposed on it, to the uncemented composite of a Dutch aristocracy and a Venetian Doge. For a change of King there was a precedent in the case of Richard II.; that precedent was afterwards applied to the case of James II. Such a solution of difficulties was not ignored in the mind of Pym’s contemporaries; for the Elector Palatine hoped, if he did not actually intrigue, for the throne which Charles’s deposition would vacate; and Charles himself, in the course of the struggle, meditated the offer of abdication in favour of his son.

We do not say that a change in the occupancy of the throne was in itself called for or expedient. On the contrary, we are firmly persuaded that a practical reconciliation between Charles and his Parliament,

Parliament, with all adequate securities against the restoration of arbitrary rule, would have been easily effected after Charles's return from Scotland, had Pym and Hampden combined for that object with Hyde and Falkland; and we agree with Mr. Hallam that 'of the various consequences which we may picture to ourselves from a pacification—(Mr. Hallam here refers to a date subsequent to the outbreak of the war, but his remark applies with far greater force to the date immediately preceding the Grand Remonstrance)—that which appears the least likely is that Charles should have re-established that arbitrary power which he had exercised in the earlier period of his reign.'

We do not say, therefore, that Charles's abdication was necessary to freedom; but we do say that, of the two, a change of sovereign would have been far easier to accomplish, and far more consistent with Pym's professed attachment to monarchy, than a change which struck royalty out of the Three Component Parts of Parliament, reduced its uses to the pageantry of *les Rois Fainéants*, and armed with its power the House of Commons as its *Maire du Palais*.

In the apology for himself that he sent forth not long before his death, Pym solemnly says, 'I neither directly nor indirectly ever had a thought tending to the least disobedience or disloyalty to his Majesty, whom I acknowledge my lawful King and Sovereign, and would expend my blood as soon in his service as any subject he hath.\*' If this were, indeed, his political creed, Pym might at least have given his aid to the counsels of that King for whom he would so cheerfully have shed his blood. But though denouncing Charles's advisers as the cause of all the evils, alleged or invented, Pym refused to become Charles's constitutional adviser. Before Falkland and Culpeper accepted office, the King renewed negotiations with Pym. Mr. Forster lauds Pym for rejecting them. To us such rejection on the part of a citizen so responsible to his country seems unfair against any King, unless predetermined that that King shall be dethroned. In short, we cannot but think that the course which became Pym and the friends who recognised with him Charles as their lawful Sovereign was to accept office, as the very security against other advisers which the issues of fratricidal war were risked to effect, and to insist on the condition which Hyde and Falkland would have cordially supported—that the King should henceforth do nothing without consulting the official advisers he selected.

We dismiss as a chimera, based upon no evidence, a surmise

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\* Rushworth, P. 3, vol. ii. p. 378: 'A Declaration and Vindication of John Pym, Esq.'

of Mr. Hallam's, that the popular leaders meant only to curb the royal authority during Charles's life, with a view of extending it afterwards to just limits in the reign of his son. Pym and Hampden were too acute reasoners not to know, that a prerogative limited in one reign could not be re-expanded in the next without a new revolution. Nor can we conceive a more dangerous and precarious state for the realm, than a suspension of the supreme authority, with a view to its restitution in a successor—a suspension that would feed all the intrigues of faction, and be fatal to the fixity that belongs to order.

These considerations open to our view another capital fault in Pym and his partisans, for the consequences of which they are justly chargeable. With all the sagacity and prevision ascribed to them, they made no attempt to construct any tolerable form of government. Implacable to destroy, they were negligent beyond conception in the duty to rebuild. We should blame them far less if, like Marten, and probably the younger Vane, they had conceived the idea of a republic as the best form of government; and had then sought to lay for such a Commonwealth sound and durable foundations. But their sole notion of good government seemed to be that of an irresponsible tyranny, which armed a House of Commons—dissolvable only by its own consent—with powers only limitable by its own pleasure. In estimating the practical wisdom of Pym and his party, we cannot too carefully remember that, whatever they might allege against Charles, they never contended that he had forfeited the crown by the faults laid to his charge; and therefore the true question at issue extends far beyond that so warmly discussed between his accusers and defenders,—the question being not whether an individual king has or has not by his acts or designs justly forfeited his crown, but whether the English nation should forfeit those safeguards against turbulent faction which are found in the prerogatives conceded to a constitutional monarchy? and whether the innovations demanded by Pym and his party could either have improved the conditions of such a monarchy or established a better form of government? The moment these politicians presented to the choice of their own age and to the judgment of posterity their own scheme of a Constitution for England in the Nineteen Propositions, this became the true question as between a Pym and a Falkland, 'Was that scheme of a Constitution such as any sound political reasoner would prefer to the Constitution it was intended to replace?' We venture to say that no practical politician, whether his theory favour republican or monarchical government, can deliberately examine the Nineteen Propositions without arriving at the conclusion that a worse

Constitution the Abbé de Sièyes himself could not have taken from the pigeon-holes of his bureau. It is clear that, if the Crown had, as proposed, been deprived of all control over the military forces, all choice in civil appointments, all veto in the enactment of laws, all legal existence as a third branch of the Legislature; the House of Commons, having the exclusive control of the finances, must have rapidly monopolised every attribute of executive power; and the struggle for the enjoyment of that power would have been waged between the factions in that House, not, as now, simply by the weapons of eloquence and argument, but with the command of the troops, the forts, and the prisons, which the dominant faction would have brought to bear on its opponents. The Constitution, therefore, proposed by Pym would have entailed on the nation every conceivable evil by which the animosities of faction culminate in a reign of terror. Nor are these deductions from the political theories advanced by Pym in the Constitution embodied in the Nineteen Propositions, unwarranted by the short-lived adoption of the theories themselves, viz. the absolute government of a House of Commons incorporating legislative functions with executive authority. To all liberty of thought and conscience it became as inimical as the despotism it overthrew: it soon lost even its own independence, 'sinking (says Hallam) in its decrepitude and amidst public contempt beneath a usurper it had blindly elevated to power.' A House of Commons, in fact, that assumes to command the army, must always end in giving the army command over its own destinies. The day on which Pym first took from the senseless brain of Haselrig to his own scheming intellect the question of the militia, was the parent of that day when Cromwell's pikemen removed the 'bauble.' We blame, therefore, Pym and his party for the course they adopted from the date of the Grand Remonstrance to the outbreak of the Civil War, as one that, whether they desired, as they professed, only securities for Constitutional monarchy, or aimed at a Republican form of government, was equally disastrous to either object; and by which all the substantial reforms that the party of Hyde and Falkland had mainly assisted them to obtain were gravely imperilled, nay, for more than a generation and a half were practically annulled, whether by the usurpation of Cromwell or the reaction to which the Stuarts were indebted for their restoration. And though, as against Charles I., the Parliamentary side of the contest was triumphant, yet the chances to the contrary were sufficiently grave at the onset to have made every rational patriot shun the policy which necessitated an appeal to arms.

And

And the triumph itself, how costly, how sullied, how brief! converted into loss by its own final achievements, reuniting England to Monarchy by the execution of Charles, and to the Episcopal Church by the execution of Laud.

The warnings that posterity receives from the historical tragedy of those times, impartial philosophy may, perhaps, rather direct to the guidance of popular factions than the correction of erring kings; for the faults of Charles were partly those of temporary and unusual circumstance, principally those of individual character. And little more could be applied from the lessons of his fate to assist the policy of princes in relation to popular demands, than the necessity of manly and upright sincerity in all concessions made, in all promises pledged. Suspicions are bred from the atmosphere of civil discord, and the frankest openness is the best prudence of kings, when their actions are spied and their powers enfeebled.

But to popular factions the warnings are of application universal and enduring. For we apprehend that the true key to what seems to us obscure or inconsistent in the policy of Pym and his party is to be found in motives of conduct as common now as they were two hundred and twenty years ago. It is a frequent mistake with speculative historians to ascribe to political parties deep and long-laid designs, of which political parties are in substance incapable. Elaborate strategy, sagacious foresight, profound plans veiled by systematic dissimulation, can never be the characteristic of large parliamentary combinations, nor consequently of their recognised leaders, who but represent and obey the opinions and the passions that shift and vary with the variations and shifts of opponents unstable in purpose as themselves. We do not think, therefore, that Pym and his associates formed for themselves any settled design, either for the abolition of monarchy or for some wise and orderly system of government compatible with the powers they would have transferred from the monarchy to the House of Commons. They were doubtless more united, and more consciously working to defined ends, in theological doctrine than political creed; and becoming bolder and more determined in these, as Episcopacy had been made generally unpopular by the error of Charles in giving to a prelate of Laud's harsh temper and impolitic judgment a jurisdiction in secular matters, they aimed, long before they openly declared their intention, at the entire overthrow of the English hierarchy and the adoption of a Presbyterian Church, with the relentless persecution of Papists. Yet even in this Pym himself was overruled by the men he led, and borne away by the passions he had raised.

As to civil forms of government, we believe the Pym party acted

acted much as 'the advanced Liberals' of our day act now—in a sort of loose concert for the advance of what seemed to them popular principle, without any definite consideration how that principle, thus advanced, could practically harmonize with the monarchy on which it encroached more and more. 'Did not craving (asks South) still grow upon granting, till nothing remained to be asked on one side or given on the other but the life of the giver?' In those days there would have been the same thought which shapes itself into cant phrases in our own—'Progressive policy;' 'Advances in the right direction.' And, just as now, there is in our House of Commons a party that professes the utmost loyalty to the throne, and is really innocent of any design to establish a republic, but is always ready to vote away the delicate props of monarchy, and increase the democratic influences which result either in republics or the military despotism by which in old states the fears of property rudely overthrow the commonwealths of dreamers; just as now, there are men who would call it 'Progressive policy' and 'Steps in the right direction,' to place the army at the control of the House of Commons, to reduce the jurisdiction of the House of Lords to a formula, to substitute the Voluntary Principle for the Established Church, to banish from the action of the Constitution all aristocratic intermixtures; and if these were granted, would then, rather than stand still, and on the mere principle of moving somehow or somewhere, proceed step by step to measures not as yet in their contemplation, till the old Constitution was wholly gone, and a new Constitution still a 'progressive step;'—so we cannot see in the policy of Pym and his partisans anything beyond the feverish movement of a popular faction, outbidding and denouncing all temperate reformers, and blindly drifting on to that vague 'something more' which ruins the substance of free nations, as it does the fortune of insatiate speculators. For there is a political as well as a pecuniary covetousness, and, in one as in the other, the hazards that spring from the greed of acquisition ruin the adventurers who never know where to stop.

Could Pym have lived to see the sentinels at Cromwell's gate, would he have admired the inevitable result of 'steps in the right direction?' Could he rise from his grave to-morrow, and look around at this established monarchy, with rights fenced from his demands, with a Church triumphant over the Calvinists, and tolerant alike of Papist and Puritan, would he not say—'Degenerate race! How have you profited by the Grand Remonstrance? Where is the constitution set forth in the Nineteen Propositions?'

But could Falkland look from his repose on England as  
England



England is now, would not Falkland say 'This is what I sought to make my country! This is the throne which I would have reconciled to Parliamentary freedom; this is the Church that I would have purified from ecclesiastical domination over secular affairs and intolerant persecution of rival sects. To make an England such as I see now, I opposed the framers of the Grand Remonstrance and the Nineteen Propositions; and England as seen now is the vindication of my policy and the refutation of Pym's.'

We thus take leave of the subject which Mr. Forster's able works have brought before us, differing essentially from him in the views to which the events he commemorates have led us, but heartily commending to a perusal, qualified by the considerations herein suggested, the important additions he has made to our historical literature. His talents have adorned the cause he advocates; he must pardon us if we believe that the fuller the light he throws on the facts and the parties which those talents illustrate, the wider will become the circle of reflective men who, in admitting their obligations to his research, will concur in our dissent from his conclusions.

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ART. VII.—1. *A Treatise on Naval Gunnery.* By General Sir Howard Douglas, Bart., &c. 5th Edition. 1860.

2. *Observations on Modern Systems of Fortification, &c. &c.* By General Sir Howard Douglas, Bart. 1859.

3. *Report of the Commissioners on the Defences of the United Kingdom.* 1860.

4. *Moniteur de la Flotte.* 1860.

THE progress that has been made during the last twelve months in placing the kingdom in an efficient state of defence is such as greatly to encourage, even if it has not entirely reassured the most timid. The most sanguine may think that more might have been done than has actually been effected; still the exertions made by all classes have been sufficient to prove that the heart of the nation beats as truly as ever, and that the people are not only determined to defend themselves against insult, but feel confident that they can do so. They have shown that they are prepared to make all the sacrifices necessary for that purpose, or in order to maintain by their own prowess the high position they have hitherto held in the world's estimation.

Twelve months ago the Volunteer Movement was in its infancy, struggling against the sneers and ridicule of its detractors, and against what is almost as much to be feared, the doubts and misgivings



misgivings of its well-wishers. It has survived both, and aided by the judicious encouragement of those highest in authority, and pushed forward by its own innate vitality, it has assumed the importance of a great national movement; while the spirit which has been displayed, and the good sense and forbearance which have characterized all concerned in its organization, have been such as to leave little doubt of its permanence. It cannot be denied, however, that it has not yet attained either the dimensions or the efficiency which would justify the nation in relying on it as an absolute security against invasion, even when combined with such other forces and means as are already organised for that purpose. Still an army of 120,000 intelligent and able-bodied men with arms in their hands, all at least partially drilled and acquainted with the use of the rifle, and all animated with the best spirit, is an enormous addition to our defensive means. Many of the officers and privates are thoroughly acquainted with their duties; thousands who have not yet enrolled themselves would be willing to do so if real danger presented itself; and the power of expansion of the volunteer force may be considered so great as to render it a most powerful auxiliary to the regular forces of the kingdom, and one which bids fair eventually to suffice for all the purposes for which it is intended.

It is also encouraging to find that the exertions which have been made in the same period to place the fleet on a more efficient footing have been as great, though they cannot yet be regarded as equally satisfactory in their result. Still we have a Channel Fleet and a strong reserve in a tolerable state of efficiency, whereas at the breaking out of the Italian war, in the spring of last year, we had neither. Contemporaneously with these exertions, the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of our national defences have presented their Report, and the money they asked for has been voted by Parliament with a practical unanimity which shows how determined the nation is to grudge nothing which may be required for this purpose. While all this is going on, the manufacture of rifled ordnance has been proceeding with vigour, and promises soon to effect a revolution in the art of war of which it is difficult to see the tendency, much more to predict the results.

On all these points unanimity has prevailed. All men (with an exception which we really cannot bring ourselves to notice) have admitted the advantage, if not the absolute necessity of the Volunteer Movement, of an efficient Channel Fleet, of the fortification of the Dockyards and Arsenals, and of the manufacture of improved patterns of ordnance. Parliament has granted, without stint, whatever sums were asked for these purposes,

purposes ; and so convinced are all parties of their expediency, that it is not necessary to say one word more to induce every one to persevere in the course which has been so successfully entered upon, and which cannot but conduce to the true interests of the country.

Amidst all this unanimity there are two questions on which opinions are so divided that little or nothing has been done regarding them, though it may be that either or both of them are as vital as any of those to which we have alluded. The first is the fortification of London, the other the introduction of iron-plated vessels into the navy. Both are so important that some decision ought to be come to regarding them, either for or against ; and as, till that is done, they cannot be too frequently or too freely discussed, we propose to devote a few pages to their elucidation.

The Report of the National Defence Commissioners barely approached the subject of the defence of London. They assumed that the Channel was not only the first but the most important line of defence for an insular position, and the fleet the proper and most essential means of holding it, and thus defending the kingdom. Acting on this assumption, they found that the arsenals and dockyards were as essential parts of a fleet as a rudder or sails are of an individual ship, and the security of these, absolutely indispensable to the existence of the navy. From this point of view they were no doubt correct in urging the fortification of the Dockyards before all other things. But the question has before and since been asked, whether in reality the first line of defence is sufficient ? Whether, in fact, the introduction of steam-power, as applied to vessels of war, has not rendered it, under certain circumstances, untenable ? And whether, in consequence, we ought not to have a second line, inland, to preserve us from absolute shipwreck in the event of the first line being forced ? It is generally admitted that this would be extremely desirable, if it could be obtained at a reasonable cost ; and universally it is agreed that if any internal fortifications are to be attempted, they ought to be, if not exclusively, at least mainly, directed towards the defence of the capital—this being not only the most vulnerable part of the empire, but on all hands admitted to be the object, and almost the only one, which would tempt an invader to land on our shores.

The task, however, is no light one ; for since the erection of the very apocryphal walls of Babylon, no project of fortification of the same extent has been mooted, as that which would be required for the protection of such a city as London. Its immensity indeed is such, that most men hesitate to entertain it at all, or shrink from its consideration, appalled at its magnitude. So much is this the case that no one has been bold, or it may be said

said mad enough, to propose that London should be regularly fortified with such a bastioned enceinte or enclosure as that which surrounds Paris, and with detached forts to cover it. All that has been suggested is that the place should be surrounded by such a line of works as would secure it against a coup-de-main, or would enable an inferior force assembled for its protection to cope with a more powerful army that might be brought to assail it.

Space will not admit of our attempting to criticise individual projects: all those worthy of consideration may be said to resolve themselves into two categories or classes. The first may be described as a system of defence by entrenched camps; the second by a line of detached forts.

The advocates of the first propose to form Woolwich into one great camp; to erect another in front of Croydon, probably on Banstead Downs; and a third, either near Kingston or à cheval on the Thames above that town; a fourth would be required between Hounslow and Harrow, or probably a small one at each of these places; another between Hampstead and Barnet; and one more at or somewhere near Epping. Each of these six or seven camps would be so fortified as to admit of being defended by 3000 or 4000 men against a coup-de-main, and to be capable of containing from 20,000 to 30,000 in the event of an enemy advancing to attack them, or to pass between any two of them.

The other project would occupy the same line of country, and measure somewhere between fifty and sixty miles in length, according to the exact line it is determined to occupy. (A line less in extent has been proposed by General Shaw Kennedy and others, but it is so near that it would not protect the town from bombardment; and it lies so completely among the houses of the suburbs that it would probably be as expensive, while it certainly would not be so efficient, as one farther out, though consequently more extensive.) The mode of defence proposed for this line would be 50 or 60 small detached forts, situated at from 1500 to 2000 yards apart, so as easily to cross fire and support one another; and each would be arranged to accommodate from 200 to 300 men, who would suffice for the defence, though each work might contain twice or thrice that number on an emergency. Or the project may be described thus: Supposing each of the entrenched camps to consist of 9 or 10 detached forts or bastions arranged in a circle or oval form; if these were stretched out over the 9 or 10 miles which separate the camps, they would form the enceinte of forts as suggested.

As both these projects possess certain advantages, it is probable that a combination of the two would be preferable to either

either taken singly as described above, and that the best scheme would be one great entrenched camp on the south, and one on the north or north-west; these should form the depôts and keys of the position, and could hold out even after the line was forced; and they might be connected by a chain of fortlets as above described. This probably would unite the advantages of both proposals.

If the scheme of detached forts were adopted, plans would be prepared beforehand of lines to join them together; and as the land would be cleared and in the possession of the Government, the lines could be staked or planted out, and form an essential part of the scheme, but not to be executed till required. If all were arranged beforehand, and tools and materials deposited in each fort;—in a single night, with such a population as that of London in the rear, three, four, or a dozen of them might be connected together by a barrier impassable to cavalry or artillery under any circumstances, and defensible against infantry, except at enormous odds, and with the certainty of causing such loss as would render an assault exceedingly improbable.

To carry out the project of a circle of detached forts, it is indispensable that all obstructions should be removed from the space between them, and from a considerable area in front of each fort. In fact, Government must acquire the power over a belt of land 50 miles in length by 1000 to 1500 yards in breadth, or, in other words, over a range of 20,000 or 30,000 acres. Of this probably less than one-fourth would require to be purchased in fee simple; the rest would remain in the occupation of its present owners. But the Government must take power under the Defence Act of last session to clear away all obstructions at their option, and to prevent building or other injurious occupation of the land. Looked at from this point of view, the average cost of the whole may be taken at 100*l.* per acre, or from two to three millions of money. This ought to suffice at an average distance of 8 or 10 miles from the metropolis, where the line might be carried so as to avoid the most populous places or the most valuable land; for it would frequently be found cheaper to erect larger and more expensive works, than to occupy those positions which to a certain extent may seem better in a strategical point of view, if the latter were occupied by buildings, or were more valuable from other circumstances.

The Works themselves might be constructed so as to answer the purposes for which they are designed for about 50,000*l.* or 60,000*l.* on the average, or a sum of 2,500,000*l.* or 3,000,000*l.*

The cost of the entrenched camp system would be about the same;

same ; for though it would require less land, the forts or bastions must be connected by curtains, and generally the works must be of a more permanent and expensive character. Either might be carried out for a sum of 5,000,000*l.* or 6,000,000*l.* sterling, and certainly could be done, and done efficiently, for a sum under 10,000,000*l.* Less than the first named amount would not suffice—the second is probably in excess ; though when we recollect that the fortifications of Paris cost 6,000,000*l.* at least, and that more than 8,000,000*l.* were spent in rebuilding the fortresses of Belgium after the peace of 1815, we ought not, with such an object in view, to be startled even at the highest sum named, considering the value of land in the neighbourhood of London, and the cost of labour.

Many persons object to this scheme *in limine*, on the ground that any fortification of the metropolis would be a nuisance in itself, unconstitutional in its effect, and unworthy of the spirit of the nation. The spirit of the nation, we humbly think, would be elevated rather than depressed by the consciousness of increased strength and security : the other objections arise from unpleasant recollections of gates, and guards, and passports on the Continent. But the scheme in question has nothing in common with what is seen abroad. On the contrary, nothing could be more desirable for an overgrown metropolis like this, than a great Boulevard, nearly a mile in width, described with a radius of eight or nine miles around St. Paul's.

The part occupied by the Government would provide parade grounds and rifle ranges for the volunteers, and gymnasiums for them and the people. What might not be thus occupied ought to be planted with trees ; for nothing would be so valuable in the event of an attack as plenty of timber to form abattis or obstacles of various sorts, and if planted ornamentally it would form one continuous park. A circular military road planted with trees on either side would be indispensable. Indeed, even irrespective of the defence of the capital, it might be worth while to spend a great portion of the money to obtain this zone of pleasure-ground.

These, however, are minor considerations. The great question is, would either of the proposals be effectual to defend the capital against the attack of an invader landed on our shores ? Assuming the system of defence by entrenched camps to be adopted, is it probable or possible that an invader able to muster even 100,000 men in line of battle, would thrust himself between two such fortresses as above described, each containing say 25,000 men, in order that he may assault such a capital as London ?

Great

Great and bold deeds have been done in war, but this seems almost too daring; for though the camps are ten miles apart, their garrisons can act on the flanks of the advancing columns, and eventually cut off the communications of the invader with his base of operations. Any reverse in front would be fatal; and even supposing he accomplished his object, and entered London, he could hardly remain there, surrounded by six or seven strongly fortified places, into which every man capable of bearing arms would have retreated, and whose garrisons would be continually augmented by accessions from the country. So far from being a conqueror prepared to dictate terms, he would be caught in a trap, and besieged himself instead of besieging; while most, if not all of the plunder he expected would have found refuge within their precincts, and even the government of the country might to a certain extent be carried on within their walls.

The other scheme, of a continuous chain of detached forts, would be probably more effectual in keeping the enemy out of the town, but certainly not so useful after they were forced. Like all single lines, their great defect is, that if forced in one place, the whole falls and becomes comparatively useless. It is a great question whether the moral effect of the knowledge of the uselessness and danger of getting in, in the one case, would not be more effectual in keeping an enemy out, than the physical obstacle which would be opposed to his entry by the continuous chain. Either would render it an operation of extreme danger and difficulty, though it cannot be said that either would render it impossible. Neither can be called in the literal sense of the term a fortification of London, and in fact the application of this misnomer has been one of the great causes of the misconception which exists on the subject. All that can reasonably be attempted is to prepare a battle-field to which a defeated army may retreat, or on which an army unequal to meeting an invader in the field may fight him on at least equal terms before he attains the object of his attempt. No one has proposed that London should be so fortified as to stand a regular siege with open trenches and all the accompaniments of such an operation. All that has been proposed is to make the capital a rallying place for the forces of the kingdom, and to enable them to make such a stand as must probably be successful.

As the case at present stands, if the Channel is forced, if by any accident, or if from any cause, any power or combination of powers gain the command of the sea and consequent possession of the Channel, they could probably place on our shores a numerically larger force than we could oppose to them in the field.

In

In the event either of our being outnumbered so that the General commanding would not dare to risk a battle, or of even a partial defeat, there would be no resource but to retreat towards the north and collect reinforcements, or to watch events in some secure entrenchment, if such existed; but in no case would a General dare to retreat on the capital, which, in consequence, almost inevitably must fall into the hands of the invaders.

On the other hand, assuming the works to have been erected as proposed, it is almost certain that we could muster within their walls an assemblage of armed men nearly equal in number to any force that is ever likely to be brought against them. It is true that half the number would be very imperfectly disciplined, and quite unequal to meeting the enemy in the field; but behind earthworks or in forts, or under their support, individual pluck is nearly as valuable as drill or discipline, and the result might, and most probably would, be favourable to the defenders.

The real question is, is it worth while to obtain this amount of protection at an expenditure of a sum of money which certainly will not be less than 5,000,000*l.*, though it as certainly will not amount to 10,000,000*l.*? Each man will answer this question according to the value he may attach to the contingency with which the proposition commenced. If he feels confident that the Channel cannot be forced, but is sufficient for our defence now as it has been hitherto, he will reject the idea at once; or if he feels that such regular forces as we possess, when joined by the Militia, and aided by the army of Volunteers, are sufficient to meet in the field any Continental army that may be placed on our shores, he will put it aside as useless. If on the other hand it should appear that our national forces are not sufficient to be trusted with this great hazard, the scale will incline the other way. Upon this point we may observe that although in a campaign of some months' duration, man for man, the national army might at the end meet any soldiers in the world, still, considering that two-thirds or three-fourths of them would never have seen a shot fired in earnest when the campaign began, and that it could hardly last ten days or a fortnight, it seems hazardous to stake our existence as a nation on the chance of one battle in the open field, which would probably be all that would be allowed us. If in fact it should appear that in spite of all our exertions the Channel may be forced, few can doubt but that the expenditure is a trifle in comparison with the tremendous results which would follow on the occupation of the capital of this empire by an enemy's forces.

Whether or not the forcing of the Channel ought to be regarded as possible, will be more apparent when we come to consider the

second



second part of our subject, or the effect of the introduction of iron-plated vessels for war purposes, and the mode in which this has been brought about, to which the inquiry naturally leads us.

Although the question whether London should or should not be fortified has been debated with considerable energy among professional men, it cannot be said that the public have taken any interest in the controversy. Eight hundred years of immunity from such a catastrophe has fixed the idea in the minds of men, that what has not happened for so long a time is not likely to happen now, and no reasoning can overcome the inertia of this appeal to the results of long experience. The case, however, was widely different when, in the spring of last year, it was officially announced that the French navy was practically superior to ours in steam line-of-battle ships, and at least equal in the smaller classes of vessels; when it was found that we had no Channel Fleet, and, in fact, no means of equipping one in the same time in which our neighbours could place an overwhelming force on our shores. There ensued something like a panic, followed by the most extraordinary activity in our dockyards, and the resort to every class of expedient to make up our leeway. This has now been done; and if it came to a struggle between two and three deckers in fair stand-up fight, we should have nothing to fear: but no sooner is this result obtained by unheard-of exertions, and by the most lavish expenditure, than it is announced in every quarter that a new class of vessels have taken possession of the seas; that wooden vessels are no longer fit for war purposes, but that ships protected by a cuirass of iron plates are alone to be trusted in action. This dictum has been, and is most resolutely, denied by the Admiralty and all the Dockyard authorities. Sir Baldwin Walker, as their chief officer, and the one personally responsible for the construction of the Navy, has, both in words and deeds, acted on a diametrically opposite conclusion. Sir Howard Douglas has also, in the last edition of his most valuable work on Naval Gunnery, given it as his opinion that wooden vessels are still to be preferred to iron for naval purposes. Though it is difficult to see by what process of reasoning he arrives at this result, still the opinion of so eminent a man is entitled to the utmost respect and consideration; for no one has laboured so long and with more earnestness to improve everything connected with the Navy than he has. From his connection with the Admiralty, having access to all their documents, and knowing the results of all their experiments, he speaks with the fullest knowledge of all that is passing, so that it requires some courage

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to dissent from his conclusions. On the other hand, Captain Halsted, who, from his late official position, ought to be equally well informed, and who is admitted to be one of the most scientific officers in the service, has recently published his adhesion to doctrines entirely opposed to those of his superiors. Captain Sherard Osborn and several other naval officers follow in his wake. Sir William Armstrong has publicly admitted that iron-plated vessels are practically secure against any shot he can send against them. Sir William Wiseman and Captain Hewlett are understood to entertain the same opinions; and generally it may be asserted that it would be extremely difficult to find any one among the younger officers of the service, who are either likely to command or to be called upon to serve in wooden ships, who is not of opinion that their day is gone, and that some means must be taken to protect vessels against the ravages of recently-invented projectiles, or that fighting will be impossible, from the certainty of destruction that awaits every vessel that gets within range of another. It seems in fact the old story—the elder and official men, ‘*stantes super antiquas vias*,’ and clinging to the wooden walls which carried the British flag triumphant through the battles of the last half century: the younger men, aware of the progress the world is making, and clamouring for the best means to maintain the dearly-bought honour of that flag, and praying to be placed at least on a par with their opponents.

We can all recollect the struggle that was made by ‘Peninsular officers’ to retain the services of their old friend ‘Brown Bess,’—how difficult the battle was, and with what dreadful forebodings the vanquished laid down their arms. Yet it is now admitted that the improved weapons preserved our army in the Crimea, and that to them we owe it that India is still a dependency of the British Crown. So far as can now be seen, the cases are precisely parallel.

Any one who is aware of the immense progress that has been made of late years in the invention of implements of destruction, will understand how the conclusion which we have mentioned has come to be impressed on the minds of those who are to fight their country’s battles. In the old wars in the beginning of this century the only missiles used by ships against one another in action were solid shot of various calibres, and we all know what tons of these struck or passed through the sides of a ship without her being destroyed or even severely damaged. If ships should now consent to confine themselves to the solid shot, even though they were 68-pounders, or 10-inch hollow shot, there would be no cause for anxiety. The greater scantling and improved construction of modern ships are a match for even these.

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What is really to be feared is the use of shells. Of these, four classes may now be said to be employed in the navy :—

First. The ordinary concussion shell. This is one of the ordinary construction, but instead of a fuse it has a striker inside, which being released the moment the shell comes in contact with any obstacle, such as a ship's side, strikes a percussion-cap and causes the shell to burst either in the side or between the decks, tearing up everything in its neighbourhood, throwing splinters about, and knocking over guns and men in every direction, as if a mine had exploded on the spot.

More dangerous than even this, however, is a carcass filled with molten iron. On penetrating a ship's side, the intense heat of the fused iron within softens the carcass or shell, and it breaks like a rotten pear. The molten iron thus released runs down between the timbers of the framing, scatters itself between decks, and wherever it penetrates sets fire to and destroys everything it comes in contact with. A third class is a carcass with five or six holes in it filled with a combustible composition, similar to fuse-composition, which, when ignited by the charge of powder which propels it from the gun, burns fiercely from every hole, emitting a flame which water will not quench. A fourth is Norton's shell, filled with a liquid which, on being set on fire in the act of striking a ship, burns with a fierceness that nothing can extinguish, and is itself sufficient to set any ship on fire. All these shells (and there are others as destructive, though not so generally known) can be fired as easily and with as much precision as round shot; and if we consider that a wooden ship is wholly composed of the most inflammable materials, either seasoned oak, or teak full of oil, or fir full of resin, it will be easily understood why an experienced naval officer, from whom we have borrowed the above classification, should exclaim, 'For God's sake keep out the shells!'

There is no first-class frigate or line-of-battle ship which cannot deliver twenty-five or thirty such shells in a minute, and even the strongest advocates of wooden ships cannot deny that that number striking the side of any vessel in the British navy would place her hors de combat. Her sides would be torn out, she would be on fire in half-a-dozen places, her between-decks would be so filled with smoke from the explosions that men could not live below, and, if in a sea-way, she probably would sink from the damage done to her hull. In fact, the first half-dozen shells planted in a wooden ship's side settle the fate of the action. It is not now a question of skill, or courage, or endurance, but as completely a matter of chance as a modern duel with pistols. An action will be an affair of minutes, and the only

only question will be, who can haul down his flag fastest? The destruction of one or both vessels is certain, although it is uncertain to which it may soonest happen to be burnt or sunk.

If, on the other hand, two iron-plated frigates meet each other at sea, the action will practically be extremely similar in its results to one in the olden time. Shell-firing will be of little or no use, but the two vessels will hammer away at each other with their heaviest solid-shot guns. If a plate is struck twice at or near the same place, it may be cracked; if three times, it may be splintered; if four times—judging from the result of the experiments on the ‘Trusty’—an entrance may—to use Captain Halsted’s words—be effected; but the chances are a hundred to one against this happening in actual warfare, and the action may last for hours, and must be decided in favour of the best gunners and the best seamen. If, however, we could imagine our finest frigate, such as the ‘Mersey,’ meeting the ‘Gloire,’ or any iron-plated vessel, as her shell-guns would be of no use, she would be reduced to trying to crack her opponent’s plates with her heaviest solid shot, while the iron vessel, firing nothing but shells, must certainly set her on fire, or tear her sides out, and either blow her up or sink her in three, four, or five minutes, if in close action, and probably without sustaining any damage to her own armour, which would at all injure her powers of sailing or fighting. The same fate would even more certainly await one of our noble liners. Beyond two or three hundred yards her heavy-shot guns would confessedly have no effect on the iron plates, while, at a thousand yards or any less distance, concussion shells would be as effectual as at shorter ranges; and, considering the size of the target, no iron-plated frigate would ever allow her wooden opponent to come within effective range of her, but, even if possessing less speed, would certainly destroy her before she came to such close quarters.

English sailors are brave men—more so, perhaps, than any that are likely to be opposed to them, and will do and dare as much at least as any others; but we can hardly expect the navy to be popular with such a contingency staring them in the face. At all events they have a right to demand of the nation that employs them, that every reasonable means should be taken to protect them from the destruction which seems so inevitable; and no niggardly question of economy should be allowed to weigh in the balance against the lives of her best and bravest servants, involving, too, the safety and honour of the kingdom.

The only question is, can anything be done to remedy this frightful state of things? The answer at first seems singularly easy; for it is proved that an iron plate of five-eighths of an inch,

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or at all events of one inch in thickness, will stop any shell; and with a slight reduction in her armament, and the removal of some of the top hamper, any ship might be made to bear this burthen. But unfortunately a broadside of solid round shot would break up and utterly destroy this thin skin of metal, and leave the vessel as pervious to shell as before; and, more than this, the fragments of the iron coating, being driven through the ship's side with the solid shot, form a mitraille far more destructive than wooden splinters, and would inflict the severest injury. The only real protection is a coating of such thickness as shall resist both shot and shell, if such can be obtained, of which there seems now to be very little doubt.

As long ago as 1845 the late Mr. Stevens, the designer and builder of some of the best and speediest American steamers, made a long series of experiments at the expense of the American Government, to ascertain and measure the resistance of iron plates to shot and shell. The result then arrived at was that plate less than an inch in thickness would resist the impact of any shell then known, and that a thickness of six inches of iron was impenetrable to every projectile that was brought against it, no matter how great the velocity or how short the distance at which it was fired. These results were freely communicated to scientific men both in Paris and in London by Mr. Stevens in his visits to those capitals. Here they fell on stony ground, but in Paris they were followed up, and when the Crimean war broke out the Emperor Napoleon III., who, like his great uncle, has always been a great artillerist, and is skilled in the theory of projectiles, brought his knowledge to bear on the subject, and designed a class of iron-plated vessels known as the floating-batteries of 1854. The French built six of these, and as we were requested by our ally to do likewise, we literally copied his design without any alteration, but we did so most unwillingly, and our vessels were not ready in time to be of any service. The French batteries, however, were actively employed in the reduction of Kinburn, and with a degree of success which the most sanguine could hardly have anticipated. Although under the fire of heavy guns for a considerable time, they came out absolutely scatheless, having answered in every respect the purposes for which they were designed. As sea-boats they were failures, but simply because it was thought necessary to reduce their draught of water to eight feet, in other words to give the heaviest laden vessel in the service only one-third of the draught of water of an ordinary line-of-battle ship. It is little wonder that such a process made them the ugliest, the slowest, and the

worst sea-boats in the navy, but they had nevertheless one quality, that of invulnerability, which rendered them the most serviceable vessels we had; just as a bomb-proof is generally a damp, ill-ventilated vault, but in a siege there are few men who would not prefer it to the best furnished drawing-room in the world. We never used them and did not like them, and they were left to rot.

The case, however, was widely different in France, and it is most curious and should be most instructive to observe the opposite courses which naval architecture has since taken in the two countries. It might be imagined *à priori* that from the moment this great discovery had been made in naval construction and had been established by experience, our Admiralty would have seen at once how enormous were the advantages we might promptly derive from it, and how much more the discovery was calculated to establish our supremacy at sea than to give any advantage to France. It is obvious at a glance that England is the iron-producing country, and that France is not; that in the seaports of England, Ireland, and Scotland, Great Britain possessed many establishments for the construction of iron ships on the largest scale, while France had scarcely any. For every iron ship France could turn out, we in the same time could produce at least a dozen, and it was only necessary to mature the design and order the construction of a well-considered class of protected iron frigates of the new class, to distance at once and for ever, without hope of competition, all rivalry upon the sea. This was certainly our opportunity, and if any doubt still remained on our minds as to the protecting power of iron plates, we had our own half dozen iron-plated batteries all ready for the trial of any experiments calculated to solve at once and for ever any doubts that might still linger in the minds of official men. Unhappily these were the convictions of non-official men only, and in spite of the appeals of Captain Halsted and others the Admiralty resolutely refused to entertain the question in any shape. Meanwhile let us see what was passing over the water. The facts of Kinburn were not lost on the Emperor of the French. He directed immediate studies to be made of large corvettes—for that is really the class of vessel to which these so-called frigates belong. To construct these designs he availed himself of the services of a professional naval architect, distinguished for his scientific knowledge and his success in the design of iron as well as wooden ships. He ordered instant experiments to be made on the requisite thickness and texture of the iron, and he sent over eminent practical constructors to England thoroughly to study all our improvements

ments in iron ship-building, to order the machinery necessary for the construction of iron ships, and to complete the arrangements for the purchase of such materials as could not be obtained in France. He and his architect carefully gathered together all the fragments of experience got from their floating-batteries of 1854, and decided that the principle of these was perfectly correct, that a single row of guns on a single deck is the best arrangement of battery for such ships, that the height of these vessels out of the water should be as small as possible consistently with the efficiency of their guns in a seaway, that the battery should be covered, and thus that the vessel, whether large or small, should belong to the class called corvette, having a single covered battery.

Although it was deemed expedient not to give this battery great height, they do not stint it in length, and these vessels carry at least twenty ports on each side, which gives ample room to work 30 to 36 guns, all of the very largest class. The smallest length that could be used for such a vessel is about 250 feet, or about the length known in France as that of the 'Napoleon' class. To carry this battery it was found that the vessel required a breadth of some 55 feet; and so the result was gradually arrived at, that this new corvette class could not advantageously be of smaller size than would be the ship of the line—such as the 'Algesiras' or 'Napoleon'—if her upper decks were entirely removed, so as to leave only her lowest battery. This train of reasoning led to a valuable conclusion, for, by taking off the upper decks with all their guns, the French architects got rid of the entire weights of those decks, and the top-sides of the ships, and all their guns; and in place of this they were able to carry an equal weight of iron-coating all round the ship's sides, without increasing the total weight of the ship, or her consequent draught of water. In short, they had only to calculate, by the ordinary scientific methods known to naval architects, what effects would be produced upon each of the sea-going qualities of the ship by this new disposition of weights, in order to determine with certainty the expediency or in expediency of the new production. The result of all these calculations was highly satisfactory. It was found that on the same draught of water as the 'Napoleon' class—which had already been so successful—with rather finer lines, somewhat greater length, and a small increase of engine-power, they could construct the new class of vessel so as to be superior in every one quality of a fighting-ship to the old class, with perhaps the single exception of being somewhat inferior in steadiness in a very heavy sea; and even in a very heavy sea this difficulty would be overcome by increase of size.



This conclusion attained, it was decided to build no more ships of the old class, and to employ all the money and means available for the new class of ships. Unfortunately for France, and happily for us, these new vessels, to be efficient and durable, must be entirely of iron, and the manufactories of France afforded neither the means of manufacturing the materials nor of building suddenly the large fleet of vessels required. Ten were wanted at once to form a fleet; to build ten was impossible in France, and it would have been impolitic to have ordered them from England. What they could build in iron in France were at once ordered to be laid down. But, without trained artisans, and without prepared establishments, it was foreseen that their progress would be slow; so that in order to ensure this fleet being ready in time, other expedients must be resorted to.

The expedient adopted was this. France, though far behind us in iron ship-building, possessed ample stores of timber in her dockyards, and armies of trained artificers in wood in her arsenals. The Emperor was determined to have a fleet of those vessels ready for sea in the spring of 1861, and the orders were issued to his naval architect that, *coûte qui coûte*, the thing must be done. He at once decided on the only course left open. With the materials and men of the dockyards wooden hulls could at once be built; these could at once be plated with iron, and thus, by a temporary expedient, vessels could be produced which might be much less durable and much less safe than the vessels completely of iron, but which would be infinitely more safe and powerful, and much more terrible weapons of destruction, than anything that could be brought against them. The fleet was at once ordered; and that it will be ready in 1861 few are likely to doubt who know the Emperor and his naval architects.

The first instalment of this fleet is the 'Gloire,' recently launched at Toulon; and though all may not be true that the 'Moniteur de la Flotte' says of her, we cannot forget what incredulity was shown in this country, and what ridicule was heaped on the first accounts that were published of the performances of the 'Napoleon,' designed by the same architects some ten years ago. We laughed at her then: we have done nothing but copy her since; and she still remains our best model, and one of the finest wooden vessels of war in the world.

While all this was going on in France, our authorities steadily refused to listen to any proposals bearing on the subject. Two years of continual dunning were allowed to slip away before Captain Halsted could get the experiments tried in the 'Trusty' which

which he has detailed in his letter to the 'Times,' and it was not till these had so fully confirmed the French results, that any really satisfactory experiments were undertaken to set the question at rest.

If the authorities, however, were asleep, non-professional men were not; and as early as 1856 designs for an iron-plated corvette, with fine lines and destined for high speed, very similar to those now being constructed, were submitted to the Admiralty, and year after year the subject was pressed upon them, but in vain. It was not till the accession of Sir John Pakington to office that any steps were taken to set this most momentous question at rest. That energetic and able administrator, aided by his Secretary Mr. Corry, finding how active the French dockyards were in this department, determined that at least a beginning should be made here. Before doing anything, however, he most prudently requested six of the most eminent iron shipbuilders to send in plans and suggestions, and as these were found not to differ materially from those already submitted, a slightly modified plan was adopted. The result is that a frigate, called the 'Warrior,' is now being constructed at Blackwall, which promises, when completed, to be the finest man-of-war afloat. According to the description given of her in Sir Howard Douglas's book, 'her length is 380 feet, her breadth 58 feet, tonnage 6177. Her two engines 1200 horse-power, which with the boilers will make a total weight of 9050 tons. The beams are of wrought iron of immense strength.' The ship is first built complete as an ordinary steam-vessel, formed of plates  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch ( $\frac{5}{8}$ ?) in thickness, forming an inner skin or lining to the whole. From 5 feet below the water-line up to the upper deck the sides are formed of a double casing of teak 18 inches thick;\* over these the plates of iron  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches thick are placed; so that the broadsides of the vessel consist of 18 inches of solid teak and more than 5 inches, within and without, of the very finest wrought iron. This armour, however, only covers the centre or fighting part of the vessel. The bow and stern, for a considerable distance fore and aft, are formed of plates of the ordinary thickness used in first-

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\* It is by no means clear that this lining of wood in the 'Warrior,' and especially in the French vessels, is not entirely a mistake. It is almost certain that the buckling of the plates, and starting of the bolts, in the 'Trusty,' were due to the elasticity of the cushion to which they were attached. Still more clear that the success—in the Admiralty sense of the term—of the experiments at Portsmouth was owing to the yielding of the target. A very thin plate attached to a granite block, or any unyielding substance, will resist almost any blow; and if two more inches of iron were added to the thickness of the 'Warrior's' sides instead of the teak, it is more than probable that, with the same weight, she would resist the impact of shot to a much greater extent.

class steam-vessels, thus considerably lightening the weight of the whole, and especially of the parts where lightness is most desirable. The whole (especially the unprotected part) is divided into numerous compartments by water-tight bulkheads, so that an accident happening to one would have no injurious effect on the next, nor endanger the safety of the vessel.

A second vessel of this class is being built by the Messrs. Napier in the Clyde, and two smaller ones 100 feet less in length and 3668 tons measurement—one on the Tyne, the other at Millwall. The two large vessels will, when complete, be equal to any vessels afloat, and probably superior to any possessed by the French. The smaller ones are as probably inferior. It is, indeed, difficult to know on what principle and for what purpose they were designed, as they do not seem either to possess the speed or to be able to carry the armament necessary to make them efficient men-of-war.

The 'Warrior,' it is said, may be ready for sea some time next year; the others no one seems to know exactly when, but it certainly will not be before the French have eight and probably ten of these formidable vessels to compete with our four, when we get them.

When we see such supineness in our naval authorities, ought we to be surprised that an officer of Captain Halsted's standing should risk his position in the service to cry aloud to his countrymen to beware of the danger that is hanging over them, or that such a man as Captain Sherard Osborn should write in the following strain?—

'There is no doubt upon the minds of all those who have seen anything of modern warfare, and who are unprejudiced enough to accept innovations, even though they come from a Frenchman, that the days of wooden ships of the line are numbered, and that in a close fair fight, iron frigate against wooden two-deckers, the latter would be knocked into lucifer matches; or if they were both armed with rifled guns, probably blow up after a round or two. However, in spite of present disbelief, the fact will one day dawn on intellects still becalmed in the smoke of Trafalgar. We sailors of this generation have lived to see old prejudices mastered, in which wood and rope made a hard fight against iron tanks, iron cables, iron anchor-stocks, iron ballast, iron messengers, iron rigging, iron collars, and iron block-straps. Iron has carried the day on all these points, and I am sanguine enough to think, if you and the public keep the pressure on, that some morning the good old souls will rub their eyes over 'The Times,' and exclaim, "God bless us!—then after all these people are right, and iron does stop shot and shell better than wood!"'

And he might have added that iron plates will be used to a very considerable extent in all sea-batteries erected after this time;

time; and it is clear that in many places iron, and iron only, will be used for sea defences against ships. General Totten, of the United States army, guessed that this would be the case some years ago, and his prophecy seems on the eve of fulfilment.

Iron, in fact, seems to be everywhere carrying the day against its frailer, more combustible, and more perishable rival, which has hitherto been exclusively used for ship-building. In private yards the discovery has long been made and acted upon, and there does not seem to be a shadow of doubt that the Emperor of the French is right in following in their wake. The change will be all in our favour eventually: the only misfortune is that Louis Napoleon made the discovery two years before it was dreamt of by Sir Baldwin Walker; and the result is a practical defeat of the British Navy till such time as we can make up our leeway, and again meet our rivals on the sea on terms of equality.

If these facts are really as clear as they are stated to be above, it is at first sight rather difficult to understand why they should not be at once adopted and acted upon by the British Admiralty. A little knowledge, however, of facts as they stand will render this not altogether so mysterious. There are few who do not recollect the first essay of the Admiralty in building iron ships. It is not many years since a whole fleet of them was launched, and after being fitted for sea it was determined to try the effect of shot and shell upon them. The result was what was expected, and great has been the obloquy and never-failing the abuse that have been heaped on all Lords of the Admiralty ever since, for the unlucky mistake which renders the very name of an iron vessel a sound of horror in Whitehall.

Add to this that not one officer or ship-builder connected with the department knows anything of iron ship-building, and consequently they not only feel a distaste for what they do not understand, but cannot help being aware that if iron is to be used their occupation is gone, and that the designing and construction of the British navy must pass into other hands. And again, our Dockyards are fitted wholly for the construction of wooden vessels; if iron is to be used they cannot without very great alteration compete with private yards, which can execute the required work much better and more economically.

These reasons incline all connected with the Dockyards and the Admiralty to look unfavourably on iron, while its introduction would create such a revolution in the naval establishments of the country, that a Minister may well pause before he incurs the responsibility and the unpopularity of such a measure.

a measure. It will require a bold and patriotic man to do it; but when done, if done properly, it must result in the greatest possible benefit both to the navy and to the country at large.

It is no doubt disappointing, just as we have reconstructed our navy at an enormous outlay so as to prepare a fleet of screw line-of-battle ships, to be called upon at once to begin *de novo*. The misfortune, however, is not inherent in the circumstances of the case, but is the fault of those who persevered in the wrong direction after the discovery had been made that wooden ships had been superseded, and after that discovery had been acted upon by the only Power whose fleet we have at present any reason to fear.

In spite of their horror of iron, the Admiralty ought to have discovered before this time that even if it were determined that the top sides of a vessel should be of wood, all that is below the water should be of iron. So completely has experience proved this to be the case, that there is not a single screw-vessel of wood belonging to any port in England which has been built since the first experiments were tried; the fact being that it is impossible to frame timber together with sufficient strength to resist the working of a powerful screw acting with the enormous leverage due to its position in the vessel. So much is this the case, that our full-powered liners or frigates can only use their screw in exceptional cases. If driven at full speed the seams open, the caulking escapes, and the whole vessel is so shaken as to become unfit for service in a very short time. No science in fact can frame wood firmly enough for the purpose, while it is very easy to make an iron hull sufficiently strong to resist the action of any screw driven by any engine that human hands can forge.

If so suited for what is below the water-line, it is difficult to see why it should not also be applied to the top sides. Those of a modern man-of-war are thirty inches thick of oak, which, with its metal fastenings, is equal in weight to four inches of iron; and as six inches of the latter material are, as stated above, absolutely impervious to anything, two decks of iron only weigh as much as three decks of wood, or rather the balance is in favour of the metal, for by this arrangement the weight of one floor and of all the guns it bears is saved. Surely this is not a problem that ought to puzzle any experienced shipbuilder. Still, as it is a novelty, responsibility is incurred in introducing it, and, no doubt, mistakes will be made and the outcry great when they are detected. The so-called 'Rams,' for instance, building by Messrs. Westwood and Bailey, and by Mr. Palmer, are, no doubt, mistakes. But the 'Warrior' promises to fulfil all the expectations of her designers, and to be as superior to vessels of the 'Gloire' class

as the others are inferior ; and whatever vessels may be laid down hereafter must be similar, though probably not identical with the larger vessel.

The expense of these new vessels may at first sight appear great, but we must remember that they are absolutely safe against dry-rot or any of the usual sources of decay of wooden vessels. If they cost twice as much in the first instance, they will certainly last twice or three times as long, and cost little or nothing for repairs.

Another and nearly as important a consideration is that the 'Warrior' can be manned with a crew equal in strength to only one-third or one-half of that of one of our first-rates, and would in consequence not only save her extra expense in a few years' commission, but would solve the question of manning the Navy in a manner not only simple, but satisfactory. Our present strength in 'personnel' would, with a fleet of 'Warriors,' be amply sufficient for all the purposes of the nation even in war time.

These advantages are so obvious, that it is difficult to see how the statement of them can be met ; and, indeed, it has not yet been answered except by the usual process of ignoring the virtues and magnifying the defects inherent in all works of human hands. It is easy to show that the proposed iron ships are expensive and not absolutely invulnerable, and that it may be difficult to make them good sea-boats. There is no reason to doubt, however, that the 'Warrior' will be as fast at least as any frigate in the British Navy, and as easy in a sea way, while, if not absolutely invulnerable, she will be at least ten times less vulnerable than any vessel we now possess. A hexagonal hole may under certain circumstances be punched through her sides by Whitworth's gun, but it can only be a cold shot, and will do less damage than a round shot in the olden time.

A more practical objection is that these iron vessels must all be built in private yards, and the recent exposé with regard to the gun-boats has created a prejudice against this mode of building ships of war in the minds of the public as well as of the authorities, which interested parties are not slow in availing themselves of. There is, however, no real analogy between the two cases. When gun-boats were wanted the Admiralty rushed on a sudden emergency into the market, and without notice or preparation demanded an unusual supply of vessels from every one or any one who would take a contract. Many were men who had never built a really first-class vessel, and had neither the supply of seasoned timber required nor the command of first-class labour, while the price offered was so low that it did not admit of either being sought for, and as the inspectors were few, and ordered

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'not to be over particular,' the result was only what might be expected. If we contrast this with what is done in another department of the Admiralty, the different results from a different system will be seen at once. All the engines for the navy are made in private yards. The demand is tolerably continuous, and the price fair though moderate, and the consequence is that nothing can excel the perfection of our naval steam-engines. Our Maudslays, our Ravenhills, and our Penns have never failed us, never broken down, nor ever supplied an inferior article. In this respect the nation has been thoroughly well served, and at the lowest possible price. Nothing would be so easy as to apply the same system to our ship-building. If this were done, all the talent, all the energy, and all the resources of the kingdom would at once be at the disposal of the Government. Instead of five or six yards, we might have twenty or thirty. If the Royal establishments were wholly devoted to fitting, repairing, and organizing, they would amply suffice, not only in peace times, but on an emergency, which is not the case now.

So far from being a misfortune, the introduction of iron-plated vessels seems likely to be the very thing to develop the national resources, and the peculiar advantages of this kingdom as compared with the other nations of Europe. If properly conducted, it will not only unravel the mystery of those most inscrutable establishments the National Dockyards, but solve almost all the difficult questions which have lately arisen as to the construction and manning of the British navy. Amongst other advantages, it will reduce the destruction of one of the Royal Dockyards, so much dreaded by our Fortification Commissioners, to a matter of comparatively little moment.

The Minister who will take this revolution in hand will have a greater opportunity of serving his country than any man of his day; and if he conducts it to its legitimate issue, he will deserve better of his countrymen than any of his compeers. Our existence depends on our navy, and here seems to be the means of rendering it effectual for our national preservation.

ART. VIII.—1. *Reports of Committees of Inquiry into Public Offices.* 1854.

2. *Papers relating to the Reorganisation of the Civil Service.* 1855.

3. *Annual Reports of the Civil Service Commissioners.* First to Fifth. 1856-1860.

4. *Report of Select Committee on Civil Service Appointments: with Minutes of Evidence.* 1860.

5. *Address*



5. *Address of the Right Hon. Sir John McNeill, G.C.B., to the Associated Societies of the University of Edinburgh.* Delivered in the Queen-Street Hall, December 7, 1857. Edinburgh. 1857.

THOSE who have read with pleasure the story—so well told by Lockhart—of Sir Walter Scott's getting two cadetships for Allan Cunningham's gallant sons,—or of Johnson exerting himself to obtain some little advantage at Oxford for the son of a worthy clergyman who had received him hospitably on his tour,—or of Sir Robert Peel giving a place in the Treasury to poor Haydon's son in the dark hour of calamity and distress,—or who have heard that one-sixth of the patronage of the Bank of England is reserved for the sons of the deserving clerks in the Bank,—may naturally have supposed that such transactions reflect credit upon all concerned, and are honourable and useful to society. This supposition would be greatly favoured by all the analogies of our political and social constitution. But it has been discovered that such actions proceed upon a false view of duty. Mr. Godwin has pronounced that—

'I ought to prefer no human being to another because that being is my father, my wife, or my son, but because, for reasons which equally appeal to all understandings, that being is *entitled* to preference.'\*

This doctrine, although manifestly repugnant to the commonest and not the worst feelings of our nature, has yet a certain charm in it; for men generally believe in their own merit, and think they would succeed where merit is predominant. It is not therefore surprising that, for some time past, certain philosophers who have studied and considered everything except human nature,—who know man only on paper, and have arrived at very positive conclusions as to what he ought to be, but have not examined the being that actually stands before them—his real constitution and motive principles—have been very anxious to introduce a merit-test in the distribution of the subordinate administrative posts which constitute what is popularly called the Civil Service; in the first place explaining merit to mean knowledge, and knowledge of that kind which shall be producible at examinations. To all offices of dignity and power, such a test is confessedly inapplicable under the present constitution of England.

Already, in 1853, these views had been broached in an official Report (to which we shall call attention below), ere the nation found itself in the midst of the agonies of the Crimean War. The news of heart-rending sufferings and of failure

\* Godwin's 'Inquiry concerning Political Justice,' bk. viii., ch. vi., orig. ed. 1793. approaching

approaching to disaster dispelled many a dream of the excellence of the system by which we were served. All the experience and all the prudent maxims of the Duke of Wellington had been forgotten or neglected, and our soldiers were forced to redeem by reckless hardihood the wretched incompetence of the administrative departments by which their exertions should have been facilitated. The disgraceful mismanagement of that season burnt itself very deeply into the English mind. The indignant dismissal of the Aberdeen Government—the pretentious dawn, the meridian follies, and the ignominious decline of the Administrative Reform Association—were all so many symptoms of the fierce though futile wrath which the disastrous incompetence in the Crimea had aroused. At first all the fury of outraged national honour concentrated itself on the devoted head of the Duke of Newcastle. After the lapse of time and a systematic investigation had thrown some light on the cause of our misfortunes, more justice was done to him, and it was felt that he was rather the victim than the author of the mismanagement. There has existed ever since an uneasy feeling as to the whole organization of the public service. There has been plenty of agitation and discussion on the subject, and the desire to improve the public offices has set in with a current so wide and steady, that more than one public man has been tempted to launch his reputation upon its stream, in the hope that it will float him into fame. But the case is one of peculiar difficulty, in which precipitate experiments are as likely to aggravate as to amend.

Bad appointments, that is to say, the appointment of unfit men, can never be wholly prevented, because after the patron has adopted every possible precaution, and the candidate has passed every test, he may turn out to be ill-adapted to the duties which he has to discharge; and, on the other hand, men who have been appointed out of regard to private interest alone, and not out of regard to the public service, may prove very efficient.

There is a class of appointments, which, so long as human nature remains unchanged, will probably not be extirpated. Until human hearts shall work with the rigid regularity and singleness of purpose of a steam-engine, it is likely that men who have the disposal of offices will do a good turn to their own friends, if they can. Those friends may be fit or unfit objects of patronage. If fit, we see no reason why a statesman should hesitate to give office of the class in question, *inter dignos amicissimo*. If unfit, there are now tests by which at least some kinds of unfitness may be detected at the outset. Practically, it may be safely assumed that we shall never do more

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to modify the influence of affection or friendship upon patronage than to restrain it within the limits of a reasonable regard for the public welfare. This influence is common to all sorts and conditions of men, and affects, with whatever of good or evil is attached to it, absolute and constitutional governments alike.

But there is a class of appointments which form the peculiar disease, or at all events the peculiar drawback, of the representative system. It is obvious that so long as those who desire power are also those who dispense patronage, there will be a constant tendency to barter the one for the other. If A. possesses patronage which B. desires, and B. possesses votes which A. desires, the rudimentary principles of trade will bring them together under the commercial relations of buyer and seller. A statesman, therefore, in a constitutional country, who has a place to give away, is liable to be diverted from selecting the fittest man for it, not only by bribery (if he be a corrupt man) or by natural affection (liabilities which he shares with the statesman under a despotic government), but he is liable to the further temptation of giving away the place to an unfit man because that man is backed by friends whose votes are necessary to the statesman's power; and this is a temptation from which the absolutist minister, who needs no votes for his support, is free. This evil increases in virulence in proportion as a government is popular. In America the abuse of patronage for political purposes has risen to a height for which history can show no parallel. Patronage is the moving force of the whole machine. Ambition has so few genuine rewards there, and the political contest is so repulsively degrading, that the application of patronage is absolutely necessary to secure that popular participation without which a popular government must break down. That a President and two Houses should exist, it is necessary that the masses should elect them. That the masses should take any interest in the matter, it is necessary that they should be excited and organized by electioneering agitators; and that these electioneers should think such dirty work worth their while, it is necessary that they should be stimulated by the hopes of a place under government. The consequence of this ingenious political mechanism is, that at every Presidential election about ninety thousand government-offices change hands. Matters are not quite so bad in England. No place is given away avowedly for political services, and a great outcry is raised whenever such an appointment is suspected. And yet a representative constitution finds great difficulty in shaking off this evil. It is no accidental excrescence upon its surface—it is a natural product of its vital processes, and strengthens with its strength. Too precipitate a  
purity,

purity, too hasty a renunciation of material aids for securing political fidelity and political activity, have had no small share in producing that instability of governments which has been so prominent an evil in our recent history. Lord Grey was accused of a cynical disregard of decency in hinting that bribery was essential for the working of our institutions. We have no intention of committing a similar offence, if indeed Lord Grey was guilty of it. No system of bribery, either by means of places or of money, can be salutary. But a cautious reformer will be careful of suddenly thrusting upon a people a morality which only exists in his own ideal, with which their principles are not congenial, and for which their institutions are not prepared. '*Quid leges sine moribus?*' is a sound maxim, which no statesman has ever disregarded with impunity. The words of Sir James Stephen, who on the one hand was no retrograde politician, nor on the other an inexperienced theorist, deserve to be well weighed:—

'But government on principles of the strictest purity—is it as sound a principle as at first sight it appears to be? Is the rule *detur digniori* founded on a truth so evident, and on maxims of such universal application, that we ought to apply it to 16,000 public offices at once? It is at least a perfect novelty. It is a rule never hitherto enforced in any commonwealth except that of Utopia. It does not prevail in the legal, medical, sacerdotal, naval, military, or mercantile professions. It is unknown to the great commercial or municipal corporations among us. In every age, or land, or calling, a large share of success has hitherto always been awarded to the possessors of interest, or connexion, or favour, or of what we call good luck. Can it be that the world is, and always has been, wrong about a matter so level, as it might seem, to the capacity of the least wise as well as of the wisest? or if such an error has become thus inveterate in our thoughts and habits, is not the very fact of the inveteracy of it a serious obstacle to this plan? The lawgiver may keep ahead of public virtue, but he cannot shoot out of sight of the moral standard of his age and country. The world we live in is, I think, not half moralised enough for the acceptance of a scheme of such stern morality as this.'

But, after all, is this 'stern morality' true morality, or not? Is it an evil that in the administrative departments, as well as in other departments of the public service (for all the professions are really departments of the public service, and the public service is only a profession), a certain *primâ facie* preference should be conceded to a man who is connected with those who are already known and trusted; that the advantage which society at large confers upon him in its own affairs should be extended to the business of administration? Why should favour and friendship,

ship, kindness and gratitude, which are not banished by men from private life, be absolutely excluded from public affairs? All exercise of patronage under the influence of such motives is not abuse of patronage. No doubt abuse must be guarded against. As soon as it becomes a recognised fact that the odium of an unfit appointment will do more to shake a minister's position than the gratitude of a favoured partisan can do to strengthen it, the abuse of patronage will be at an end. As soon as it is thought as dishonourable to foist an unfit servant upon the Crown as it is to pass a bad coin upon your neighbour, men of honour will disdain to do it or to ask that it should be done for them. If those who are anxious for amendment in this matter would apply themselves to the education of public feeling on the subject, they will obtain a security from abuse which they will vainly seek from legislative provisions; and the remedy applied by public opinion will not only be the most effective, but it will be the most safe. It will distinguish between the true abuses of patronage, and those which only exist in the minds of theorists. So long as no unfit person is appointed, it will not care to inquire whether the patron has consulted his own interests or gratified his own feelings in the choice of his nominee; and it possesses the still more peculiar advantage that it will only demand improvement precisely in proportion to the ability of the nation to bear it. It will not 'shoot out of sight of the moral standard of the age and country.' It will not attempt to work the patronage at a high moral pressure, while the party-government to which it is indissolubly linked is worked at a low one.

It is possible, as the celebrated dictum of Tacitus records, that a nation may not be strong enough to bear the immediate remedy of even intolerable evils. New wine will burst old bottles; a healthy diet will kill a sick man outright. Sir Robert Walpole's bribery saved his country; Necker's purity ruined his. Though the general improvement of the age has operated powerfully upon the tone of our representative system, yet private interest, in some form more impalpable than actual bribery, still goes for a great deal in the machinery by which such an heterogeneous assembly as the House of Commons is organised, and anything like stability of government is obtained. It is almost impossible to define the legitimate limits of influence. It is to be wished that we may some day arrive at a state of things in which bare considerations of duty will secure a working and reliable majority to the minister of the nation's choice. The same public opinion to which we look for a purification of the exercise of patronage will work this improvement also, and it will work the two changes together; so that as the minister feels

feels himself more and more bound in honour to treat his patronage as a trust, so will the member more and more recognise the obligation of giving his vote without reference to his own personal interest or ambition. But a violent isolated artificial improvement in the institutions of a community, undertaken without regard to the condition of the other portions of the machinery in concert with which it is to work, is a danger so great that no improvement at all is almost to be preferred.

There are politicians who must have sharper remedies than a cautious philosophy can promise, just as there are impatient invalids who prefer the speedy and treacherous relief of patent medicines to the slow cure of a careful diet. A school of theorists, whose natural home is in Laputa, have fastened on the present movement as an unhopèd-for opportunity for giving effect to certain *doctrinaire* crotchets of their own. They are warm and enthusiastic, and cannot wait till the slow unseen breathings of public opinion shall have dried up the miasmata of jobbery. They have a new, patent, self-acting machine, which will do it all at once. Their contrivance, which has been introduced to the public with much jubilation and an unlimited largesse of promises, is a very simple one. They find that all shortcomings of the public departments have arisen from abuse of patronage, and that the abuse of patronage has arisen from the hopes, fears, or loves of the human patron; therefore they seek a mechanical patron that has no hopes, or fears, or loves. Because patrons have not selected (as they think) well, they have had recourse to an automaton which will not select at all. They propose to confide patronage to some passionless machine which shall put the right man in each place with all the rigid accuracy of steel and steam. It is evidently an idea of Lancashire inspiration, derived from a constant contemplation of the power-loom. If a mechanical contrivance could really be discovered with such wonderful capabilities, of course the remedy would be perfect. We think it will not be difficult to show that there is no other way of detecting the qualities which go to make an efficient civil servant than that which men employ to find out a good butler or a good cook. But the theorists think they have discovered such a machine in a system of literary examinations. It is not very difficult to ascertain with tolerable certainty the literary qualifications of any candidate for office. Assuming—and this is the assumption that bridges the whole chasm between the theory and the fact—that a man's official capacity varies as his power of acquiring and producing literary knowledge, of course the examination will detect with unerring accuracy the fittest candidate for every office. Under the impetus of the Crimean disasters

asters and of certain mutual jealousies on the subject of Indian patronage,\* these projectors have been able to procure a limited adoption for their scheme; and a Committee, composed mainly of its partisans, which sat this session under Lord Stanley's chairmanship, has recommended that it should be carried out so far as to embrace within its grasp all the inferior clerkships in every Government department. That such a revolution should be accomplished without the approbation of the House of Commons is of course an impossibility. It seems therefore, as the question will probably be discussed at large next year, to be a favourable opportunity for inviting the attention of our readers to the theory and probable working of this newly-patented machine of patronage, which goes by the name of Competitive Examination.

The problem of finding the right man for each employment is nothing new in England, as some advocates of open competition seem to imagine; nor is it a difficulty confined to the Government. Those who conduct the enormous and varied commerce of Great Britain, and indeed of every other European country, have always contrived—apparently with satisfactory results—to fill up the vacancies in their vast army of subordinates without the help of this new machine. Even the Directors of Companies, who do not carry on their business on their own behalf, but, like the Government, on behalf of a vast body of constituents to whom they owe their power, have found the system of simple nomination perfectly efficient. They use their own judgment in the choice of a servant, or they rely on the judgment of subordinates or of friends; and perhaps they satisfy themselves that he possesses the knowledge which the office for which he is destined will call into play. But not only have they never, within the memory of man, thought of examining their candidate in philology, Greek verse-making, and the differential calculus, but even now, when the theory has become familiar to the world, they utterly decline to accept, in the slightest degree, these qualifications as a recommendation for their choice. The system is new in this Government, unknown to other civilized governments, and unknown to men of business anywhere. There is one country, and one country only, where it is in full force, and has been in full force for ages. In China, every officer, from the highest to the lowest, is appointed by literary competition. If the state of things in China is our administrative ideal, we are in a fair way to reach it. The advocates of the project complain very indignantly of the intolerance of objecting

\* It is not intended to discuss in this place the subject of Indian patronage, which is affected by many considerations peculiar to itself.



to their scheme because it happens to be in use in China. But the objection is, not that it is Chinese, but that it is only Chinese. It is somewhat singular, that in China, the classic land of competition, the officials should be peculiarly incapable and corrupt.

The principal argument in favour of this importation from the Flowery Land resolves itself generally into the challenge,—‘In what other way can you arrest the jobbery of which so much complaint is made?’ In the first place, it occurs to us to ask, What is the jobbery of which so much complaint is made? The system of competition is to be applied to the junior clerks, when first appointed, and to nothing higher. Has there been any general complaint of their unfitness for the duties that are required of them? If there has been, it has not reached our ears. Individuals have advanced the charge, and individuals have repelled it, but the general public have taken no interest in the question. But there is a class of appointments with respect to which the complaints have been very loud indeed. It has often been said—with what justice we do not pretend to decide—that such places as the relatives of Members of Parliament will accept, are bartered for political support. During the Crimean War, every heart burnt with indignation at the incompetence of some of the principal officers. Two or three bad appointments brought Lord Palmerston’s last Ministry to the ground. But is it against this abuse that the purity-enthusiasts rage so madly, that they must borrow their weapons to slaughter it from the Chinese? Is this the patronage which competitive examinations are to purge? Not a bit of it. They fly at much lower game. Worthily following an ancient precedent,—

‘Dat veniam corvis, vexat censura columbas.’

The hawks are annoying them, and so they shoot the sparrows. The public cry out that their interests are jeopardized, because important posts are filled by men whose parliamentary interest is their solitary claim; and forthwith our *doctrinaires* declare there is a necessity for reforming, at any cost and at any risk, the appointment of the junior clerks.

The first attack upon the clerks was made, as we have already mentioned, before the Crimean war. It took the form of a Report to the Treasury, in 1853, signed indeed by Sir Stafford Northcote, as well as by Sir Charles Trevelyan, but which, we believe, we may fairly treat as emanating principally from the latter gentleman. In this Report it was laid down, that, ‘as regards a large proportion of them,’ the clerks of the civil service consisted of ‘those whose abilities do not warrant an expectation that they will succeed in the open professions, and of those whom indolence of temperament,

temperament, or physical infirmities, unfit for active exertions,' and that 'admission into the civil service is eagerly sought after for the unambitious, the indolent, and the incapable.'\* These observations upon a large body of men, unaccompanied by one shred of evidence to justify such extreme and insulting language, would have attracted little notice as a mere individual expression of opinion. But addressed officially to the Treasury, accepted by them without comment, and published in a Blue Book under their *imprimatur*, they naturally galled to the quick the officers at whom they were aimed. Mr. Arbuthnot presented in their name a remonstrance,† expressing in words as strong as official courtesy would allow, their indignation at the 'asperisions,' the 'unjust and unfounded imputations,' of which they had been the victims; and Sir Charles expressed his sorrow in terms which amounted, in effect, to a retraction. He now 'gladly added his testimony,' in respect of the general uprightness, the zeal, and efficiency of the officers'‡ of that service, of which he had previously said that admission into it was chiefly sought after by the 'unambitious, the indolent, or the incapable.' The charge thus abandoned by its author was also repudiated by many of those who were best fitted to judge of its truth—the permanent chiefs under whom the disparaged clerks were serving. Mr. Waddington, Under-Secretary for the Home Department, designated it as 'most enormously exaggerated,' and as giving to the Report 'the appearance of a case dressed up by an advocate for the purposes of prejudice, rather than of a fair and impartial statement for the guidance and information of Parliament and the public.' Other heads of departments, such as Sir T. Fremantle,§ Mr. Murdoch,|| Sir G. C. Lewis,¶ Sir A. Spearman,\*\* Sir T. Redington,†† and others, expressed their disapproval of the language of the Report of 1853, in terms more parliamentary, but quite as distinct. It perhaps would not have been worth while to revive this controversy, long dead and buried, if the Committee of this year, in the Report they have just presented to Parliament, had not thought that they might serve the theory they were advocating, by re-stating and endorsing‡‡ the charges which Sir Charles Trevelyan himself had virtually abandoned. Of course it is a convenient device to divert attention from the defects of any proposed change, by exaggerating the evils it seeks to remedy; and a Committee comprising all the strongest partisans of competition was likely to assume the bearing of an

\* 'Report of Committee on Public Offices,' 1854, p. 336.

† 'Reorganisation of Civil Service,' 1855, p. 404.

§ Id. p. 319.

\*\* Id. p. 397.

|| Id. p. 296.

†† Id. 229.

‡ Id. p. 414.

¶ Id. p. 120.

‡‡ Rep., p. iii.

advocate rather than of a judge. But if they had intended again to wound the feelings of meritorious public servants, by reprinting, with their approval, these forgotten imputations, they should at least have had the decency formally to investigate their truth. The charge of 'general inefficiency,'\* which Lord Stanley's Committee deduce from Sir Charles Trevelyan's words, and reiterate as their own conviction, but which had been fairly canvassed and disposed of in the manner just mentioned, is now, without an attempt at inquiry, given again to the world under the sanction of a Parliamentary Committee. The general question was not even opened in the course of the evidence that was laid before them. Major Graham, the Registrar-General, did indeed tell them a story,† which they reprint in their Report with visible triumph, of some bad appointments that were made a quarter of a century ago, when his office was first constituted. It was set up at rather a short notice, and the clerks were selected very carelessly, although their defects were in most cases of a kind that a competitive examination would not have done much to exclude. Several of them turned out to be dishonest, one fell into bad health, and another was objectionable in the office because he did not wash; but, for all that appears, all these might have passed the most brilliant examination on record. Neither dishonesty nor dirt would have prevented them from working equations, or rolling off the most exquisite iambics. A bad accountant was the only one whom an examination might possibly have shut out. But in truth these isolated anecdotes, though they are generally amusing, prove nothing that anybody has contested. Black sheep will be found in every flock; and the low pay which the Government gives will occasionally procure it a hard bargain. But in a body so large these anecdotes of occasional incompetence afford no proof of general inefficiency. We have heard members of parliament speaking in a state of inebriety, and we have read of ensigns running away in the field of battle; but we should be very sorry to found upon these instances a character of the House of Commons or the army. Neither do isolated cases justify the Committee in renewing a charge which the majority of those who are best qualified to judge have denied, and of which those who are inculcated have vainly \*challenged the proof.

But the truth is, that the defects alleged against the Civil Service, assuming them to be proved, are wholly beside the question in making out a case for literary competition. A test-

\* Rep., p. iv.

† Q. 2594.

examination rigidly limited to the kind and amount of knowledge that each office requires, will be a perfect guarantee against the appointment of ignorant men. It is often argued, as if competition was the only possible or conceivable safeguard against illiterate nominees. But it is perfectly possible to get a man who can spell without getting a philologist. There is no logic in appointing an astronomer because you want a man who can cast up an addition-sum. Competition gives you undoubtedly the man who is able to produce at short notice the greatest amount of knowledge in the great variety of sciences and languages of which your examinations consist. But what the departments want for their clerks, in the way of learning, are in great perfection the homely accomplishments of reading, writing, and cyphering, and certain further special acquirements which differ in various offices. These a test examination will give them with absolute certainty. Competition can do no more. Indeed, as we shall presently show, it will give them a great deal less; for it will tend to exclude qualifications that are far more important than any literary acquisitions. Our present purpose is to insist that the abuses of former times, to whatever extent they may be proved, do not furnish an inch of ground on which to erect the case for the competitive system. A test-examination will give every guarantee with far more effect and far less evil than can be promised by the most enthusiastic champion of competition. Some persons have imagined the extraordinary difficulty, that if a test-examination were adopted, the test would never be maintained at any given point. The pressure put upon examiners by the friends and patrons of candidates would, they say, be so severe that human frailty could not resist it. The objection only displays a total ignorance of the fact, that the feat is performed every term at Oxford.

But then, says the advocate of competition, there is the effect on education. The educational movement has rather spent its force, and funds are running low. We cannot just at present hope for any further subsidies from an exchequer which is bleeding at every pore under the treatment of financial quackery. But here is an indirect mode by which all the millions which the state expends upon its civil services may be practically poured into the lap of education. It is difficult to induce the working man to send his children to school; for though his neighbour's child has learned the heights of all the mountains, and the length of all the rivers, and the breadth of all the straits in the world, these acquirements have not helped the boy much, for he is now above his work and objects to scaring crows. But if the working man could be persuaded that all this knowledge, so

useless

useless in the fields, would prove a passport to a junior clerkship of ninety pounds a year, he might pinch a little to send his children to the school; and though in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred the boys must fail, and must return sullen and discontented men to the plough-tail, still it would all redound to the spread of education. Dr. Jeune, who calls things by their right names, puts into a few pithy words the argument in favour of a competitive system from its effects on education:—

‘Supposing your project carried out, you will in point of fact have established an Imperial University, which will mould every college and school in the land. . . . The effect will not be limited to the higher schools. From the nature of the employments to be bestowed, the national schools must supply many candidates, and thus you will contribute to the improvement of every village in the country.’\*

Just as Lord Macaulay, in the well-known Report on the Indian Civil Service Examination, had anticipated that the throwing open those great prizes to competition would give a stimulus to the higher education. The object, in point of fact, is to turn the sixteen thousand places in the Civil Service of this empire into so many exhibitions for poor scholars. We certainly do not grudge anything that can be legitimately given to the cause of education; and it would be well if any plan for aiding it could be carried out without injuring the Civil Service. But looking to the cause of education alone, we deny that it would be really served by placing before young minds, as the aim and object of their studies, not knowledge and self-improvement, but the immediate conversion into cash of all that they may learn. An exaggerated spirit of selfish rivalry, and a desire of immediate praise and reward, are evils which cannot be entirely excluded from any system of education; but we need not seek to increase them. Examinations and prizes must be, but it is not by examinations and prizes that the highest abilities are matured. It is not by competitive examination that even University and College offices of any importance are filled. If education alone were concerned, we should say, Bring not the sordid calculations of middle age to mingle with the boy's first glimpses of truth and aspirations after knowledge; nay, bring them not even to dash the light spirit and to spoil the brief period of thoughtless happiness. Let youth, at least, be free.

It will scarcely be denied that one of the chief vices of the age is the degree in which personal ambition and the spirit of party prevail over public spirit and patriotism among our leading men. Emulation at schools and colleges, while no doubt produc-

\* ‘Reorganisation of the Civil Service,’ pp. 50-51.

tive of much good, tends to the growth of that fault. But when young men up to twenty-two or twenty-three are to be employed in preparing themselves for competitive examinations for prizes of substantial importance to their success in life, what a deteriorating influence must it have (if the anticipations of Dr. Jeune and Lord Macaulay be realised) on their character and on the national character itself! How directly does it tend to foster love of self—the great principle of the Chinese system—as opposed to the love of others, which is the great principle of Christianity and of all sound ethical philosophy! How pernicious will be its effect on the study of the moral and political sciences! Is it to be desired that the most intellectual portion of the youth of the country should apply themselves to those noble, but far from settled or accurate sciences, not animated by love of knowledge and freely exercising their understandings on the subject of their study, but merely charging their memories so as to enable themselves to give such answers as the examiners will expect? Far better were it that the minds of young men should not be applied at all to such branches of learning.

But even were it true—as we believe it to be an utter mistake—that education, at least that the acquisition of knowledge, which forms a part but by no means the whole of education, might be stimulated by a system of open competitive examination, it is also necessary to remember that the first thing to be attended to is not the cause of education, but the efficiency of the Civil Service. The final cause, the *raison d'être*, of the Civil Service is to be a Civil Service, and not a university. If the competitive system fails to promote the efficiency of the Civil Service as such, no collateral benefits it may confer ought to save it from condemnation, even if it were possible that it might be successful in both directions; which schemes recommended in this way for their indirect and secondary benefits very seldom are. It generally turns out that the secondary benefit is the only benefit. No system of selection can really serve two masters, or attain satisfactorily two independent ends. It does not answer to choose a bootmaker because you agree in his religious principles, or a Chancellor of the Exchequer because you admire his moral character. These vagaries of irregular zeal generally end in financial embarrassment and sore feet; and we think it will not be difficult to show that an attempt to distribute civil appointments so as to serve the purposes of the education-movement, will only tend to fill the Civil Service with pedants and malcontents.

It is fair to judge of any proposed change by the effects it will produce in case it should be successfully carried out according to



to the conceptions of its authors. Sir Charles Trevelyan entertains exalted ideas of the attractions of the Civil Service, and imagines that all the talent of the country is knocking at its doors, and that nothing excludes it except the corrupt system of nomination. 'It would be natural to expect,' he says, 'that so important a profession would attract into its ranks the ablest and the most ambitious of the youth of the country.'\*

We may perhaps form a different estimate from him of the fascinations which the dullest of all work and the lowest of all pay will exercise upon 'the ablest and the most ambitious of the youth of the country.' The highest posts in the public service are, and ought always to be, fit objects for ambition of men of the greatest ability; but the days of England's decline will have come, when most of those of her sons who are gifted with superior capacity or with genius, shall, by the temptation of a certain and respectable provision for life, be drawn in youth into the public service, to pass their lives in its subordinate posts. Does the country treat the Civil Service as an important profession? Does it offer anything like the rewards due to high ability? How can it expect to attract the highest talents by offering a salary of 90*l.*, rising 10*l.*? What should we think of a man who not only insisted (to anticipate Mr. Murdoch's illustration, cited below) on putting racehorses in a plough, but expected to get them at the market-price of the respectable but not brilliant functionaries that are ordinarily employed in such labour?

But to whatever extent Sir Charles Trevelyan's anticipations may be realized, the system will tend to draw talent into the public service, far more than is required for the best attainable performance of the duties of that service, and vastly to the detriment of the public interests, which are concerned, not only in the performance of those duties, but also, and most materially, in the ability with which other pursuits essential to the prosperity of the country are carried on.

But let us assume, as Sir Charles Trevelyan proposes, 'a competing examination on a level with the highest description of education in this country.'† Let us imagine 'first-class men' pressing into it to carry off prizes which will bring them in less than the lowest Fellowship at a poor College. A very few men who, with high mental capacity, have no turn for the struggles of bread-winning, might perhaps be tempted, for the sake of what seemed peace, to enter upon this routine occupation. The disposition and character of Newton, as portrayed by Sir David Brewster,

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\* 'Reports of Committees on Public Offices,' p. 336.

† *Id.* p. 343-344.



seem to render it probable enough that in the moments when he was tired of mathematics, which he felt 'at least dry, if not somewhat barren,' he might, under such a system as is now proposed, have entered the Civil Service by the door of a competitive examination, and might have afterwards been mainly occupied with the patient discharge of duties which thousands of ordinary men could perform just as well. England would have gained a respectable clerk, and England and mankind would have lost the greatest discoverer in natural science that the world has yet seen.

Sir Charles Trevelyan seems to have conceived the idea that a capacity for answering examination papers ensures every quality that can possibly be called into play in any sphere of action; that knowledge is not only power, but implies also the presence of temperance, justice, diligence, and all public virtues. But in the course of his varied career he must have met many learned men. Is it his experience that they are, as a body, tidy, neat, punctual, methodical, business-like, shrewd, ready witted? For these are the qualities that make the best clerk, and no familiarity with Greek will supply their place. We have no doubt that Dominie Sampson would have made a brilliant success before the Civil Service Examiners, but his learning would not have contributed much to the despatch of public business. The argument is, that he who has shown most vigour in acquiring that scholarship which has hitherto been his business, will evince a like zeal in the new pursuit which he is now called upon to embrace. But this assumes that he is ready at your bidding to renounce all those tastes which he has cultivated from his earliest years, and to become at once the obedient drudge you desire, content to be an insignificant crank in the great official machine. No doubt the sedentary life and certain future might have an attraction for the erudite bookworm, whose powers of memory, developed out of proportion to the rest of his mind, had given him a first-class at the University, and would give him a first place in the competition. But the acquisitions of the mere scholar will not only be of no use in a department, but they imply habits of thought and tendencies of character which will be a positive hindrance.

It is not the commencement only of the official career that is to be looked to. Those who would bestow the appointment originally according to literary merit, advocate, justly and consistently, the principle of promotion by selection on account of merit. But if an office is filled with men of high education and talent, every one fit to succeed to its highest posts, upon what principle is promotion to be regulated? It must in such a case go strictly by seniority, and the majority of these highly-talented

talented men would be condemned to be hewers of wood and drawers of water, for it is needless to conceal the fact that in public offices drudgery is the rule, and intellectual occupation the exception.

But the too probable result of selecting men for civil employments simply by literary examination was pointed out from the first to Sir Charles Trevelyan by the able and experienced public servants, to whom he ought to have gone for advice, instead of to such theorists as Mr. Chadwick and Mr. Jowett; and the evidence given before the Committee of this year has, so far—as we shall show directly—abundantly verified their predictions. Mr. Murdoch pointed out this danger distinctly enough when first the project of open competition was broached; but he spoke to the deafest of mankind—those who have a pet crotchet to carry out:—

‘Now I think it is quite clear, that if fifteen years of a man’s life are to be spent in copying, and ten or fifteen more in conducting, routine correspondence, there are qualifications more essential than great intellectual attainments, viz. diligence, patience, accuracy, willingness; and that no natural abilities or acquired knowledge will compensate for any deficiency in these. And I have no doubt that, as a general rule, men possessed of great abilities, or who are qualified to pass first-class examinations, are less likely to exhibit such qualities in the daily drudgery of the lower grades of an office than less gifted men. There is such a thing as having too fine an instrument for your work; and to put a first-class man to copy papers on 100*l.* a year, is like putting a racehorse into the plough; he would naturally grow impatient, discontented, and careless, and turn his attention to other pursuits.’\*

Sir Alexander Spearman, who had been at the time six-and-forty years in the public service and had filled the highest posts in it, warned them, with no less earnestness, not to imagine that scholarship would supply the place of every other requisite in a clerk:—

‘His place is humble, but it is useful; and, accordingly, what is expected of him does not require those talents and acquirements which lead to success in other professions. You want intrepidity, diligence, patience, application, entire trustworthiness, and a fair amount of education, gentlemanlike habits, and good moral conduct. You may now and then find a brilliant man who will patiently and diligently labour at the technical and dry details which form so large a part of the duties of a public office; but if you expect it as a rule you will be disappointed, even if you make the ultimate reward far greater than it now is. You may undoubtedly work with too fine an instrument, and where you do you will assuredly find that it will become useless.’†

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\* ‘Reorganisation,’ p. 298.

† Id. p. 398.

It cannot be strictly said that these prophecies have been verified, for the experiment to which they refer has never been fully tried. The plan of open competition has never yet been applied to any English office. It may be as well to state, that on the 21st May, 1855, an Order in Council was issued, constituting a Commission to superintend the examination of candidates for the Civil Service, and directing that the rules applicable to each department under the several heads of age, health, knowledge, and ability, should be settled with the assistance of the Commissioners, according to the discretion of the chief authorities of the department.

The Commission is composed of eminent public servants; the rules have been settled as directed; and a system of test-examination has been organized and carried into effect. The department stands deservedly high in public estimation, on account of the ability and impartiality of its heads, and of the zeal, knowledge, and fairness with which the examinations are conducted. Every candidate for a civil appointment is compelled to pass a test-examination (this, indeed, was the case in some of the departments before the appointment of the Commission); and this, in some cases, has been varied by the institution of a limited competition among two or three candidates selected by the patron. To these limited competitions no great objection can be made, so long as a sufficient number of respectable candidates can be found to undergo them. The test-examination, as we have already said, we regard as a great and genuine reform, so long as the test is not raised too high. The public is entitled to guard against the intrusion of dunces. But there is reason to think that the literary test has been raised far too high. There seemed an absurdity in collecting a body of distinguished men merely to examine into the intellectual acquirements which go to make a good clerk. Indeed; the whole scheme being at first a mere experiment, it was natural to make the standard rather high. So the highest branches of learning were forthwith imported into the examinations for the clerks in the higher offices; and a similar disproportion was observed in dealing with the lower offices. The results which followed upon the exaggerated standard adopted in the examinations differ very much in the two sets of offices; and the reasons of that difference deserve to be very carefully weighed. The following are among the questions that the examiners amused themselves with putting to candidates for clerkships of 90*l.* a year, in what are called the Whitehall Offices, the great departments of the State:—

*Colonial*

## Colonial Office.

'1. State concisely Ricardo's theory of rent. What is the value of the objection to it, that there cannot be land in cultivation which pays no rent?\*

'2. What do you consider to be the chief merits and defects, as philosophers, of Plato and of Aristotle respectively?†

'3. Describe the daily life of a citizen of Athens in the time of Pericles, and of Rome in the time of Augustus.‡

'4. What were the distinctive opinions of the old, middle, and new academies?§

## Privy Council (Education) Office.

'1. Explain fully the principle of the graduation in the common and in the Danish steelyard.||

'2. Describe and explain the principle of Bramah's press, and for any given machine calculate the mechanical advantage.¶

'3. Describe the methods adopted by a practical miner for the discovery of a lode.\*\*

'4. Find the values of  $\tan. 30^\circ$  and of  $\sin. 18^\circ$ .††

'5. Write down the expansion of  $(3x - 4y)^9$ , and by means of the binomial theorem approximate to  $\sqrt[3]{31}$ .‡‡

It is obvious that if the candidates had been at all equal to the examination, and had been of mental stature sufficient to wade into the depths to which the Examiners invited them, the result of these examinations would have given us some insight into the future of open competition. We should have known whether a man was or was not a better official for all this learning. But the explanation is, that these papers contain easy questions intermixed with others of greater difficulty; and that the object has been to enable candidates moderately acquainted with the subject to show sufficient knowledge, and at the same time to afford an opportunity for the display of a better acquaintance with the subject where it has been acquired; and it is added, that no rejection has taken place except for very gross ignorance.

But why, in a *test-examination*, should anything which is not used as a test be introduced? How does it fall within the province of the Examiners?

\* Third Rep. p. 312.

† Id. 341.

‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid. We are anxious not to exaggerate, but if we rightly understand the Third Report, these four questions formed part of ordinary pass-examinations, into which the competitive element did not enter.

|| Id. p. 322. In this examination natural science is not prescribed, but may be selected by any candidate who has made it his especial study, with a view of displaying his industry and intelligence.

¶ Id. p. 323.

\*\* Ibid.

†† Id. p. 318.

‡‡ Ibid.

The vast mass of the candidates, long before they reach such deep waters as these, stick fast in the preliminary mud of orthography and arithmetic. Out of about 2000 who failed, all but 106 were rejected on the ground of bad summing or bad spelling. The result, therefore, of these examinations does not guide us in the least degree in calculating the probable official value of a learned clerk. So far as they are concerned, the question is still unsolved,—whether the sort of first-classman that would seek a clerkship would or would not acquit himself creditably in plodding through the soulless and methodical drudgery of the desk. The witnesses before the Committee of this year seem generally to have agreed that, so far as the permanent staff of the Whitehall departments was concerned, it could not be said as yet that any perceptible change had taken place in the departmental value of the article supplied, since it had been passed through the Commissioners' sieve. A certain number of complaints had been made by the chiefs of departments, but they referred more to the difficulty of finding candidates than to their inefficiency when once appointed. Two Foreign Secretaries—Lord Clarendon\* and Lord Malmesbury†—were compelled successively to remonstrate against the character of the examinations to which attachés were subjected. Sir Denis le Marchant found it advisable to abandon the requirement of Greek‡ as a qualification for clerks in the House of Commons; and generally the number of plucks bore so alarming a proportion to the number of passes, that the Commissioners found it indispensable to lower the standard. But the chiefs of the higher departments, who appeared before the Committee, do not, on the whole, complain of the operation of the new system, and are glad of the absolute security which it gives them against illiterate appointments. Their experience of its working has not been large, but the clerks who have been admitted under it are of very much the same sort as those who were admitted before. The men whom Sir Charles Trevelyan hoped to allure by the bait of an examination still hold back, though they can be no longer jostled by illiterate and ignorant nominees. A first-class education is in fact an investment of money, for which a junior clerkship does not appear to be regarded as an adequate return.

The experience of Whitehall does not enlighten us, then, on the subject of over-educated clerks, and therefore tells us nothing of the probable effects of competition if all Sir Charles's hopes of 'first-class candidates' be realized. But when we descend from

\* Third Rep. p. 163.

† Fourth Rep. pp. 147-158.

‡ Third Rep. p. 165.

these

these official heights to the wide but less elevated domains of the Custom-House, the Inland Revenue, the Post Office, and other departments of inferior dignity, we find a very different state of things. The examinations are no longer so high, for the offices to be filled are of a lower class, both in respect of duties and of pay. But the questions still fly above the heads of the class by whom these offices have hitherto been filled; and, although the examination is general, and not special, in its nature, we cannot help noticing the inapplicability of the questions to the duties of the offices for which the candidates are applying. The fitness of a clerk of the Customs is ascertained, for instance, by the following questions:—

‘1. Mention six of the principal mountain ranges in Europe, stating the country or countries to which they belong, their extent, height, direction, and most striking physical features.’\*

‘2. Mention six places in Scotland, and as many in Ireland, which are remarkable for beautiful scenery, stating in what county each is to be found. Give a minute description of any one of them.’†

If it were the habit of ships to clear for the Alps or the Carpathians, or if the statistics of trade included cargoes of ‘striking physical features’ or ‘beautiful scenery,’ these questions would be very pertinent to the duties of a custom-house clerk. But as ships do not habitually frequent mountain ranges, and as artistic effects are not as yet an article of commerce, it would be better to reserve these questions till the system of examination shall be farther extended, and the happy day shall come when all tourists shall be compelled to compete for Foreign-Office passports. But the great principle of the new system is to ascertain a man’s fitness for one sphere of action, by testing his familiarity with another. The following are among the facts which it was deemed requisite that an officer of *inland* revenue should know:—

‘1. What are the Trade-winds, the Gulf-stream?‡

‘2. On which side of the Himalayas are the sources of the Indus, the Ganges, and the Brahmapootra?§

‘3. Name the independent sovereigns belonging to the Germanic Confederation.||

‘4. Describe, as minutely as you can, the position of the following places, and mention any circumstances of interest connected with any of them:—Nijni Novogorod, Tiflis, Badajoz, Pompeii, Namur, Labuan, Chicago, Sierra Leone.’¶

How many Members of Parliament would be able to mention ‘circumstances of interest’ connected with Nijni Novogorod, or to

\* Third Rep. p. 204.

§ Id. p. 206.

† Ibid.

|| Id. p. 206.

‡ Id. p. 207.

¶ Id. 209.

give all the names of all the independent sovereigns of the Germanic Confederation? We do not wonder that the Commissioners have been compelled to lower their standard here also, or that in one year the number of plucks actually exceeded the number of passes—the ordinary proportion in a university examination being one pluck to six passes. It is difficult to conceive anything approaching more nearly to despair than the feelings of an expectant exciseman contemplating these specimens of the ordeal through which he must pass.

We will only quote one question more. Most people can form a good judgment of the attributes required in a policeman. Physical endurance and thorough honesty are his main qualifications, and the only mental powers his duties are likely to call into play are presence of mind and a knowledge of the world. Book-learning of any sort is very foreign to his functions; and, of all book-learning, that which will be the most certainly useless to him, is knowledge that concerns distant portions of the globe. Sir G. C. Lewis recently ridiculed in the House of Commons the idea of applying any literary examination as a test of a policeman's fitness. But though, thanks to his common sense, we shall be spared this expensive absurdity in England, the *doctrinaires* have got the Irish policeman into their claws, and their notion of his duties is almost as eccentric as their notion of the duties of a Custom-House or Inland Revenue official. Here is one of eight questions by which a man's capacity to be a police constable in Ireland is to be ascertained:—

'Describe the position of the following places, stating to whom they belong, and mentioning any circumstance of interest connected with them:—St. Helena, St. Albans, Corfu, Toronto, Salisbury, Copenhagen, Agra, Vienna, Inverary, Singapore, Stirling, Cairo, Killala, Meerut, Hastings, Owhyhee.\*'

That very important place Owhyhee and its concerns are a great favourite of the Examiners. They form just one of those pieces of knowledge which can indicate no conceivable merit except that of a taste for artificial cram, and which therefore has a peculiar value in the eyes of the disciples of this new light. Accordingly, three times in three pages of examination-papers is the depth of a candidate's knowledge fathomed concerning 'the circumstances of interest connected with Owhyhee.' What idea floated through the minds of the examiners when this question was set, as to the precise use to which a future policeman was likely to put the minute knowledge of history and topography at which this string of names points, we will not venture to conjecture.

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\* Third Rep. p. 205.



The first effect of this style of examination was to spread a panic among the candidates for the lower portion of the public service. The real purpose of these hard questions we have already stated in the language of the Commissioners. The candidates, however, took them in sober earnest. They declined to expose themselves to such an ordeal, or, if they did submit, it was in a despairing state of mind that prevented them from making the best of what knowledge they really possessed. Complaints have come in from every side. Mr. Corbet complained, on behalf of the Inland Revenue, that many men who would have made good officers had been rejected by the Commission on account of sheer nervousness.\* Sir W. Hayter complained, on behalf of the Customs, that it was impossible to procure candidates for the most important posts upon the coast, so frightened were they of the examination.† Mr. Tilley complained, on behalf of the Post-Office, that there was no inducing the men whom they wanted to employ in the country, and who were best fitted for their work, 'to face the Civil Service Commissioners,'‡ and the department had been compelled to put up with inferior men who might answer questions better, but who could not do their work so well. Mr. Tilley and Mr. Anthony Trollope—who has already in his novel of 'The Three Clerks' given to the world a lively picture of the mode in which this new system was set on foot—gave a good deal of interesting evidence before the Committee touching the way in which the examinations had affected the Post-Office; and it may be worth while extracting a few answers, to show in an authentic form the way in which the Commission go to work. Sir Stafford Northcote is questioning as to the deterioration of the rural officers:—

'Q. 1867. In what respect are they worse?—I do not think that a good messenger would be the worse because he has been so passed, but that certain men who would be very valuable to us are deterred from holding the situation.

'Q. 1868. You mean that men who are good men have been rejected?—Yes; and they have declined standing for the appointment.

'Q. 1869. You attribute that entirely to the effect of the examination upon them?—I will explain it by an instance. A postmaster finding it impossible to get a man who would pass the Civil Service examination for certain work, asked me to procure one for him in Edinburgh. I took great trouble and got a man exactly fitted for the work which he had to do, and which was very important to the public, but not of a very high nature. I got a man who could do it, after, I think, four or five had been rejected by the Civil Service Com-

\* Q. 2026. † Third Rep. p. 151.

‡ Q. 1873. —missioners.

missioners. I sent him from one town to another, and he was rejected again by the Civil Service Commissioners because he could not spell.\* He would never have been called upon to spell a word. It was extremely necessary that he should sort with great rapidity, and he was a remarkably fast writer; but he was rejected. The postmaster asked me to get another man for him. I declined, because I had no power of doing it. I recommended a considerable increase of salary, and that increase of salary was obliged to be given; so that a considerably higher rate of payment is involved, and a man much less fit for that work has been appointed.

‘Q. 1870. (To Mr. Tilley.) With regard to the question of spelling, or any other point in the Civil Service examination, is it not the case that the Postmaster-General lays down the subjects and the nature of the examination which he thinks fit, and that the Civil Service Commissioners are bound to give effect to his instructions in the matter?—It is so, for we were anxious to get rid of the spelling, and I saw the Civil Service Commissioners upon the subject; but they were so strongly against it that we thought it better not to press the matter.’

These are the kind of misfortunes which we must expect to see occurring in all the Government departments if the civil service is to be turned into an ‘imperial university.’ Like Mr. Tilley’s postman, it will cost more and be much less fit for the work it has to do. But this is not the worst mischief that has been done to the civil service; because it is a mischief that, in the nature of things, is certain to cure itself. The public business must be carried on; the examinations are an experiment, and must be adapted to the conditions necessary for carrying on the public service. The examination produced the far more troublesome, because more irremediable, mischief of introducing into the service officers too highly educated for their posts. The questions we have quoted are precisely those which a pupil-teacher or forward boy brought up under the Government system would, at all events, make the best figure in answering, because they represent precisely the superficial and variegated medley of showy but useless knowledge which the education encouraged by the Privy Council tends to foster. Youths of this stamp were precisely the persons to profit by the panic which the demand for this sort of knowledge had created. The retirement in despair of the sounder and more steadygoing class of candidates left them masters of the field. Nor was there any difficulty in the meagreness of the salary which the posts they sought would secure them; it was a high

\* Everybody who has followed the dispute between the Foreign Office and the Commissioners knows the ingenious puzzles which they call an examination in spelling,—‘a species of torture,’ to use Lord John Russell’s words, ‘to force a confession of incapacity from a nervous and diffident candidate, whose prospects in life depend on the success of his trial.’ Fifth Rep. p. 124.

salary for the class to which they belonged, and would sufficiently repay the cost of their education, of which the Exchequer or charitable friends had borne almost the entire burthen; thus establishing for Sir Charles Trevelyan's consolation the hopeful fact that the Government can obtain for scanty pay men of education disproportionately high, if it does not object to defraying the cost of that education. But these youths, thus educated and thus introduced into the lower branches of the service, realized all that had been predicted of the incompetence and discontent likely to be shown by officers too highly educated for their work. Their disqualifications are brought out very prominently in the evidence and the reports that were laid before the Committee of this year.

Some of them seem to have made their way among the supplementary clerks of the Board of Trade and the Treasury—officers of a totally different character and lower grade than the clerks on the ordinary establishment. In both these establishments, according to Mr. Arbuthnot's evidence, the effect of these clerks being above their work has been to make them discontented and dissatisfied. But it is from the Post-office and the Customs, in which, from their size, all experiments can be tried on the largest scale, that the most remarkable evidence is brought. The Post-office examination was found to be so high, that the clerks who were appointed under it turned out to be both worse clerks and more discontented servants than those who, in a merely literary point of view, were more ignorant men.\* But with the lower officers, the letter-carriers, &c., the effect was still more injurious to the public service. We have already seen that there has been marked deterioration in this body. Among the rural letter-carriers, all the good men were being frightened away; and the Post-office applied to the Commissioners to lower the examination. The published correspondence shows that all Mr. Tilley's experience hardly obtained from them this boon. With some tart insinuations about 'political patrons,' they 'express their regret that a standard even lower than that adopted in the case of London letter-carriers has been chosen.'† Mr. Tilley replied, that the high standard adopted among the London letter-carriers had succeeded remarkably ill.‡ 'Indeed,' he writes, 'amongst the London letter-carriers who have been admitted on the higher scholastic standard, the practical officers of the department are decidedly of opinion that these unfortunate results [dissatisfaction with work and pay] have already manifested themselves, and they have repeatedly

\* Q. 1719. Fifth Rep. p. 133. † Fifth Report, pp. 132, 133.

‡ Fifth Rep. p. 134.

urged the necessity of lowering the standard of examination.' It appears they have urged it in vain. The public has long been aware that the London letter-carriers have been agitating, holding public meetings, and signing stinging memorials, in a manner very unusual in a public department. Mr. Tilley's letter furnishes an explanation of the phenomenon.

The Custom-House supplies evidence of 'these unfortunate results' more detailed, and still more distinct. Indeed, this is the only department in reference to which we can judge with complete confidence of the effect of the extensive range of knowledge now insisted on in candidates for any part of the public service; for it is the only department in which we have an official investigation to rely upon. In other departments the chiefs were content to speak from their own casual impressions. But from the scattered character of the Custom-House establishment, Sir Thomas Fremantle was unable to give any personal information, and therefore he sent round a circular to collect the opinions of the heads of departments and collectors at the ports, with reference to the working of the new system. The result was handed to the Committee. It was necessary to conceal the names of those who had furnished these opinions, because a chief who was known to have reported unfavourably of his subordinates might not find their complaisance improved by the information. But the extracts were selected by Sir Thomas Fremantle himself, and bear his personal voucher of authenticity.\* Sixteen reports were made by various authorities; and of these, one only was favourable to the new system; one could give no opinion from want of experience; and the remaining fourteen speak of its working in terms of strong condemnation. They are very remarkable documents; and as the Committee have thought it discreet to pass them over very lightly, we shall make no apology for a lengthy extract. It must be borne in mind, that all the evil effects here recounted are purely the result of the new examinations, and in no way tend to discredit a test-examination judiciously conducted; for a test-examination, suitable to each office, formed part of the Custom-House system before the Civil Service Commission came into existence. One of the first measures of the Commission, when they came into office, was to require that the Custom-House should raise its standard.† The results of this effort, as detailed in the evidence we are about to quote, are exceedingly instructive. The first batch of Reports relate simply to clerks. The italics are our own:—

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\* Q. 1541-1544,

† First Rep., p. xi.

*Report from Surveyor-General.*

'The examination has failed to supply a more valuable class of persons to this service. It is not a superior test of fitness to that which was previously in operation, and many will be rejected for deficiency in mere book-learning who possess qualifications which would be of infinitely greater value, and abilities which might render them eminently useful; while, on the other hand, *persons who have stood high in the estimation of the Civil Service Commissioners have been found of comparatively little value here.* There are two instances of this amongst the landing-waiters, one of whom passed a very creditable examination, but is represented by the Inspectors-General to be "wanting in business habits, and is not particularly intelligent;" the other passed a highly satisfactory *competitive* examination, gaining him 920 marks out of 1100, but is stated to be "wanting in energy, and by no means quick in business." It has been verbally represented to me by some of the principals that amongst the clerks recently appointed, there are those who evince a strong disposition to look upon their duties as beneath their abilities. Sorting documents, which is a work of much public importance, they say, ought to be done by a messenger, and it has only been by a peremptory order that they could be induced to discharge that most necessary duty. *They are fond of argumentative displays, and have exhibited towards their principals and the public a degree of presumption and self-sufficiency which could not be tolerated.*

'Much more might be said upon the general question, but I have had very limited opportunities of forming a personal opinion on the subject, and would, therefore, refer to the reports from the principals of the various departments, from whose statements it does not appear that the Civil Service examination has been productive of any great benefit to the service.'

## OFFICE A.

'I am rather disappointed at finding myself compelled to admit that the clerks in this department, who have undergone an examination by the Civil Service Commissioners, do not evince more talent, nor display greater energy and aptitude for business, than those appointed within the six years preceding the institution of such examinations.'

## OFFICE B.

'Having had several clerks under my supervision who have been admitted into the service since May, 1855, and also several who were appointed within the six years preceding the examination by the Civil Service Commissioners, I am enabled to state that I have not found the former display any greater energy or aptitude for business than the latter; and although generally tractable, I have experienced, both personally and towards the public, *a self-sufficiency and presumption, from an imagined superiority in having undergone such examination, and also a desire for literature in business, that I have been obliged to check.*

'The

'The business of this office being of perfectly routine character, and in many branches almost mechanical, no superior mental acquirement is needed, and clerks possessing more intellectual capabilities than the duties demand become dissatisfied with its monotony, and are less valuable than clerks of sufficient though less attainment.'

## OFFICE C.

'We have, on the average, received into the department young men of a better education than in the previous years; but I do not find that, as a matter of course, those admitted since May, 1855, make better clerks, or are more zealous and attentive than the others.

'I do, however, observe in many cases that the young men admitted since the period stated are much more difficult to manage than those who have been long in the service; they require more looking after, and look for more leave and greater indulgence than the older clerks.'

## OFFICE D.

'The duties of the warehousing department are heavy, but simple, requiring a man of moderate education to perform them; but energy, industry, and perseverance are indispensable to make a good clerk: the latter qualifications I find much less of in the clerks who have passed the Civil Service examination. *Many of them appear to think that education is all that is required, and look on their duties as beneath their abilities, real or assumed; and they do not give to them the care and attention necessary. They are generally fond of discussion, argumentative displays, and private reading and writing during office hours, all of which tend to distract their minds from their legitimate duties. Most of the clerks admitted under the old system, on the contrary, entered the service knowing their only chance of rising in it was by efficiency, industry, and good conduct; consequently they are accordingly generally devoting their whole time and energies to attain superior habits of business.*

## PORT C.

'I have very fully considered the question relating to the qualifications, business habits, and usefulness of those clerks who entered the service in this department since the year 1855, as compared with those who entered it previous to that year, and who, of course, did not undergo any examination under the regulations of the Civil Service Commissioners, and I beg to state that I have no hesitation in giving it as my opinion that under the present system we get better educated young men, *but I do not think that they, on the whole, exhibit as good business habits as those who entered before 1855; nor do I think that they are at all more steady, or as easily managed as the latter.*

'In this department many young men have been admitted, and are now as good and useful clerks as need be (indeed, there are none better in the service), who, if they had been examined according to the present system, would never have been allowed to enter the service;

service ; proving, I think, that industry, good conduct, and a willingness to learn, overcome many defects of education.'

These extracts put us in a position to judge of the advantages which, as far as clerks are concerned, the new system has conferred upon the great department of the Customs. In place of 'the indolent, the unambitious, and the incapable,' who disturbed Sir Charles Trevelyan's peace of mind, but whose presence the official chiefs themselves seem never to have discovered, the offices are now filled with gentlemen far more learned. But there is a thorn to every rose—a drawback to every blessing. These highly educated young gentlemen have also the privileges and peculiarities of genius. They are worse men of business, and more difficult to manage. The recondite knowledge they have attained makes them self-sufficient and presumptuous ; and they naturally think that sorting documents is beneath them. Their learned tastes, spurning the monotony of copying manifests, incline them to 'discussion, argumentative displays, and private reading and writing during office hours,' which must be very gratifying to the friends of education, but a nuisance to the merchants who are waiting for their papers. Still more inconvenient must be 'a desire for literature in business,' which they are reported to evince. An official letter replete with the graces of composition, bristling with tropes and metaphors, must be a terrible puzzle to the old stagers who were not appointed on the literary principle. The chiefs of the departments certainly do not conceal their opinion that the reign of King Log was a good deal better than the reign of King Stork, and that the Civil Service has been very far from benefited by being converted into an Imperial University. They say as plainly as language can convey thoughts, that the *régime* of patronage worked a good deal better than the *régime* of cram. With these statements lying before them we cannot understand how Lord Stanley's Committee came to report to the House of Commons that '*no one* has affirmed that so far as appointments to this class of clerks are concerned, the service has suffered harm by the adoption of the regulations of 1855.'\*

It is not necessary to dwell at so much length on the portion of these Reports which concerns the out-door officers, because the Committee have abandoned the idea of choosing men whose duties are chiefly physical, and whose merits therefore must be chiefly muscular, by a literary standard. But a short extract may be useful for the purpose of showing the bad moral effect of requiring an education that is superior to the work it has to do :—

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\* Rep., p. xi.



## PORT A.

'One candidate for tidewater passed as being educationally fit, whose former pursuits (those of a lawyer's clerk) were altogether foreign to those he would be called upon to perform as tidewater and boatman; the consequence was, that after being twice on night patrol duty, he got knocked up, and went upon sick leave for a week, more, I believe, from disgust with his new employment than anything else. If this man stick to his office (which pecuniary necessity may compel him to do) he will never take to it congenially, and will always be at the best but an indifferent officer. This individual was certainly good at spelling and correct grammatical writing, but it does not strike me that these two things are absolutely requisite, in a high degree, for the proper and efficient performance of waterside duty.

'Two of the other candidates were rejected because they could not spell correctly (although both could write and cipher very fairly), but who in other respects were pre-eminently qualified for the office of tidewater. Both had been bred to the sea from boyhood in her Majesty's revenue cruisers, had been in the practice of rummaging ships, were experienced boatmen, active and athletic, and had been accustomed to rough it by night-watching. In the case also of one of these, he had been an extra tidewater for the last three years at this port, and had commended himself to the approbation of the surveying officers as being a superior hand in the performance of every required duty, and is still employed as a glutman.

## PORT E.

'The order in Council of 21st May, 1855, has raised the educational test, but has not touched upon the question of physical aptitude for such offices as those now under examination, and *I am of opinion that the higher the education standard, the less likely it is that we shall get men in other respects fitted for out-door officers.* If the examination were also competitive, the lower grades of the service would doubtless soon be filled by clerks and shopmen to the exclusion of seamen, &c., but the present system of nomination, to a certain extent, prevents this.'

## PORT H.

'*Petition from Tidewaiters that a portion of their Duties may be dispensed with, and that they may have more time at home.*

## 'Report from the Tide Surveyor.

'In conclusion, I beg to observe that this petition has been forwarded to the Honourable Board without the knowledge or consent of the majority of the tidewaiters, and that I have every reason to believe it has been sent by one or more of the officers who have entered the service within the last three years; *who, I presume, find the duties they have to perform to be of a different character to what they expected, and who, it appears, study their own personal comfort and convenience more than the interests of the service.*

'Report

*'Report from a Member of the Board as to Tidewaiters at Port I.*

'The tide surveyor reports favourably of the tidewaiters, but regrets (and I fully concur with him) that the examination now required to be passed by these officers keeps out of the service the strong, hardy, and sturdy young man. Referring to a tidewaiter now on probation he said, "He does pretty well, Sir, but he was a linen-draper's assistant;" this is certainly not the class of men out of which to make a good tidewaiter.'

The evidence we have laid before our readers incontestably proves that the public service *has* been injured by the introduction of men too highly educated for their work. For their moral qualities, they are uppish, unmanageable, presumptuous, and discontented; for their intellectual qualities, they are wanting in energy, bad men of business, and easily disgusted with work that is monotonous. These are the results of a high examination tested by actual experience. All the results that are produced by a high examination will be produced in an augmented degree by open competition. That expedient has not itself been tried: but the Custom-house examinations have given us a foretaste of its effects, which sober-minded politicians will not desire to repeat.

Of course the danger of over-educated clerks is contingent on the assumption that 'the most promising men of the day' can be induced to compete. There is no danger of the offices being filled with over-learned men if no over-learned men apply to be admitted. And this seems likely to be the actual result, as far at least as the higher departments are concerned, until you get down to the point where a pupil-teacher's gratuitous education can be brought to bear.

In England (for we are not discussing the Indian appointments) nobody has dreamed of suggesting that any offices in which powers of government are required, shall be put up to competition. If it should be instituted for the junior clerkships, the scanty pay and dreary prospect seem likely to secure the public against any very formidable inroad of book-worms. Sir Charles Trevelyan's anticipation that 'the ablest and most ambitious youth of the country'\* would be attracted into the Civil Service, was the dream of an enthusiast. Mr. Waddington's seems to be a much more likely view of the probabilities of the case:—

'A strange ambition indeed, for a double first-class man to aspire to be a subordinate for life, upon pay which might, with rigid and unrelenting economy, enable him to bring up a numerous family, but which no power of self-denial or self-torture could stretch so as to

\* Rep. Pub. Offices, p. 336.

enable him to make a provision for them after his death ; and this to attain, if greatly favoured by fortune, the dignity of Chief Clerk, possibly on the very day on which his friend who stood by him in the list of honours is made a Bishop or a Judge. The reporters cannot, I think, have been acquainted with many of "the ablest and most ambitious youth of the country." If they had, they would have known that they are not, and never will be, the stuff of which clerks in public offices are made. It has been my great good fortune to be the friend of several of them : some of them are now occupying high positions : I have had to deplore the early fate of others : but I can assure the reporters that they all duly appreciated their own merits, that they knew their own value, and were not disposed to barter the golden days of their prime for an abject pittance less than the earnings of the clerk of a barrister in respectable practice.\*

Subsequent experience has confirmed Mr. Waddington's opinion, and the probability seems to be that a competition for junior clerkships, however open it might be, would, as a rule, only attract mediocrities to the examination. But this probability does not make the prospect of open competition a bit more tolerable. On the contrary, it is the gravest portion of the case. It substitutes a moral evil, which will be full of serious peril, for an intellectual evil which will be simply troublesome. In place of pedants it may possibly give us knaves. It will operate in this way. Clever men will not, as a general rule, come to the examinations, because the Government pay is very low, and they can obtain in a merchant's or in a banker's office—not to speak of medicine and the bar—a better market for their abilities. But there is one class of clever men to whom this market will not be open ; and those are clever men of dissipated habits and of ruined character. Men of business choose those whom they employ by their own personal knowledge, or by the knowledge of others in whom they trust. A man whose character is blown upon, or who lives an unsteady life, has no chance of obtaining situations of confidence from them. But he has a particularly good chance in an open competition. His name will be lost and his demerits buried in the throng of candidates. All who would be able to contend with him have been attracted by the chance of better pay elsewhere : all who are contending with him are mediocrities whose abilities will fetch nothing better than a Government clerkship. He must of necessity succeed. Every man who lives by his labour offers to his employer two distinct qualities—capacity and trustworthiness. In the open market of the world trustworthiness bears the highest price, and capacity the second. In the artificial market which it is proposed to

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\* Reorg. Civ. Service, p. 387.

set up, a factitious value is attached to a certain kind of capacity, and trustworthiness scarcely fetches any price at all. A political economist will have no doubt as to the result. The trustworthiness will seek the market where it is appreciated, and shun the market where it is overlooked, as certainly as silver finds its way to the East, and gold stays behind in Europe.

The peculiar difficulty of excluding untrustworthy persons under a system of open competition is probably that which has determined all practical men of business against it, and it is the reproach which its advocates are the most anxious to remove. Mr. B. Jowett, in whose brain the scheme seems to have originally germinated, cuts the knot promptly by assuring the world that in 'nineteen cases out of twenty' learned men are also good men, inasmuch as

'The perseverance and self-discipline necessary for the acquirement of any considerable amount of knowledge, are a great security that a young man has not led a dissolute life.'\*

In the first place we should be inclined to ask Mr. Jowett if he has never heard of many eminent and hard-working men who are well known to have led very dissolute lives; and in the second to suggest that 'dissolute lives' are by no means the principal moral delinquency against which the Civil Service has to guard. The public offices are a good deal more concerned with the eighth commandment than with the seventh. But even if Mr. Jowett's statistics of the proportion between moral and immoral erudition be correct as regards all kinds of depravity, the prospect would not be very encouraging. We should be sorry to adopt a system for recruiting the Civil Service under which one clerk out of every twenty might be dishonest. The Commissioners are not entirely satisfied that a good examination paper gives a security for all the moral virtues, and they propose, in case open competition should be adopted, to obtain an insight into a candidate's private life by sending round circulars upon the subject to his friends. Their plan is first to get from the candidate the names of some persons who know something of him, and then to send to them a printed circular of questions about his private character. But the facility with which people will sign what is essentially false, or at least suppress what they know to be true, rather than 'destroy a poor fellow's last chance of going right,' is perfectly notorious; and what people will do towards each other, or in dealing with charitable societies or joint-stock companies, they will do with ten times more readiness if the Government is the only victim that will suffer. Even

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\* Rep. Public Offices, p. 356.

Mr. Chadwick confesses \* that under the Poor-Law Board it was constantly found that the squire and the clergyman would sign a certificate of character for the greatest scamp in the parish for the mere sake of getting rid of him, 'for which the excuse was that the testimonial had been given in large faith, hope, and charity, that the party recommended would behave himself better in another position.' The same mournful experience was gained when the Canterbury Association undertook to send out to their model colony model labourers, selected under the certificate of the clergyman of the parish. Mr. Sidney Herbert fared no better when he presented the colonies with distressed needlewomen of certified good character. But, in truth, the worthlessness of the certificates to character, given at the request of any public body, is universally acknowledged. They are things which few people refuse at all, and which can always be obtained from somebody. The difference between the security which they afford and that which is afforded by a responsible patron, cannot be better expressed than in the words of Mr. Romilly, who is chairman of the Board of Audit, and who for a short time was himself a Civil Service Commissioner:—

'Q. 2761. You think that the responsibility which rests upon the minister of the day, who makes the appointment, is an advantage?—I think it an advantage, because he must make the appointment on the recommendation of a certain person; that certain person, no doubt, holds some particular station in the neighbourhood in which he lives; and if that person recommends to the public service anybody who is notoriously known to be of bad character, of course he would be very ill looked upon by those persons who are his immediate friends in the neighbourhood; and that sort of public opinion which acts upon his conduct, would, I think, be much greater than any public opinion that could act upon him through the newspapers, or anything else. With respect to the means which the Civil Service Commissioners have of testing the moral character or the moral qualities of a candidate for the public service, it depends entirely upon *paper certificates, which I think are not worth the paper they are written upon*, because it is obvious that a man may go to half a dozen and ask for these certificates, and may get refused; but it is quite certain that he will at last get those certificates given to him, and I do not see how it is possible for the Civil Service Commissioners, or anybody, really to know the character of those certificates or the character of the persons who give them.'

It is hardly necessary to enlarge on the dangers of a system which has a tendency to introduce any distrust in the uprightness of the members of the service. Though clerks have only to copy, register, and index, the papers on which

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\* Reorg. Civil Service, p. 184.

those operations are performed are papers of enormous value. Their duties may be merely mechanical, but the subject-matter of those duties is most momentous. The gravest national interests, as well as the fortunes of individuals, would be perilled by their treachery—and there are always those who would pay a large bribe for that treachery. A confidential revenue clerk might make a merchant's fortune by betraying to him the subject-matter of the calculations which he had been ordered to make for the purposes of the Budget. A War-Office clerk might change the fortunes of a war—a Foreign-Office clerk might dissolve an alliance or break off a negotiation—by opportune hints to members of the *corps diplomatique*.

‘In many public offices,’ says Sir G. C. Lewis,\* ‘papers containing information respecting pending questions of great importance, and of deep interest to private individuals, to companies, to associations, to the public at large, to the whole civilised world, necessarily pass through the hands of clerks in their successive stages of preparation. The honourable secrecy which has distinguished the clerks of our superior offices, and their abstinence from communicating information to interested parties or to public journals, cannot be too highly commended. But this discreet reserve depends on qualities which cannot be made the subject of examination by a central board, or be expressed by marks upon a paper of written answers.’

We have recently had one or two isolated cases of betrayals of this kind, which ought to warn us of the dangers they involve. We have seen a remarkable abuse of official confidence by a first-class man. We have had our Ionian government thrown into confusion by a stranger who crept into the Colonial-Office and sold a despatch to a newspaper. There is no limit to the number of persons who would pay largely for official knowledge, if once it was known that it could be bought. If the Emperor of the French will only wait till competition has opened the public offices to any quick-witted adventurers who may be inclined to make money in this line, he may have as many state papers as he is disposed to pay the price for.

One danger—the gravest and the most certain—of the new system still remains to be briefly noticed; but the suggestion of it is so invidious that we prefer to introduce it in words other than our own:—

‘The securities against such corruption and abuse on which we have hitherto chiefly relied are—publicity, the influence of public opinion, and individual responsibility. To these we mainly owe the progress that has been made in official morality. We almost forget that, at a

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\* Reorg. Civil Service, p. 116.

time not very remote, public patronage was a source of private emolument. We should now as soon suspect a Secretary of State of picking a pocket as of selling a clerkship. This improvement is still progressive, from the operation of the influences to which I have referred; and the press, aided by increased facilities of communication, is daily making them more effectual checks upon abuse. But, in appointments made by competitive examination, we have none of those securities. No one is responsible for the appointment, and there is no such publicity as would enable public opinion to interpose. If your public functionaries be indeed corrupt, your examinations, of any description, for the public service, could not long continue to be pure and impartial; and, in the hands of a corrupt Government, they would become its most dangerous, because its most inscrutable, means. It is a fallacy, therefore, to suppose that such examinations afford sufficient security against abuse or corruption. The most corrupt and despotic Governments have employed similar means. *Without unre-served publicity, and without any individual responsibility, I do not see how security against abuse or corruption could be obtained.*

These are the words of Sir John M'Neill;\* and coming from a public servant of so much experience and sagacity, they contain a warning that no statesman will despise. These examinations are absolutely secret. They are subjected to no public criticism; no authority has power to review the decisions at which the Commissioners arrive. Even in the House of Commons, the national Court of Review, they decline to explain any impugned decision, and still claim the peculiar privilege of inviolable secrecy.

Conceding to them this privilege without a moment's discussion, we say that it affords an irresistible argument against investing them with the whole patronage of the Civil Service. The present Commissioners and their officers enjoy the public confidence, but they are removable at pleasure, and at all events must in the course of time be succeeded by others, to be named by the ministry of the day. Who can say what abuses might spring up in such an institution? How easily could a corrupt government exercise the whole patronage without the slightest responsibility, by remodelling the board of Commissioners, and professing to dispose of all offices by open competitive examination!

It only remains for us to inquire what are the authorities by which a system so beset with danger is recommended. The Committee who have reported in its favour were composed in the proportion of two to one of strong and avowed partisans, and it was natural that they should adhere to their own views with the

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\* Address, p. 9.



tenacity which belongs to the disciples of peculiar and new opinions. Yet, strongly as their Report is in favour of open competition, as strongly is it condemned by the evidence on which that Report professes to be founded. The Commissioners and their officers, who never see the learned clerks after the days of examination, and consequently neither suffer from, nor even hear of, their incompetence or their indiscretion, are naturally in favour of extending to the utmost limits the system which they administer. So, in considering the subject of national defence, the generals thought that a large army was the chief point: the admirals said there was no trusting to anything but ships: the engineers thought that fortifications were the only defence on which the nation could rely. In the same way the Examiners are of opinion that there is nothing like examination. But among the practical departmental officers, who sensitively feel the difference between a good clerk and a bad clerk, the objection to open competition was all but unanimous. Mr. Harry Chester, a retired civil servant, is the solitary one who speaks distinctly in favour of it; and he seems to have been guided more in forming that opinion by his educational zeal than by any official experience.\* Mr. Merivale doubtfully gives it the high sanction of his name, with, however, the important reservation, that nomination affords a better guarantee of trustworthiness than it is possible to obtain under open competition.†

The remaining eleven, who gave an opinion on the subject, while they all approved of a test-examination suitably conducted, expressed a decided objection, in some cases very strongly worded, to open competition. The names of these witnesses are alone decisive of the question, viz.:—Sir T. Fremantle,‡ Mr. Tilley,§ Sir B. Hawes,|| Mr. Romilly,¶ Sir R. Bromley,\*\* Mr. Hammond,†† Mr. Arbuthnot,‡‡ Mr. Corbet,§§ Mr. Serjeant,||| Mr. Waddington,¶¶ and Mr. Lingen.\*\*\* These are all men well known to the public, officers of high intelligence, presiding over important departments, and intimately acquainted with their working. All the Secretaryships of State, except the Colonial Office, are represented here, together with the Treasury, the Admiralty, the Privy Council, the Boards of Audit, Customs, and Inland Revenue, and the Post Office. Mr. Hammond, of the Foreign Office, who is naturally specially sensitive on the subject of breaches of confidence, said that it was impossible for him to express in language too strong his dread of open competition.†††

\* Q. 4028, 4034.

† Q. 3981, 3940.

‡ Q. 1541.

§ Q. 1724.

|| Q. 1049, 1058.

¶ Q. 2757.

\*\* Q. 3213.

†† Q. 3464.

‡‡ Q. 730.

§§ Q. 2131.

||| Q. 2388.

¶¶ Q. 3041, 3038, 3016.

\*\*\* Q. 3174.

††† Q. 3464.

It required a *predisposed* Committee to set this mass of testimony at defiance: and it will require a very bold legislator to urge on a change which only theorists ask for, and against which every practical Civil Servant has pronounced. There is not much more encouragement for it to be found, if we turn from the administrative to the political authorities. Against it are men of all political parties—Lord Palmerston, Sir George Lewis, Sir W. Jolliffe, Lord Elgin, Lord Malmesbury, Sir W. Hayter, and we believe we may add Mr. Henley and Mr. Walpole. In its favour are Mr. Bright, Mr. Gladstone, Lord Stanley, Sir Charles Trevelyan, and Mr. Chadwick. The former list contains the names of men who, whatever their party, are men of sober, calm, experienced minds, distinguished for their practical common sense. The latter list undoubtedly comprises men of brilliant ability; but they are all of them remarkable for seeking to govern the capricious and complex nature of mankind by symmetrical theories and logical formulæ. Throughout, the same rule holds good: the theorists are in favour of open competition, and the practical men are against it.

It will be for the House of Commons to consider whether such a project recommended on such authority is worthy of their support. It appears to us to be founded upon false views of human nature and of duty, to give an undue predominance to talent alone in a sphere where men of moderate endowments are equally or more useful; to be harsh and grating to the feelings of men of honour, as implying that they are incapable of exercising this kind of patronage honestly, while they are intrusted with patronage of a much higher order. It will infuse a low, utilitarian, selfish spirit into our education. The official dangers with which it is fraught are attested by the highest witnesses, and partly vouched by actual experience. It will tend to multiply a hundredfold the over-crammed clerks, whose insolence and incapacity have already thrown more than one office into confusion; it will leave all the secrets of the English Government, whether they relate to English trade or foreign policy, at the mercy of any clever adventurer who may find it worth his while to sell them; it will place the whole vast patronage of the Crown at the disposal of a secret tribunal, dependent for its existence upon the ministry of the day, yet whose proceedings may not be inquired into, and whose verdict cannot be reviewed.

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NOTE ON ARTICLE ON THE 'CAPE AND SOUTH AFRICA,'  
IN Q. R., No. 215.

We have to correct an error in the statement of the temperature of the country as compared with that of England. The average temperature of the Cape is there said to be even a trifle lower than that of England, whereas the mean annual temperature of the Cape is  $61^{\circ} 71'$ ; that of England  $49^{\circ}$ , or thereabouts. As compared with the average *summer* temperature of England (about  $62^{\circ}$ ), the mean annual temperature of the Cape is slightly lower.

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END OF THE HUNDRED AND EIGHTH VOLUME.

## ERRATA.

Page 458, line 5 from bottom, for "direction" read "signature."

Page 466, line 19 from bottom, for "just" read "first."

Ibid. line 18 from bottom, for "just" read "first."

*Ed. Rev.  
 Man.*

